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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

**A QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF
SOCIAL WORK**

Edited by

THE FACULTY OF THE SIR DORABJI TATA GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF SOCIAL WORK, BOMBAY, INDIA

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VOLUME II

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Society.”¹ Four years later the University of Birmingham instituted a diploma course. Once a beginning was made, other universities entered the field but up to the First World War progress was slow.

During the War, the demand for trained workers for the first time exceeded the supply and numerous training schemes came into existence. In an attempt to co-ordinate these schemes a Joint Social Studies Committee was unofficially established for London. “This Committee organized a conference on social training, which by invitation of the Home Secretary met at the Home Office in June 1917, and was followed by a second conference on training for welfare work in factories, convened by the Home Office and attended by representatives of Government departments, employers, labour, welfare organizations, as well as university departments for social study. These two conferences, which resulted directly in the formation of a Joint University Council for Social Studies, carried the training movement a very considerable stage forward.”²

The first training school with a university affiliation in the United States was established in Boston in March 1904, under the joint auspices of Simmons College and Harvard University. About the same time announcement was made of a two-year course to be given in the autumn of 1904 by the Training Centre for Social Workers in the extension department of the University of Chicago. This subsequently became the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, which was maintained as an independent professional school until 1920, when it combined with the philanthropic service division of the School of Commerce and Administration of the University of Chicago and became the Graduate School of Social Service Administration of the University.

The American Association of Schools of Social Work was organized in 1919 and “has become in considerable measure a standardizing and accrediting agency in its field. Definite standards of organization, of curriculum, and of admission and certification of students . . . have been imposed since 1934 upon all member schools.”³ By July 1938 membership in the Association of Schools had grown to 35—of which 9 are in state universities; 3 are associated with municipal universities; 21 are connected with privately endowed colleges and universities, and 2 have no direct university or college affiliation.

The requirements for admission to American and British Schools of Social Work vary. In the United Kingdom, three distinct groups of students are recognized: (1) graduates; (2) experienced social workers, generally mature, who are not graduates; (3) matriculate or undergraduate students who desire

¹ Macadam, Elizabeth, *The Equipment of the Social Worker*, p. 33.

² *Ibid.* p. 37.

³ *Social Work Year Book*, 1939, p. 115.

to train for some specific phase of social work for which, given other qualifications, a university degree does not appear to be necessary. The length of course is generally two years for non-graduates and one year for graduates. The practice ordinarily followed is to award certificates to non-graduates and diplomas to graduates.

In the United States the aim is to maintain a graduate standard. At least 90 per cent of the students admitted to a member school in the American Association of Schools of Social Work must have had 3 years of college work as a prerequisite. Since October 1, 1939 each member school must provide a curriculum of two years of graduate work.

There is considerable difference in the approach of American and British Schools. American Schools reflect their early connection with social work agencies and offer many courses in the practice of social work. British Schools, on the other hand, devote much more attention to the philosophic background.

A brief comparison of the types of courses offered in American and British Schools will make this point clear. An examination of the catalogues of the leading schools or departments in the United Kingdom reveals such courses as economics, history, theory and practice of social administration, history and methods of social work, political philosophy, psychology, ethics, central and local government, public administration, social statistics, industrial history, industrial psychology, physiology, hygiene, industrial and social legislation. The London School of Economics alone, approximates the variety of courses offered in American Schools.

The American Schools of Social Work offer background courses in science, economics, industrial problems, psychology, social psychology, sociology, social philosophy, and social ethics; orientation courses, such as the history of social work and the field of social work; and courses in social practice, which make up the bulk of the curriculum. The latter group of courses include the administration of social agencies, social case work, child welfare, community organization, criminology and probation, group work, social legislation, public health, medical and hospital social work, psychiatric social work, visiting teacher social work, public welfare administration, rural social work, and social research.

Both British and American Schools require a certain amount of practical work or field work, under supervision.

It is not my purpose here to attempt to demonstrate the superiority of either British or American Schools. Each national culture tends to develop the type of education which is best suited to its own needs. I have presented this brief outline of social education abroad as a general background for a study of education for social work in our own country.

Social work in India, as in other countries, has been in large measure a matter of apprentice training. The young social worker has learned from being associated with an older worker, or even more commonly by engaging in work and acquiring a technique and proficiency through experience. Such organized training efforts as have been carried out have been for the most part short courses of a very elementary grade.

The movement for organized training has been most prominent in the city of Bombay. For a number of years a Social Training Centre for Women has been conducted by a Joint Missionary Committee in close association with the University Settlement for Women. Since the entrance qualification is in the main a working knowledge of English, the standard of instruction is of necessity very elementary.

The Social Service League, Bombay, offers a series of lectures on social subjects during each monsoon season. Admission is open to anyone understanding English. Although a certificate is awarded to students who pass the final examination, the most that can be said for the course is that it presents at least a partial outline of the field of social work, with particular reference to the city of Bombay.

The newly organized University Settlement in Mysore has started training classes for the training of its own workers; while the Children's Aid Society, Bombay, sponsors lectures and study groups for the benefit of its voluntary probation staff.

The roots of graduate study in India are found in an annual series of short courses offered by the Nagpada Neighbourhood House, Bombay. For a number of years the Neighbourhood House conducted an intensive training course of one month's duration for its own workers and a limited number of outside students. The courses were of some value in presenting a point of view, but accomplished little else.

The Director of the Nagpada Neighbourhood House, from his own experience, and from intimate association with a large number of social agencies in Bombay, came to the conclusion that the standard of social work in India could not be raised appreciably until a permanent School of Social Work was set up to engage in a continuous study of Indian social problems and to offer training for social work on a graduate basis.

Accordingly in 1935 he approached the Trustees of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust with a scheme for establishing a Graduate School of Social Work in Bombay, in co-operation with the Nagpada Neighbourhood House. The Trustees of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust accepted the proposed plan and in June, 1936, the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social work admitted its first class of students.

In speaking at the public opening of the Tata School on 2 February, 1937, Dr. Arthur E. Holt, Professor of Social Ethics in the University of Chicago, said: "I wish to congratulate the Trustees of this School in founding a School which roots so thoroughly in ten years of practical experience in the city of Bombay. It would be easy to take the advanced ideas of modern social work from the West and found a school for their propagation and the adventure would probably be as dangerous as it would be useless. But it is a different matter to relate such a school to the experience of ten years of actual living in the midst of Byculla, colourful with every nationality in the Orient, and challenged by every problem with which human nature is puzzled. I wish to congratulate the founders of this School for the training of Social Workers on locating it in such a place. Here is something more authoritative than theory. In the influence of the people who have lived and worked here, is a power which will stamp the graduates of this School as most highly qualified for lives of usefulness. Mr. Chairman, whatever be the future of this School, may I suggest that you ever seek that authority which abides in a spirit of service and a deep and profound practical experience?"

The attempt to root social training in experience has been the guiding principle of the Tata School since its inception. As a graduate institution, it seeks to maintain a high academic standard, but it also seeks to be eminently practical and to apply the best of modern social thought to the solution of our present-day social problems. The school recognizes that the cultural, economic and social conditions of India differ from those of the West and makes every effort to adapt its materials to Indian conditions, and to interpret Indian problems in the light of the national social heritage.

In India, as in the West, the School of Social Work is faced by certain fundamental questions. Does social work have a body of knowledge which can be transmitted, and which is basic to social work as a profession? If so, what is this knowledge? Shelby M. Harrison, General Director of the Russell Sage Foundation, indicated the confusion among American thinkers when he said: "I realize that here one runs into an ancient and highly controversial subject, on which distinguished educators take opposing views. It is the old but perennially revived debate in which one school of thought holds that, in educating for intellectual leadership, emphasis should be placed on such subject matter as is found in the curriculum of the vocational and professional schools, particularly as it relates to the practical affairs outside the university. The other holds that 'the primary object of the university course of study should be to give the student a grasp of the theory of the discipline,' to give him the principles of the subject, to increase 'the extent to which men are rational,'

¹ Pamphlet, *Graduate Study in Social Work*, 1939, pp. 7-8.

This second school would exclude the mere effort to familiarize students 'with professional practices' which 'emphasize immediate utility' unless the purpose for which such material or action were 'studied or taught would be to increase our understanding of that action and what it implies'."

In actual practice, as we have seen, American schools offer both types of courses, and both types of courses appear to me to be essential.

As we in the Tata School faced the question as to what subjects should be taught, it appeared to us that at least four general divisions were required to meet our present Indian situation.

Ideally, every student entering a Graduate School of Social Work should have a collegiate background of social science study. He should have a knowledge of anthropology, revealing the ways in which man has adjusted himself during the long human struggle. He should be familiar with social origins, if for no other reason than to be aware of the developmental nature of ideas and institutions and to challenge the attitude of mind which regards the customary as fixed and immutable. He should have a knowledge of social structure as revealed by sociology. He should be at home in philosophic thought and in the pages of history and should test new ideas in the light of that which has gone before. Since a large number of social problems have their origin in the economic order, the student in a School of Social Work should have a sound knowledge of economic principles. Living in a State, he should know the fundamental obligations of the State to its citizens. And finally, since social work is concerned with people, the social worker should have an insight into the nature of human nature and an understanding of the springs of behaviour, as revealed by biological and psychological study.

Such a preliminary preparation I would regard as the ideal, but unfortunately the ideal is far removed from reality. The Tata School has no dearth of applicants for admission, but the collegiate background of the applicants is almost entirely a literary one. It is the rare prospective student who presents college credits in any branch of the social sciences. As a result we are compelled to offer certain elementary courses to enable the student to carry on his later studies with understanding. We designate these courses as pre-professional and include in this group: social origins, general sociology, social economics and social psychology.

A second group of courses might be described as orientation courses, disclosing the general field of social work. Since the family is the basic social institution, and since the preservation of wholesome family life is the primary social problem, we begin with a course on the family and follow this with a study of child psychology. Social work deals in large measure with deviations from normal and hence we regard it as essential that the social

worker should understand the processes of normal human development and the ways in which behaviour is modified in the family and wider relationships. In order that the social worker in India may know the course of social development in other lands and in the past, we introduce a study of historical backgrounds, which is followed by two courses explaining the nature of Indian social problems. Since India is predominantly a rural country, an attempt is made to study the villager in his natural environment and to discover sound principles for village improvement. The course also considers the situations and problems which arise from rural-urban contacts, and those problems which confront the villager as he leaves the village to become a city labourer. The nature of Indian industry, and the urban worker in his urban environment are dealt with in two courses devoted to these particular subjects. The relation of the State to social work is revealed in an analysis of the social functions of Government and a survey of the development of social legislation. An attempt is made to discover the ethical bases of social work and social action through the study of social ethics.

A third group of courses deal with the practice of social work. Starting with the individual who has not achieved a satisfactory adjustment to life, the processes of generic social case work are discussed, and the social case work method is applied to specific fields, particularly those relating to family and child welfare. The Tata School recognizes the contributions of mental hygiene and psychiatry and endeavours to familiarize its students with the role of the social worker in the practical utilization of the principles of mental hygiene. The Child Guidance Clinic of the School offers a laboratory where class room teaching can be linked up with actual practice. Other applications of case work which are specifically emphasized are medical social work, visiting teacher social work, and social case work in connection with probation and parole. The Tata School feels that it has a responsibility to acquaint its students with social case work practice in other lands, even though all phases of such work may not be immediately practicable in India. A Graduate School of Social Work must look ahead as well as training for the immediate present.

Closely allied to social case work, and of vital importance to present-day India, is the study of juvenile delinquency and its treatment. Whereas in an earlier day the causation of delinquency was expressed almost entirely in environmental terms such as poverty and bad housing, today we have a clearer understanding of the psychological factors involved. And with this understanding there has come a new conception regarding the philosophy of juvenile delinquency, juvenile courts and treatment procedure. Since our approach to delinquency in India is in its infancy, it is imperative that the social worker

should have such an understanding of the problem as to, be able to share in directing the future course of development in a scientific manner.

On the border line between case work and group work is personnel administration in industry. In India, as in the West, the first social workers attached to industrial establishments concerned themselves with what is known as "welfare work," consisting in the main of the provision of better sanitary and working conditions within the establishment, and external attention to housing, recreation, medical relief and education. Today the work of a labour officer has become much more technical and demands a sound knowledge of the newer developments in the field of labour relationships and a knowledge of the case work approach in dealing with individual problems. The School of Social Work in India has here almost a virgin field for development.

Still under the head of social work practice, but following the group work method of approach, rather than the case work method, are the courses dealing specifically with the organization of social welfare activities, where the student is introduced to such topics as leadership; the organization and conduct of welfare centres and social settlements; the organization of recreational activities, boys and girls clubs and youth service agencies, and the all-important subject for India—adult education.

The question of how extensive a programme of social research can be carried out in a School of Social Work is still a mooted one. If the faculty of the School is drawn from social work practitioners burdened with agency duties, it is quite probable that little attention will be given to research work. But if, on the other hand, the faculty is a full-time group, with its schedule arranged so as to provide time both for personal research and the direction of student research, there is no reason why the School of Social Work cannot fulfil a research function.

• The Tata School follows the latter policy. The teaching schedule of the faculty is arranged so that each member may have time to devote to a first hand study of Indian social problems. As a matter of fact, the pioneering of a social studies curriculum in India is itself a major piece of research, as it is quite impossible to reproduce Western experience without submitting it to a great amount of critical analysis and scrutinising each subject in the light of Indian conditions. The fact that the Tata School, while still in its infancy, saw fit to establish *The Indian Journal of Social Work* for the encouragement of original research is concrete evidence of its interest in this subject.

It is not expected that every graduate of the Tata School will be a research scholar, but we do try to familiarise each student with the scientific method of approach—offering a fourth group of courses dealing with the principles of social investigation and introducing the student to the fundamentals of social

statistics. Each student must submit a thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the diploma. The purpose of the thesis is not primarily to make an original contribution to the field of social knowledge, but to assure us that the student understands the techniques of social research and has a background which will enable him to make further and more significant contributions as he matures in years and experience.

The final requirement of the Tata School is that each student shall do a certain amount of field work in connection with some social agency in Bombay. The problem here is to introduce the student to social work under actual field conditions and at the same time to make certain that he actually profits by the experience. Unfortunately, the number of social agencies to which students can be sent with profit is still limited. We do not have the problem which is met with in the West, of well-organized social agencies tending to require too much of the students' time, to the detriment of their class room studies. The field work experiences of the students are co-ordinated in a field work seminar, where problems from the field are discussed in the light of the total group experience.

Our own answer to the question as to what should be taught in a Graduate School of Social Work may be summarized as follows :

- (1) The student should have a knowledge of backgrounds, including both a knowledge of social structure and of springs of human behaviour.

- (2) He should be introduced to the field of social work as a whole, and should be helped to build up a philosophy which will enable him to see the place of social work in the social process and the relation of his own work to the people and institutions who compose the social whole.

- (3) He should acquire a knowledge of particular techniques which will enable him to identify and deal efficiently with cases of deviation from normal.

- (4) He should recognize the value of the scientific method of approach to social problems and should acquire habits of accuracy of observation and of expression.

To accomplish these aims successfully I would feel that the School of Social Work must be of graduate grade. Undergraduate training of an elementary level may introduce the student to some of the techniques of social work, but it cannot give him the basic equipment which will enable him to understand social problems and to be a reliable interpreter of social phenomena. And the School of Social Work must look forward to turning out not merely practitioners, but social students who have the training essential to cope with the many social disabilities which confront us in India today.

A major problem which confronts us is how much time should be devoted

ed to academic social study. In the beginning the Tata School arranged its programme for 12 hours of classroom instruction per week; for two academic years. But as time went on we were forced to recognize the inadequacy of the background of our students and to increase the number of weekly classroom hours from 12 to 16. In our set-up, which stresses a large amount of collateral reading, 16 hours is a very heavy schedule. There appear, however, to be but two remedies for the situation : (1) to urge the Universities to introduce social studies into the undergraduate curriculum, so that the prospective graduate student will have completed his background courses, and (2) to extend the period of graduate training to a third year. The latter suggestion is under consideration, but as yet no decision has been made in the matter.

The question as to whether the School of Social Work should be affiliated to the University raises a number of problems. There can be no doubt but that ultimately such affiliation is desirable. The question is at what stage this affiliation should be brought about. My personal view is that just as in England and America the first Schools of Social Work were of an experimental nature and directed by practical social workers, so in India we need to pass through a period of experimentation before settling upon a rigid syllabus for inclusion in the University curriculum. There is danger in attempting to standardize social training at too early a stage in its development. Experimentation should be carried on in many parts of India to determine what type of studies will best meet the actual needs of the situation.

In answer to the question, "Can India afford to maintain professional social workers?" we can but reply, "India cannot afford not to maintain professional social workers." The magnitude of our social problems demands a trained professional group, and the development of such a group is certain to reduce both the human wastage and the financial wastage which comes from endeavouring to cope with situations of which one does not have adequate understanding.

As I look into the future I visualize a considerable extension of the social activities of the Provincial Governments. But such extension cannot take place unless trained men and women are available to plan and carry out the programmes. The School of Social Work has here two responsibilities : (1) to persuade governments of the need for the extension of social services, and (2) to provide governments with the technical staff essential to their successful operation.

The School of Social Work has the further duty of maintaining close touch with private social agencies. The School must lead—certainly ! But its leadership must not be so far ahead of accepted practice that those whom we wish to have as followers cannot see the leaders because of the dust cloud of

confusion and misunderstanding which separates the School from the Agency. A School of Social Work, no less than an Agency, cannot exist unless it serves. And it cannot serve unless it has the confidence of its constituency. In the present state of Indian affairs we are all learners together, and it is in that spirit that we approach our task.

THE PLACE OF RESEARCH IN SOCIAL WORK

P. M. TITUS

"It is only by research," says Dr. Titus, "that we discover the basic fundamental problems of society. Search for the 'lost sheep' leads us to the discovery of the traps and abysses in the pastures of human life. This discovery through research compels us to make the pasture safe lest any more sheep get lost. Thus ameliorative social work through research becomes preventive social work."

Dr. Titus is Lecturer in Social Work in the Tata School.

"**W**HY should we take courses in Social Statistics and Methods of Social Investigation? We are not going to do social research. We are going to be social workers," protest some students when they enter our School. With the organization of social work in India what it is today, and since the student has no idea of the importance of social research in social work, the protest is at least excusable. A good heart and a heavy purse are still supposed to be the only prerequisites for social work. People in other countries have held similar views, and it has only been after decades of experience that the importance of research has come to be recognized.

In the United States, for instance, we notice that organized social work passed through different progressive stages. Generally speaking, the trends in social work in America have been : first, the attack on concrete problems of human distress; second, a change of emphasis from amelioration to prevention; third, a programme which embraced both, but enlarged its scope to include constructive activities for the entire community. The methods adopted at each stage of development reveal the knowledge gained by experience and the progress made in the administration of social work.

Beginning with the eighteen seventies, we find the first decade as the Era of Big Buildings to replace the old almshouses, and render specialized services to the insane, the dependent, and delinquent children. The main concern in the second decade was that of administration of charity institutions. The third decade shifted emphasis to a demand for trained social workers. The fourth decade marked a radical departure. Heredity and personal characteristics of clients were hitherto relied on as causes of social breakdown. Increasing attention now came to be given to the social environment. The fifth decade, 1914 to 1924, saw the definite expression of self-consciousness and self-criticism on the part of social workers. Social workers had been practitioners in a field of emergencies ; now they became analytical, searching for causes and methodology. The sixth decade, beginning with 1924, has been called the Era of Research. Its chief characteristic was a change in attitude.

On the one hand, growing out of the common background of social case work, we note an intensive specialization; on the other hand, the growth of scientific scepticism. Social workers realized the wisdom in the old saying "look before you leap." There was to be a survey made before any new project was started. "Uplifters" with readymade programs of "social reform" to meet conditions of whose causes they had not the slightest understanding, began to be out of vogue. Social diagnosis through research was accepted as a valid and indispensable pre-requisite in social work as medical diagnosis based on research had come to be accepted in the medical world. Thus, only after half a century of cumulative experience in social work did social research gain recognition as an indispensable factor in social work.

Today research work is carried on by private agencies, universities and schools of social work, research foundations, governmental committees and commissions, and public welfare organizations, with the end in view of making social work effective and efficient. America with her characteristic eagerness to pioneer and also to accept new inventions and techniques of social usefulness has been developing and extending social welfare activities on the basis of the findings of preliminary scientific social research.

What is social research? Research as defined by Webster's International Dictionary is "careful or diligent search." It is a studious inquiry or examination—a critical and exhaustive investigation or experimentation having for its aim the discovery of new facts and their correct interpretation, the revision of accepted conclusions, theories or laws, in the light of newly discovered facts, or the practical applications of such new or revised conclusions. Research primarily is fact-finding which helps one to get a complete picture, to make comparisons and to discover causal linkage of facts. Each by itself or all of them are indispensable for efficient social work. If we review the stream of studies which issues from the research bureaus associated with social work, we find that they fall into several classified groups. They are in the main inventories of social machinery, delineation of social problems, continuous measures of incidence, studies of techniques, working demonstrations, demographic studies and studies of causation. Social research helps us to get a *gestaltian* picture of social problems and leads us to more concerted intelligent action in the solution of those problems.

It is generally by starting out to do something for the poor maladjusted members of society that we recognize the need for more work. Effective social work often tends to produce the need for more social work. As one social worker remarked, "It seems almost as if one institution is no sooner established than it develops the need for another." In the process of rendering some ameliorative services to meet the immediate needs of some clients, we recognize

the wide range of needs and causes of suffering. To secure permanent results, we search for the causes and thus extend the range of services. It is only by research that we discover the basic fundamental problems of society. Search for the "lost sheep" leads us to the discovery of the traps and abysses in the pastures of human life. This discovery through research compels us to make the pasture safe lest any more sheep get lost. Thus ameliorative social work through research becomes preventive social work.

So far we have been discussing the place of research in regard to the discovery and analysis of social problems. But within the field of social work itself, we find the necessity for research, due to the divided and confused status of social work on account of the diversities in contemporary social work.

The significant diversities are observable in three spheres, namely, in (a) the modes or methods utilized in reconditioning human behaviour; (b) the goals, objectives, or ends on behalf of which social work makes its claims; and (c) combinations of the above two which emanate as philosophic concepts.

Social workers, when observed at work, appear to employ the following modes or methods in reconditioning and redirecting the behaviour of their clients¹:

- (1) Techniques, methods, devices, skills, or methods which may be designated as administrative, managerial, authoritative, manipulative and legalistic—in terms of human relations such modes may be viewed as being primarily coercive.
- (2) Modes which appear to appeal to divine sanctions and may, therefore, be designated as religious or mystical.
- (3) Modes which strive for readjustment by means of objectifying motivations and achieving insights for the unadjusted individual by means of the discipline of mental hygiene.
- (4) Modes which assume a confidential and friendly relationship between the worker and the client and which assume the character of a counseling procedure.
- (5) Modes which strive for intellectual understanding and rationalization of the situation leading to the formulation of altered desires and purposes, new ways of behaving, and new projects for life-situations; this mode is primarily educative.
- (6) Modes which assume the nature of experimentation without preconceived objectives in which the consequences of trial and error determine ensuing steps in the treatment process.

Not only do these modes reveal a lack of unity, but there are contradict-

¹ Cf. Eduard C. Lindeman; "Basic Unities in Social Work," *National Conference of Social Work*, 1934, pp. 504 ff.

ory elements as well. The coercive and educative modes, for example, are, mutually exclusive. * For efficiency, social work must travel in a unifying direction, and there should be a guiding principle with respect to the methods used in conditioning behaviour.

In regard to objectives of social work also there are many diversities. Among the spokesmen and in the literature of social work one discovers the following goals. The function of social work is to—

- (1) Re-establish the unadjusted individual as a functioning unit in society.
- (2) Cure (or rid) the individual of his physical, mental or social defects.
- (3) Furnish the handicapped individual with the necessities of life.
- (4) Remove the individual from his social environment in order to (a) protect society; (b) establish new behaviour patterns; or (c) to punish him.
- (5) Alter the environment in such manner as to make it more suitable for those who cannot under existing circumstances maintain themselves economically or sustain themselves as personalities.
- (6) Improve standards of living in general by means of a more equitable distribution of wealth, or in particular by rendering such services as are implied in better health services, housing, etc.
- (7) Organize communities, or groups within communities, for purposes of (a) self-determination or (b) planning.
- (8) Reform legal structures and functions in the interest of human welfare.
- (9) Facilitate and implement social change on one or all of the following levels: (a) increased institutional flexibility in terms of changing human needs; (b) increased cultural emphasis (social values) in relation to civilization (technology); (c) enhanced opportunities for progressively minded individuals to function without restraints; (d) destruction of the existing socio-economic order by constitutional or revolutionary means in order to make way for the socialized state.

Is there any other contemporary profession which functions on behalf of as many varied ends or purposes? It may be said in extenuation of this situation that social work operates with the most diverse, complicated, and subtle material and that it might therefore be expected that its goals should represent a wide diversity. But does this relieve its leaders of the responsibility for formulating a satisfactory guiding principle?

As a result of the combination of items in the foregoing classifications of methods and goals, there have emanated diverse philosophies which :

- (1) Advocate the complete abolition of all private organizations and agencies of social work; this means that all social work should be conducted under the auspices of governmental units, and should be financed through taxation.
- (2) Insist that the primary character of relationship between the social worker and the client shall be one of passivity, on the one hand, or dynamics, on the other.
- (3) Describe the outlines of social work in terms of psychiatry, on the one hand, or of sociology, on the other.
- (4) Delimit the field of social work to the diagnosis and treatment of unadjusted persons; within this restricted sphere social work is to be thought of as being primarily a method and a function and not a "cause" or a reform.
- (5) Describe the function of social work in positive and preventive terms.

Thus even in relation to its rationale, we find diversity. But in spite of all these diversities, social work goes on functioning, the demand for its services continues to increase, and its importance in any scheme of human welfare is more and more recognized by larger numbers of people.

The demand for increased social work means that there is great need for such services. The diversity and confusion indicate that such services as are rendered today are not as effective and efficient as they ought to be. There is so much waste of energy and different groups with different ideologies are pulling in different directions. To bring about unity and dynamism, there is urgent need for doing research in various spheres. We have to re-examine (a) the basic categories of social work; (b) the basic relationships which may exist between social workers and their clients; (c) the current diversities with respect to method and goal; and (d) project certain long-term and ideal concepts of social progress.

(a) *Re-examination of the Basic Categories of Social Work*

Re-examination of the basic categories of social work involves consideration of :

- (1) *Societal Forms and Institutions*.—How flexible are existing societal forms and institutions? To what extent do existing social forms meet contemporary human needs?
- (2) *Personality*.—What are the latent capacities of personality? What degree of flexibility may be expected of personality (human nature)? Are the present "traits" of personality coloured by the prevailing society and its values?

- (3) *The Social Sciences*.—What basic information is available concerning societal forms, personality, and the inter-relations between the two? What basic information is lacking? To what extent must the social sciences be interpreted in terms of changing human needs and aspirations?

(b) *Re-examination of the Basic Relationships between Social Workers and Their Clients*

A re-examination of the basic relationships between social workers and their clients involves consideration of:

- (1) *The Process of Accommodation*.—To what extent do we live in a determined world in which the best we can do is to accommodate ourselves to the situation without being able to alter the situation itself?
- (2) *The Process of Adaptation*.—In what sense may it be said that we adapt ourselves to situations by altering the situations? What are the principal areas of social adaptation?
- (3) *The Process of Adjustment*.—If accommodation and adaptation may be regarded as descriptive of relations between man and his environment, or between man and man, on the level of parts or particulars, is it valid to assume that adjustment is always a relation to the whole? Is social work concerned primarily with accommodation, adaptation or adjustment? To what wholes does social work aim to adjust? Is the relation between the social worker and the client a true social whole? What generalized social wholes seem to be suitable as long-term goals for social work?
- (4) *The Distinction between Mechanistic and Organic Human Relationships*.—In a mechanistic relationship between two persons one dominates and the other submits. The type pattern of mechanistic human relationship is that of master and slave. In organic human relationships two or more persons collaborate on behalf of a common purpose or goal. To what extent is the relationship between social worker and client mechanistic or organic? What are the possibilities of increasing the organic content in worker-client relationships?

(c) *Re-examination of Current Diversities with respect to Method and Goal*

Re-examination of the current diversities in methods and goals is to be done in the light of general principles arrived at, in the fields of basic categories, basic relationships and ideal concepts of social progress. Methods are only techniques for the realization of the ideal or the goal. The flexibility of

methods in social work is as vital and inevitable as in any other field of social activity.

(d) *The Projection of Long-term and Ideal Conceptions of Social Progress*

The projection of long-term and ideal conceptions of social progress involves :

- (1) *The formulation of a guiding principle with respect to method.* If the modes of conditioning human behaviour were arranged in a graded series, social workers should be able to indicate the direction in which future emphasis is to be exerted. Coercion certainly belongs at the bottom of such a scale, and education belongs at the top.
- (2) *The formulation of a guiding principle with respect to goals.* If, again, the various goals in social work were placed within a graded scale, it should become apparent that social work is travelling in a given direction. Here again the rehabilitation of unadjusted individuals should be at the bottom of such a series and habit-changing in the direction of socialization at the top. Too much emphasis on rehabilitation of unadjusted persons to the so-called "normal stream of life" means that we are taking for granted that there is nothing wrong with the social order as such. That means that social workers are taking for granted the *status quo* and social work becomes mere benevolent charity. A prophet is as much unadjusted as a criminal. Both rebel against the social order, the difference being that the former is creative while the latter is destructive. Rehabilitation of the prophet to the "normal stream of life" will be a social loss.
- (3) *The envisagement of a changed social order in which the "good life" becomes a realizable potentiality for all individuals who are capable or willing to work.* This is an area of great perplexity. At this point the social worker is called upon to utilize his imagination, to construct an ideal image of a better world, a new social whole toward which men's energies may be directed. But he is confronted with ready-made images, conceptions of a new world to which millions have given their allegiance. The strategic choice is being made everywhere, and it has become imperative that everyone makes his choice. But the alternatives, as at present set forth, are none too congenial to many.

For the refinement of techniques, for the formulation of guiding principles, and for giving a rationale to social work, social research has become indispensable. Rough and ready methods adopted on the basis of mere

kindly impulses are ineffective and harmful. Methods developed on the basis of facts and careful scientific research are the only efficient ones. Speculative philosophy cannot give us a basic unifying rationale. "What ought to be" at one time should be decided upon on the basis of "what is possible" at that time, and "what can be" if conditions are changed. Then social work will become a profession dedicated to progress itself, when it will become an instrument of social justice on its lowest level and of social change on its highest.

Granted the great need and importance of social research in social work, toward what problems should it be directed and how should it be organized?

Research should study needs, services and organization. If social work programmes are designed to meet a wide variety of needs in a community, and to do so in the most efficient and satisfactory manner, it becomes necessary to determine how extensive these needs are and to what extent they are being met by existing agencies. It becomes relevant to inquire how the needs arise, whether they are increasing or decreasing, and how they are responding to treatment. Most of these matters are not known with sufficient detail and accuracy to permit precise planning. It is axiomatic therefore that several varieties of research are essential to any real planning of social-work programmes.

The following classes of research may be recognized as essential to any thorough-going planning activity for the totality of a community's social-work programme :

(1) *Description and Measurement of Social Conditions and Needs.*—An agency may be thoroughly familiar with the number and characteristics of the persons it serves but quite uncertain as to how large a portion of the whole community problem they represent. If we follow up the family history of a juvenile delinquent, we are sure to discover many pathological conditions which will need attention if we are to check other children of the family and community from becoming delinquents. If case-histories are made of the beggars in our city, we will be able to measure the need for family assistance which alone will rehabilitate the individual beggar and his family. Such studies will give us a total picture of the variety of needs and will help us plan programmes of activities.

(2) *Discovery of Trends and Prediction of Future Conditions and Needs.*—It is probably more important to gauge trends than to measure the need for a particular service. A pragmatic trial-and-error approach may be made in administering programmes to meet present needs. But planning for the future necessitates some anticipation of the changes which will occur. Unless this expectation is valid, the outcome of planning may actually be worse than that

of working only from day to day with no thought of the future. Trends in population growth, death-rate according to age groups, population movement within a city and from village to city and *vice versa*, are all highly significant in the planning of social work. Take for instance the social-work programmes of the Parsee community in Bombay. Numerous children's institutions, schools, relief agencies, housing colonies, etc., are at work to render aid to the needy members of the community. Even though no thorough study has been so far made in regard to the community in relation to the sex ratio, marriages, number of children and old people, the general trends are believed to be fewer marriages, decreasing number of children and a continued increase of the aged. These trends are of tremendous significance for the planning of children's institutions, schools, relief agencies, old-age assistance, and housing programmes. To build schools and orphanages and other institutions in the expectation of a continuance of past rates of growth in the child population would be folly. Planning for the future should be done on the basis of a thorough study of the trends in the growth of the community. Forecasting and prediction are hazardous pursuits; but the necessity of planning ahead compels one to utilize all that research can provide in mapping future conditions and needs.

(3) *Measuring Available Resources and the Volume of Service Performed by Existing Agencies.*—A precise picture of needs is rather futile without the related picture of available resources with which they may be met. Research is badly needed to establish really meaningful units in terms of which it will be possible to measure service for planning purposes. At present, statistics usually refer to the number of persons and families served rather than the precise volume of service, in standard units, which the reporting agency has given to these cases. This type of statistics becomes absurd in the hands of some agencies which count each person entering the front door or each individual participating in the various activities, thereby arriving at a six or seven digit total of "aggregate attendance"—a figure which is more meaningful in relation to the wear and tear on the door and threshold than in terms of the service which the agency is organized to perform. As contributors demand to know what the community receives for what it gives, and how much social service really costs, necessity will compel the development of adequate service accounting. It is an ironic contrast in social work that organizations almost universally employ book-keepers, accountants, and auditors to account for the funds they expend; but they hesitate to employ competent social statisticians to account for the services they perform—the end toward which the funds are but means.

(4) *Analysis of Agency Organization, Policies, Methods of Work, and*

Inter-Relationships.—Given a fair picture of needs and available resources, it remains to determine how effectively resources are applied to needs. Does each agency have a clearcut function? Is its form of organization suitable and are its policies appropriate to effective performance of this function? Are its methods of work efficient? Is it properly related to other agencies for teamwork in meeting the whole catalogue of community needs? On all these points research may provide a necessary basis for planning the development and readjustment of social-work programmes.

If social work programmes are to be administered in a thoroughly effective manner, therefore, it is essential that they be planned on a basis of adequate knowledge of existing needs, trends and changes in need, available services and resources, and the organization and functioning of the agencies of the community in applying resources to needs. This knowledge will start with the fund of experience which social work has accumulated, but it will require amplification, supplementing, and correction by the result of reliable social research.

How shall research be conducted to provide the necessary basis for planning social-work programmes?—The experience of several communities where social work and research have been carried on, on a much wider and well organized scale than here in India, would seem to support a number of principles which may be summarized here :

(1) In a process of planning, research is only one of several steps. It should be preceded by discussion and exploration sufficient to delimit a field or problem to be studied and to produce agreement that it should be studied. There should be a measure of willingness on the part of all concerned to accept and follow out in action such valid conclusions as the research project may produce.

(2) A community should understand that good research requires time and technical skill beyond that which agency executives and staff members usually can bring to it. It also proceeds best by a process of accumulating results, building one study upon another, and developing in a central source materials and tools which are useful to a considerable number and variety of separate investigations. This leads to the employment of one or more persons who are trained and experienced in research, and to the establishing of a research bureau or department in some organization which represents the community—a university, school of social work, public welfare department, or council of social agencies.

(3) While separate research personnel and facilities are desirable, this does not mean that directors, executives, and committee members are to come and place an order for a piece of research, and months later come and receive a

neatly wrapped package. Research must involve considerable co-operative interplay between consumer and producer. An intelligent and interested clientele is essential to the usefulness of research. One great advantage in organizing a council of social agencies and establishing a research department as an adjunct to it is that it will provide opportunities for educating people in the use of research and co-operating in community planning. Not every study need be made by a research bureau. Many valuable studies may be undertaken by professional social workers and laymen, especially if they have the benefit of consultation with research experts. Out of such studies there may grow larger projects of wider community significance to be undertaken by a special research organization.

(4) A great deal of the work involved in research will probably continue to be performed by social agencies in the course of their regular activities. Research workers must depend upon the case-record material, agency statistics, and other data recorded, or assembled by each agency for its own work. Usually these materials are produced for other uses than research and conclusions drawn from such by-product records may not be reliable. If high-grade research is to be had as a basis for planning social-work programmes, social agencies must correct and improve their record systems to meet the more exacting requirements of the use to which they will be put.

(5) Finally, the burden of interpreting and applying the results of social research must be borne in part, but only in part, by the research personnel. The application of knowledge to the solution of problems is not always a simple, straightforward procedure. It frequently requires all that the skill and viewpoint of the expert can add to the skill and viewpoint of the administrator, professional worker, and board member. In their mutual consultation a better-integrated result may be obtained. All parties should be ready to reconsider their conclusions in the light of the developing discussion. In such a relationship, research may be made a very effective basis for the administration and planning of social work.

The magnitude and complexity of social work today and its greater concern with basic social factors and economic processes, as well as with planning for the whole community, calls for separate research activity by a specially qualified personnel provided with ample facilities. The recommendation of the Central Advisory Educational Board to organize such a social research department is commendable. Planning of social work on the basis of the findings of such social research will be the beginning of a new era in the field of social work in India.

In India as elsewhere, the task is to embody the human values realistically in our social aims. The "good society" is to be increasingly realized

and scientific methods are to be used in the realization of this ever-receding dream. Despite all evidences to the contrary one may venture to share the faith and promise of Professor John Dewey when he asks us to believe :

“In spite of all the record of the past, the great scientific revolution is still to come. It will ensue when men collectively and co-operatively organize their knowledge for application to achieve and make secure social values ; when they systematically use scientific procedures for the control of human relationships and the direction of the social effects of our vast technological machinery. Great as have been the social changes of the last century, they are not to be compared with those which will emerge when our faith in scientific method is made manifest in social works. We are living in a period of depression. The intellectual function of trouble is to lead men to think. The depression is a small price to pay if it induces us to think about the cause of the disorder, confusion, and insecurity which are outstanding traits of our social life. If we do not go back to their cause, namely, our halfway, and accidental use of science, mankind will pass through depressions, for they are the graphic record of our unplanned social life. The story of the achievement of science in physical control is evidence of the possibility of control in social affairs. It is our human intelligence and human courage which are on trial ; it is incredible that men who have brought the technique of physical discovery, invention, and use to such a pitch of perfection will abdicate in the face of the infinitely more important human problem.”²

² War has superseded the depression since Dewey spoke. It has become all the more imperative to hold on to the faith expressed above.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL WORK IN EDUCATION

KATAYUN H. CAMA

"The crucial problem in India for our generation," says Dr. Cama, "is the reconstruction of traditional beliefs and inherited political, economic and social principles to the pattern of life implicit in our emerging industrial conditions. Such a reconstruction is essentially a socio-educational task and the school must orient its curriculum to the society that is now evolving."

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BEFORE attempting to deal with the relation of social work to education, it will be well for us to take cognizance of the changing character of socio-economic life in a rapidly changing world and to redefine the terms in the light of these changing concepts. Time was—and still is in most educational institutions in India—when education was synonymous with the cramming of text-books, the mastery of subject matter and the securing of degrees or diplomas with complete disregard for the child, the individual, the personality or the process of growth. Social work, similarly, was of a pseudo-philanthropic or sentimental nature calculated more toward easing the conscience of the benefactor than toward remedying social ills or bettering the lot of the unfortunate recipient of the charitable doles. These narrow emphases need to be corrected and the tremendously broadened present-day concepts of education and social work need to be considered if the values inherent in education are to be recognized in their bearing upon sociological problems.

As early as 1902 John Dewey drew the attention of educationists to the shifting of the centre of gravity from the text-book to the child. He did not merely formulate a philosophical statement of the new values in education but virtually led the way to change in practice when he wrote :

The child is the starting point, the centre and the end. His development, his growth is the ideal. It alone furnishes the standard. To the growth of the child all studies are subservient; they are the instruments valued as they serve the needs of growth. Personality, character, is more than subject matter. Not knowledge or information but self-realization is the goal. To possess all the world of knowledge and lose one's own self is as awful a state in education as in religion. Moreover, subject matter can never be got into the child from without. Learning is active. It involves the reaching out of the mind. It involves organic assimilation, starting from within. Literally, we must take our stand with the child and our departure from him. It is he and not the subject matter which determines both the quality and the quantity of learning.¹

According to this functional and dynamic concept the task of education becomes immeasurably broader than merely drilling pupils to pass examinations. In effect, education becomes the process by which the child

¹ *The Child and the Curriculum*, p. 13.

learns to adjust his desires to his environment and the school becomes the social organ which society has created to assist in that process. Thus the school subjects are not the end but the instruments which develop the knowledge or skill by means of which growth in the capacity to adjust is made possible, and educational method becomes the technique by which the instructional time is actively and effectively employed to enable the child to go about the task of meeting difficulties and making adjustments, that is, achieving a more effective transfer.

If the needs of a child or individual are constantly thwarted, maladjustment is the natural consequence. If, however, the school and society are able so to regulate themselves that the basic needs of the child or individual are satisfied, that he may with reasonable effort attain the desired objectives, the chances will be so much the greater that he will himself become a normally developed contributor to the society of which he is an integral part. From this point of view, education deals not with examinations and text-books but with the individual who is a living, growing, dynamic personality within a society that is ever-growing, ever-changing, ever-increasing in complexity. Thus education can no longer remain static or formal. For education does not mean the passive absorption and reproduction of facts, but it means the dynamic process of unfoldment and adjustment of the individual as a whole within the larger whole of the society.

It is obvious, then, that integration of personality and good citizenship are not merely a matter of the inculcation of generally accepted virtues, but a problem of defining what those virtues mean in our complex social and economic life, particularly in view of the fact that the intricacy of shifting social habits has blurred the line between right and wrong. The Dillingers or criminals on a grand scale as well as the petty thief on a small scale are automatically considered social enemies, but the multifarious and subtle forms of polite thievery which exist in our political and commercial life have not yet aroused an equally emphatic conscience. Thus where the line is clearly drawn, the social conscience has not kept pace with the realities of our complex life. The human organism is constantly butting against its environment and any change in the patterns of this environment increases the conflicts of life. Clashes of transition are usually present and increase the strain on the participants in the conflict.

Not only new sources of conflict but the increased variety of wants and desires has made greater demands on the adjustment of the individual. The wish-life of the individual is bombarded with greater intensity and variety of stimuli than man has ever known. Another source of added strain is the growing number of mechanical and physical stimuli. Our machine age sur-

rounds us with an environment of noise which our villagers have never known in the silence of their rural life.

These and various other factors have increased many of our social and personal problems. Comparable statistics on the incidence of crime and insanity from generation to generation are not yet available, but crime is perhaps more serious today than ever before, and insanity is just as prevalent as it ever was—nay, some writers cite data intended to prove that it is increasing. Social maladjustment has increased to an alarming extent, and few indeed would be the individuals who would contradict the statement that a sense of personal insecurity is probably more widespread than ever before.

Biologists, psychologists and educationists have shown that the human organism possesses an admirable capacity for adjusting to changing circumstances within certain limits of flexibility and endurance. It is becoming more and more clear that if our civilization increases in strain and complexity some effort must be made to enable individuals to withstand greater conflicts of life. Techniques of constructive planning, purposive activity, recreation, renewal, facing reality, reduction of conflicts and integration of purposes must be developed and transmitted through our educational system.

All this points to the necessity for a type of education for life which will enable the individual to develop a realistic and creative attitude toward modern existence, and for a type of mental hygiene programme which will enable the individual to live on a higher level of personal vitality and adjustment. Clearly, the school is forced to aid the individual to meet this greater challenge of modern life. This implies that the teacher in the modern school must be well versed in social, economic and educational trends and guide numerous extra-curricular activities, as well as take an active part in the affairs of the community, and, finally, help integrate the personality of the child, over and above carrying a heavy load of classroom instruction. At first sight, this may seem a well-nigh impossible task for a single individual to undertake. For to assume the responsibility of the home, the church and the community means that the teacher must know as much about the child as these three institutions are supposed to know. It is obvious, however, that if our educational institutions could work in close co-operation with our social work agencies and institutions, the task would become not only possible but highly feasible.

The crucial problem in India for our generation is the reconstruction of traditional beliefs and inherited political, economic and social principles to the pattern of life implicit in our emerging industrial conditions. Such a reconstruction is essentially a socio-educational task. That is, in brief, the school must orient its curriculum to the society that is now evolving. If this is not

done the school will increase, not lessen, the strain of modern adjustment. If the gap is to be closed between our industrial life and our institutional forms and practices, carefully planned social agencies must be incorporated in the educational machinery of our country to speed up the adoption by schools and colleges of those materials and methods which will help interpret society as it is, or even as it is to be, rather than as it was. The virtue of rugged individualism must be redefined in terms of group needs, and this change should call for education to depend less on the competitive spirit and more on group achievement, teamwork, mutual helpfulness and co-operation. Through varied experiences in the life of the school each child should acquire the consciousness that his own highest development can be attained only through a society organized on the principle of co-operation, not of conflict.

The time has now arrived when the policy of economic individualism should be supplanted by a policy of conscious social planning. To the degree that education relies on the exercise of conscious intelligence it is committed in principle to social planning. Since the collective character of society makes some form of planning necessary, educators interested in democracy and science should join with those groups which are striving to have this planning scientifically administered and democratically controlled. These agencies may be governmental, but it will be more in keeping with the co-operative and collective nature of our Indian society if they are created and controlled by education in co-operation with social work institutions. The school should interpret the meaning of social changes and undertake an adult educational programme which will give adults an insight into current social adjustments and thus make them aware of the vested interest groups which are seeking to manipulate the situation for private advantage.

So far, in India, rough and ready experience, or rather, the trial and error method of inexperience has been the principal guide to action—if at all we might call it action in an organized sense. With the growing complexity of society, however, more and more exact knowledge is demanded. Social problems are in reality dependent for wise solution almost as much on expert knowledge as are engineering or medical problems. As the intricacies of social relationship result in the increased use of expert knowledge and trained leadership it will be all the more necessary for education to provide specific training for social service. The dynamic character of industrial society, the diversity of cultural patterns in Indian life, the need for wider diffusion of knowledge and the necessity for arousing the scientific attitude, all point to the realization of the vital fact that what we need today in our educational and social institutions in India are not Shakespearian scholars but trained specialists who are thoroughly acquainted with the place of planning

in any scheme of national life and who could, through a well planned, well-rounded curriculum, show the child how our intricate social life operates and the degree to which personal freedom and security depend on the maintenance of positive social controls.

In the light of these changes in the concepts of education and social work, let us turn to the practical problem of the role of social work in education. The questions that confront us most naturally in the solution of this problem are: First, how shall we go about this task of assuming responsibility for building personality? Second, is this matter of integrating the individual a function which the school should undertake? Third, can society afford to pay for it? And fourth, what are some practical ways of going about it?

Before we attempt to answer these questions it will be necessary for us to consider the conditions peculiar to social welfare in India. In India, where education is neither free nor universal nor compulsory, and where the major bulk of the population is illiterate, there is tremendous, nay, we might almost say, unlimited scope for national planning and national reconstruction through the co-ordinated effort of educational institutions and social work agencies.

In the United States about 150,000 one-room rural schools are still in use, constituting approximately three-fifths of all public school buildings, and many thousands of the farm children are enrolled in 18,000 consolidated and 20,000 two-room schools. Among the 200,000 high-school teachers, about 75,000 are employed in small rural and village high schools. No comparable statistics can be shown for rural education in India as we have not even begun as yet to plan a nation-wide scheme of universal, free, compulsory education. There is an excessive amount of glib talk and platitudinous fustian about the "starving millions" of India, and efforts of varying quality have been made by different provinces to further the cause of mass education through "literacy campaigns," "literacy drives," etc. However, one is inclined to feel that far too much of this "sound and fury" is too full of the desire for self-glorification and too denuded of sincerity to yield any positive or significant results. These efforts, in most cases, are ill-managed, unsystematized and entrusted to untrained, unqualified persons. What we need at this critical period is well-thought out, well-planned, well-organized effort under *trained leadership*. Not only are we confronted with the problem of illiteracy among the masses but with the problem of crime prevention which is an exceedingly acute topic today. What are our educational institutions doing for the care of the nervous, emotionally unstable, unadjusted and delinquent children? The answer is, practically nothing. Thus, as Warden Lewis E. Lawes of Sing Sing Prison very succinctly points out, "The faults of education become the problems of

penology. The failures of our schools and general educational methods are filling our juvenile homes, our reformatories and prisons."

And this brings us to the very crux of the problem in our first query, namely, "How shall we go about this task of integrating the human personality?" Obviously, school teaching or education cannot be the simple thing it is supposed to be at present in India. When education begins to deal with the processes of life and with the engineering of the needs, interests and desires of the living being, it assumes the highest function conceivable. From this point of view teaching becomes a service that presupposes the broadest and deepest kind of cultural background. In motivating a social activity, the teacher needs not only to be fairly well acquainted with the most advanced researches in psychology, biology, sociology and other sciences but also to be intelligent in terms of the economic order, past, present and developing, as well as in the entire field of social processes by which the society lives. The nature and scope of this problem of integration of personality is so vast that one wonders whether the educational profession could take up this tremendous challenge all by itself. And this leads us to a consideration of the second question, namely, "Is this matter of integrating the individual a function of the school?"

It is clear that whether we take up the question of illiteracy among the villagers and the masses or whether we concern ourselves with prevention of crime and delinquency or whether we probe into the intricacies of the human personality and consider the problem of the maladjusted individual, educational institutions cannot help but assume the responsibility. However, so extensive is the field covered by this task that in spite of the exceedingly broadened concept of education, it is impossible for the school alone to assume the burden if any measure of success is to be achieved. The aid and co-operation of another agency or body keenly interested in humanitarian efforts is essential. And there is no other agency so closely tied up with and having such powerful inter-relationship with and inter-dependence upon education as the social work agencies. The role of social work in education can best be illustrated and the nature and scope of providing an education for a well-balanced, well-adjusted normal individual can best be brought out by quoting in full "The Children's Charter" formulated by President Hoover's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

THE CHILDREN'S CHARTER

1. For every child spiritual and moral training to help him to stand firm under the pressure of life.
2. For every child understanding and the guarding of his personality as his most precious right.

3. For every child a home and that love and security which a home provides; and for that child who must receive foster care, the nearest substitute for his own home.

4. For every child full preparation for his birth, his mother receiving pre-natal, natal and post-natal care; and the establishment of such protective measures as will make child-bearing safer.

5. For every child protection from birth through adolescence, including periodical health examinations and where needed, care of specialists and hospital treatment; regular dental examination and care of the teeth; protective and preventive measures against communicable diseases; the insuring of pure food, pure milk and pure water.

6. For every child from birth through adolescence, promotion of health, including health instruction and health programme, wholesome physical and mental recreation, with teachers and leaders adequately trained.

7. For every child a dwelling place, safe, sanitary and wholesome, with reasonable provisions for privacy, free from conditions which tend to thwart his development; and a home environment harmonious and enriching.

8. For every child a school which is safe from hazards, sanitary, properly equipped, lighted and ventilated. For younger children nursery schools and kindergartens to supplement home care.

9. For every child a community which recognizes and plans for his needs, protects him against physical dangers, moral hazards and disease; provides him with safe and wholesome places for play and recreation; and makes provision for his cultural and social needs.

10. For every child an education which, through the discovery and development of his individual abilities, prepares him for life; and through training and vocational guidance prepares him for a living which will yield him the maximum of satisfaction.

11. For every child such teaching and training as will prepare him for successful parenthood, homemaking and the rights of citizenship; and, for parents, supplementary training to fit them to deal wisely with the problems of parenthood.

12. For every child education for safety and protection against accidents to which modern conditions subject him—those to which he is directly exposed and those which, through loss or maiming of his parents, affect him indirectly.

13. For every child who is blind, deaf, crippled, or otherwise physically handicapped, and for the child who is mentally handicapped, such measures as will early discover and diagnose his handicap, provide care and treatment, and so train him that he will become an asset to society rather than a liability.

Expenses of these services should be borne publicly where they cannot be privately met.

14. For every child who is in conflict with society the right to be dealt with intelligently as society's charge, not society's outcast; with the home, the school, the church, the court and the institution when needed, shaped to return him whenever possible to the normal stream of life.

15. For every child the right to grow up in a family with an adequate standard of living and the security of a stable income as the surest safeguard against social handicaps.

16. For every child protection against labor that stunts growth, either physical or mental, that limits education, that deprives children of the right of comradeship, of play, and of joy.

17. For every rural child as satisfactory schooling and health services as for the city child, and an extension to rural families of social, recreational and cultural facilities.

18. To supplement the home and the school in the training of youth, and to return to them those interests of which modern life tends to cheat children, every stimulation and encouragement should be given to the extension and development of the voluntary youth organizations.

19. To make everywhere available these minimum protections of the health and welfare of children, there should be a district, county, or community organization for health, education and welfare, with full-time officials, co-ordinating with a state-wide programme which will be responsive to a nation-wide service of general information, statistics and scientific research. This should include : (a) Trained, full-time public health officials, with public health nurses, sanitary inspection and laboratory workers ; (b) Available hospital beds ; (c) Full-time public welfare service for the relief, aid and guidance of children in special need due to poverty, misfortune, or behaviour difficulties, and for the protection of children from abuse, neglect, exploitation or moral hazard.

For the vast majority of Indian children who are ill-clothed (or absolutely naked), ill-housed (or entirely homeless) and ill-fed (or perishing daily by the thousands because of stark starvation) this charter of the American Children may seem fabulous, Utopian, incapable of realization, and remote from reality. But if our educational and social work institutions get together and plan out a definite scheme of action and set up a sound practical system, scientifically organized, and based on the most intensive research, there is no reason why our Indian children should not as proudly lay claim to such a charter. Whatever the facts of social conditions in India may be, it is quite obvious from a perusal of the charter that almost all the pledges are as

much the responsibility of social work and social welfare institutions as of educational institutions. Unless we have a perfect co-ordination of educational and social work agencies we cannot even hope to begin to solve these problems. That is, the scope of the school must be widened to include a specially trained personnel of social workers. This may require a fundamental change in viewpoint on the part of teachers and school administrators. More enlightened public opinion is also required concerning the unadjusted child, whether delinquent or not. And educators can do much to encourage the establishment of behaviour and child guidance clinics. The causes of truancy should be determined by the social worker, as they are closely related to delinquency, and teachers, on the other hand, should be better prepared so as to be able to recognize potential problem cases. School systems should have personnel and facilities to test the intellectual, emotional and physical condition of every child.

Again, with regard to the rural child, each responsible curriculum developing unit should have available exact knowledge concerning the distinctive characteristics of its rural population. As it is not possible for the teacher to do field work after a heavy day's instructional load involving curricular and extra-curricular activities, the school administrators would have to rely, as much as possible, on the contribution of the social worker in this matter. And, it is these findings of the social worker that should enable the educationist to devise a curriculum which would provide material calculated to help each rural child to adjust most effectively to the practical and cultural demands of his milieu. A definite workable plan of village organization for continuous revision of the curriculum should be provided and the educational resources peculiar to rural environment should be discovered by the social worker and capitalized in the curriculum by the educationist, so that the rural child is not restricted merely to the single vocation of agriculture but is enabled to choose wisely his own life work and vocation.

With regard to the city child also the curriculum must be based on (1) needs, abilities and interests of particular pupils; (2) results of occupational and job analysis as evidenced by social research; (3) pooled judgments of experts and trained men and women as to the human abilities and characteristics which are most desirable for adult citizenship, and (4) findings of research concerning the best educational practices and the relative social value of various curriculum materials.

Thus it will be noticed that whether we are concerned with city and rural school curriculum planning or curriculum revision, or whether we consider the problem of mass education, or whether we deal with crime prevention, or whether we undertake to handle the delinquent or unadjusted

child, the co-operation of well-trained, well-paid technical social workers with educational institutions is not only desirable but absolutely essential. Such services of trained social workers will require larger appropriations, and the financial side of the problem brings us to the core of our third query, namely, "Can society afford to pay for it?" In India, where the schools are not tax-supported, where the few government schools are constantly faced with the grim reality of curtailment of budget, retrenchment of staff and lowest minimum essentials of the three R's and subject matter teaching for children, and where private schools receiving government grants and University recognition are only concerned with preparing children for matriculation examination, it would seem futile even to hope for organized effort on the part of society to provide for the necessary technical service to meet the personality needs of children. However, we may be sure that in the end the total cost to society for crime, dependency, mental disorders and unemployment will be far less if a very generous sum is spent on preventive work, which the schools and social work agencies can do. And here again, it is the task of educational and social work agencies to arouse social consciousness to the pitch where public support would be forthcoming voluntarily. The idea of social work should be instilled into every community so that community organizations would be formed to support a community programme to prevent illiteracy, crime, delinquency, disease and maladjustment.

Assuming then, that our educational and social work institutions must take up the challenge of modern life and modern social problems, let us proceed to deal with our fourth question, namely, "What are some of the practical ways in which integration of personality may be achieved?" There are several suggestions that may be worth considering.

1. Some people with scientific social training should be apprenticed to the schools. Such technical assistance could be provided by graduate students holding social work diplomas. A specially trained personnel of this kind would not only aid effectively in handling misfits on an individual personal basis and make the schools better qualified agencies in the development of character and personality but would also lessen the number of the educated unemployed.

2. More Graduate Schools on the lines of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work should be opened to provide an adequate number of trained social workers for our educational institutions, reformatories, prisons, public health institutes, remand homes, mill and industrial areas and villages. The scope for absorption of a trained staff of social workers in all these institutions is so great that there need be no fear of swelling the army of unemployed social workers for some time to come.

3. The schools should be provided with child guidance clinics and psychiatric social service. This proposal would not be practicable immediately, for there are not enough people with sound training in psychiatry to supply the schools. Moreover, the applications of the psychiatrist would need to be made by the class room teacher who is herself ignorant of the subject in most of our present-day Indians Schools—and a little psychiatry is probably a dangerous thing. However, if as suggested above, more graduate social work schools are established, and if the visiting teacher's movement takes firm root in our country, the possibility of providing this vital service may not seem very remote.

4. Social research in economic and population trends of the villages and cities should be carried on and curriculum construction should be a co-operative undertaking based on the findings of social research.

5. Provision should be made for continuous evaluation and testing of curriculum materials and the importation of new materials following the elimination of the old whenever justifiable.

6. The scope of the curriculum of the entire school system should be conceived as a continuous development through the nursery, the elementary and secondary periods, with experiences of pupils grouped around major functions of social life, e.g., protection and conservation of life, property and natural resources; production of goods and services and distribution of the returns of production; consumption of goods and services; communication and transportation of goods and people; recreation; expression of aesthetic impulses; exploration; extension of freedom, and integration of the individual.

7. In view of this tremendously wide scope, the social sciences should form the core of the curriculum. But social sciences based merely on interpretation of facts may prove to be altogether futile and may miss the mark as regards the integration of personality. Therefore, though it is necessary to make use of scientific study of society and the child, the materials of social sciences should be selected and organized with a view to giving the learner that development most helpful in meeting and controlling life situations.

8. In every school attention should be given to the interests, needs, experiences, capacities and activities of child life and adult society. The best conceivable forms of adult behaviour should represent the goals toward which education must move.

9. The traditional narrow grouping of instructional material into several distinct subjects should be replaced by broader units of activities closely related to the child's life so as to lead him to want to carry it through. The activity programme must be sufficiently within the range of accomplishment

of the learner to insure a satisfactory degree of success and must be varied so as to permit the child's all-round development. It should furnish opportunities for many kinds of endeavour and provide for social contacts leading to the development of skills and abilities.

10. Such an activity programme should be aimed at developing those qualities of character which are of social significance in our modern society, namely, reasoned conformity instead of blind obedience; fair and honest dealing instead of exploitation; investigation instead of thoughtless acceptance; open-mindedness instead of prejudice; promotion of the common good instead of selfish advancement; and intelligent assimilation of all that is best in the various cultures of the different nations of the world rather than basking in the past glories of a culture that is no more.

11. The social nature of the individual should be emphasized, as the individual becomes an individual in the best sense only through participation in society. It is of utmost importance, therefore, that the individual participate intelligently and effectively in social life.

12. Accordingly, it is of great significance that our educational institutions be organized for the task of bringing children to a progressive understanding of their responsibility for social progress and of the problems, practices and institutions of life. Throughout their school careers, pupils should be given opportunities to think about these problems and institutions, to develop attitudes of understanding and tolerance and to form habits of right conduct and creative self-expression.

13. Finally, if the task of mass education is to be begun in any serious organized fashion, the trained social worker should be sent to every village, every mill, every factory or industrial concern. These trained social workers should not only teach the illiterates to read and write but should educate them in matters of health, disease, nutrition, housing and recreation. They should also be able to deal intelligently with labour problems, delinquent and handicapped children and with community problems and organization.

These suggestions may, at first sight, seem Utopian and theoretical in character, but each one of them has been based on well-tried-out and tested principles, experiences and practices in countries like Europe and America. Moreover, they are not to be put into practice in blind imitation of Western ideals, but to be applied and adjusted to our needs, demands and conditions. It may take a long time before any attempt is made to act on them, but if they have proven useful in showing that according to the changed concepts of modern social life education and social work are complementary to each other; that one cannot be divorced from the other; that neither can function effectively without the other; we will have gone far toward a com-

prehension of the role of social work in education, and the very realization of the necessity of social service in educational institutions may, one day, change our outlook and lead to the establishment of graduate training schools for social workers, child guidance clinics, public health units and research centres for economic and sociological problems on a large nation-wide scale.

THE RELATION OF PSYCHIATRY TO SOCIAL WORK

K. R. MASANI

"In the last few years," says Dr. Masani, "there has been an increasing tendency on the part of social workers to offer their co-operation and their services to the medical profession in the solution of problems once regarded as needing exclusively the attention of the physician. The branch of medicine which has most recognized the value of such co-operation is psychological medicine or psychiatry, and these few pages will therefore deal mainly with the relationship of psychological medicine to social work."

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THROUGHOUT the ages medical treatment has been assigned a very high rank by society, as a form of social service. Choose what definition we may for social work, we shall all agree in the main, that whatever brings about a diminution of human suffering and distress and an increase of efficiency and harmony, whether en masse or individually, can be looked upon as essentially a part of social work. In the field of general medicine, therefore, where diminution of physical and mental suffering is always attempted, and generally brought about, we have a very definite type of social service. But apart from this general and fundamental conception of regarding medical endeavours as part of social work, we find that during the last few years there has been an ever-increasing tendency on the part of social workers, in the usual and accepted sense of the term, to offer their co-operation and their services to the medical profession in the solution of problems once regarded as needing exclusively the attention of the physician. Now it so happens that the branch of medicine which has most recognized the value of such co-operation is psychological medicine or psychiatry and these few pages will therefore deal mainly with the relationship of psychological medicine to social work.

Let us consider now in particular the contributions of psychological medicine or psychiatry to social work and the contributions of social work to psychological medicine, which takes us straightaway into the field of mental hygiene, that is, the prevention, diminution and cure of varying degrees of mental and physical incapacity and deviations of conduct and behaviour, that one meets with in such large proportions of the population, as a result of mal-adjustment of individuals to the social group.

Whereas it is clear that the removal or amelioration of physical diseases and disturbances has a value to society at large, quite apart from that to the suffering individual himself or herself, the value to society in the removal or amelioration of emotional disorders is even greater, for it is evident that the efficiency and harmony prevailing in any particular social group depends to a

greater extent on the emotional maturity and the emotional balance and soundness of the individuals forming the group than on any other factor—assuming of course that other factors such as economic and political security are constant. At this stage it would be well to consider what approach psychiatry adopts towards the mental and so-called nervous diseases and disorders proper, and to the varying degrees of inefficiency and unhappiness in individuals, who though not regarded as suffering from mental disease, are yet noticed to be so very much handicapped in one way or another that they are regarded as falling short of normality.

Amongst the mental disorders, there are in many instances quite definite, well marked, and well-understood bodily or organic changes which produce the resulting illness. The treatment of some of these produces a recovery of the individual to full health and vigour, whereas in other instances, organic changes in the nature of tissue damage are of a nature which precludes anything but varying degree of amelioration. In this class of mental diseases fall many of the psychoses or insanity—for example the psychoses due to senile decay, high blood pressure, or syphilis. But if one investigates a large number of psychotic patients in a mental hospital, or a large number of early psychotic or neurotic patients at a psychiatric out-patient clinic, one finds that in by far the large majority of cases there are no evidences that we can understand that point to the presence of actual bodily changes and in such cases where post mortem examinations could be performed, no changes, microscopie or microscopic could be detected, which could be reliably held as causative of the disorder. Moreover it is particularly in these cases that we find emotional stress in one form or another frequently noticeable. This leads gradually to the notion that many severe mental disorders might be brought about precisely because of such emotional stress. So illuminating did this conception become as an aid in understanding these disorders scientifically, and so fruitful in treating them practically, that the experience of the last few years has left very little doubt in the minds of earnest students of the subject that a good many cases of this type of disorder are due essentially to the presence of such emotional stress, and intensive work with large number of patients showed again and again that in many cases the particular symptoms could be directly attributed to a particular type of emotional stress and with the removal of such stress there was brought about a complete cure or striking improvement in the patient's condition.

Our next step is to consider the nature of such emotional stress and such consideration will at once make it clear how close is the relationship between psychiatry and social work. This emotional stress is naturally felt in relation to the individual's environment. The environment is composed of all the

members of the individual's family, all his relatives and friends, business and social contacts, etc., and so it naturally happens that the emotional stress, is felt mainly in relation to the members of the individual's own family or to his relatives, friends and associates at work. The following case illustrates the point.

B, aged 9, a bright cheerful Muslim youngster, came to the Clinic because his mother complained to the social worker that he went to "pass water" about 15 to 20 times before going to bed at night and about 15 to 20 times in the morning. The mother appeared to be greatly distressed and anxious about this, as *B* was the most loved child, being the only son, whereas there were three daughters in the family. On being questioned by the Psychiatrist about his habits, *B* answered that he went 14 times at night and 14 times in the morning. The number 14 appeared to be significant and it was felt that there might be some relation between the number and one of the patient's sisters. On being asked the names of his three sisters, he answered *S*, *M*, and *Y*. Asked how old they were his reply was 22, 14 and 12. On being further asked which of his sisters he loved best, he answered *S* and *Y*. Asked if he disliked any of them he answered without hesitation, "I dislike 14"; he did not refer to her by name, but called her 14. This clue given early in the examination of the child proved of great value in the treatment. It turned out that he disliked the sister *M*, because she gave him boxes or slaps on his left ear, this ear being very tender to touch due to sub-acute inflammation. During *B*'s play in a sink full of water it was noticed that he was directing a stream of water through a rubber tube on to a female doll, and attempting to drown her. Asked whether the doll stood for *S* or *M* or *Y*, he answered without hesitation, "*M*." He was then told that just as he was drowning *M* in play, his going to pass water 14 times at night and 14 times in the morning meant that he wanted in that way to pass so much water as to drown the sister aged 14. The interesting and gratifying result of this therapeutic step was that immediately after giving him this interpretation, about 3 weeks after his first attendance at the Clinic, *B*'s excessively frequent visits were completely eliminated and he behaved in that respect in quite a normal manner. It was necessary however for the social worker to make visits to the child's home to persuade the sister, *M*, not to beat *B* on the tender ear. The child has since remained free from his symptoms.

In this case the symptom was the manifestation of emotional difficulties caused by the patient's relations with his sister. *B*'s symptom was the distorted expression of the impulse to be aggressive to the sister—an impulse of hatred or hostility towards her on account of the boxes she administered on his tender ear. The personality could not express the aggression openly, not

only on account of fear of further retaliation, but also on account of the natural impulses of love towards her and of the ethical codes which condemn aggression towards an elder sister. The symptom then was the outward manifestation of a symbolic expression of his destructive impulses towards her. It was directly caused by the patient's relation to his sister.

If then emotional stress is frequently the cause of breakdown, the psychiatrist's job becomes clarified. He unearths this stress, and he evaluates how much of the stress is due to actual environmental reality factors and how much of it is due to faulty reaction on the patient's part. Having formed his ideas on this point he attempts to alter the environment, or he attempts to alter the patient's reaction, or as happens almost always, he attempts to alter both. Now it so happens that when the response of the individual is reasonably healthy and the environmental causes very apparent and readily discernible, it is found in a very appreciable number of cases that all that is necessary is to bring about a diminution of such environmental stress by direct manipulation of the environment in various ways, including among other things the alteration of the attitudes of the family members towards the individual, or where this is not possible, separation of the individual for some time from persons producing much emotional stress, provision and cultivation of healthy interests, help in finding employment, provision of medical relief, etc. In regard to children, guidance to parents on healthy methods of child training, alteration of the parental attitudes causing the child's problem, help to the child in the form of tuition in special subjects, enlisting the co-operation and interest of the school authorities, provision of recreational and play facilities are the measures among others which are employed by way of altering the environment of the child. In rare cases when the parents are criminally vicious or show extreme degree of neglect or ill-treatment, the removal of the child from such influences permanently or for long periods has to be arranged for; while it may be necessary, where efforts fail to alter the attitudes of loving and well-meaning parents, to effect separation of the child for varying periods of shorter duration.

Now although the initiative as to what changes to effect in the environment is left to the psychiatrist, the actual alterations are very frequently brought about by the psychiatric social worker. Here then is one of the most significant reasons for the interdependency of social work and psychiatry in mental hygiene: the social worker and the psychiatrist have to work in close collaboration to think out how best to bring about the environmental alteration that will lead to cure. The diagnostic side often is the physician's problem and work, and the actual execution of the therapy, viz., environmental manipulation, is often left mainly to the efforts of the psychiatric social worker.

But there are no rigid procedures in this and the roles are often reversed.

In some instances the emotional stress is very apparent and it causes the discerning physician no great difficulty in assessing its role in the production of ill-health. But not in every case, by any means, is the existence of the stress obvious, nor is the relationship of such stress as is found to be present, to the illness itself, and it is here again that the social worker becomes a necessary part of a co-operating team in so far as she collects a very thorough detailed history about the patient, as suggested by the physician, and gives him as full an idea as possible of the environment. Here again it will be she who will spend numerous hours with relatives and friends of the patient, as also with business associates, employers and school teachers. So it comes to this, that the psychiatrist is in a position through his specialized studies of maladjusted personalities to offer therapeutic aid by his understanding the relationship between emotional stress, on the one hand, and the resulting illness on the other; but in the actual collection of data concerning emotional stress, in most cases, as also in the actual manipulation of the environment where and when the stress has become obvious as causal to the illness, he seeks the help of the social worker, and without her co-operation his therapeutic value to the community is greatly hampered. It thus becomes obvious how close is the relationship in this combined approach to maladjustment between the psychiatrist and the social case worker. The following case illustrates many of the points just mentioned.

D, aged 11, an only child, was referred by his mother because she had been asked to take the boy to a "brain surgeon." She described the boy to the psychiatrist as mentally deranged. He was very backward with his work, and at the same time very rude and disobedient at home, even going to the extent of hitting his mother when the latter punished him. As if this was not enough trouble, he had head-ache every day and he was sick the first thing on waking up every morning. In addition he was always nervous, and fidgety, there were involuntary movements about the eyes and shoulders and he stuttered from time to time. *D* was given a thorough physical examination, whereupon no signs of an organic lesion could be detected. Intelligence tests revealed him to be slightly retarded. On careful history-taking, it was found by the social worker that ever since the birth of *D* his father and mother had nothing to do with each other. It was true that they lived together under the same roof "for the sake of the boy," but they had no other interest in each other. He went his way and she went hers, they having nothing in common. They talked occasionally to each other when they had to, and this usually took the shape of having quarrels over the management of the only child—the father leaving the mother to handle all his educational problems. On further

examination, it was found that apart from *D*'s general backwardness at school, there were difficulties in arithmetic, and it was discovered that he had been made to skip one form, being promoted from the 3rd to the 5th form. Naturally he never learnt the fundamental groundwork of arithmetic in the fourth form which would be needed in the fifth. The social worker arranged for special coaching in arithmetic and appeals were made to the mother by the social worker not to push the boy at school. She had described the boy as mentally deranged and yet he was made to skip a year, only a short while previously. She was also asked to co-operate by not pampering and thrashing the boy alternately, but by exerting a more steady and consistent discipline of a kindly sort. At school the social worker enlisted the help of the headmaster of the school, who took an interest in *D* and helped him with a kind and understanding attitude. At the Clinic, abundant opportunity was provided to *D*, for mixing with other children and for working off his pent up emotions in hilarious and playful activities. With these measures, it was found about 3 weeks after admission, that *D*'s headache became a rarity and his regular morning vomiting disappeared completely. A little later he hardly suffered at all from these two symptoms and his general nervousness was much diminished—his involuntary movements and fidgets becoming noticeably less frequent. *D*'s difficulties with arithmetic gradually cleared up, as he had more and more coaching in the work he had missed, and about six months later very little remained of the difficulties for which he was originally brought, with the exception of some slight backwardness at school.

About a year after *D* stopped coming to the Clinic, the mother reported that the improvement *D* made during his treatment had continued and he was free from headache, vomiting, stammering and difficulties in arithmetic. He had kept up the improvement in his general condition and disposition and arrangements were made to send him to a good boarding school in a hill station.

Having considered the intimate relationship between psychiatry and social work, let us now turn our attention to this combined approach to the problems that are found in some of the different spheres of life and in the different fields of social work. But before we do this it would be well to have some idea of the prevalent conception of mental health. Apart from work with patients who are manifestly suffering from mental aberration such as obvious cases of psychoses, that is, insanity, or of well recognised forms of psychoneuroses, there is immense scope for psychiatric social work in the minor degrees of maladjustment of the individual to the environment, which though not resulting in these well recognized disorders just mentioned, appear to cause varying degrees of discomfort and distress to the individual, as also to those

around him. Close study and observation of such individuals who by no means can be described as suffering from mental diseases in the accepted sense, has brought out the conviction that there is no sharp line of demarcation between the normal and the abnormal, the averagely healthy and unhealthy ; but that there is graded scale of abnormality as we consider in turn the psychotics or the insane, the psychoneurotics, the character disorders or personality disorders, and finally the average type of person that we meet with in life—the so-called normal individual. The fact strikes the careful observer again and again that the fundamental mental mechanisms—the basic processes of mental phenomena—are strikingly similar in the definitely diseased individual, like the confirmed psychotic, and in one who passes as normal; that the difference rests not so much in the normal person not utilizing the same mechanism as the ill person, but in the better total integration of the personality in the former as compared to the latter.

Mental health then can be regarded not only negatively, as an absence of well recognized forms of mental diseases, or again as a minimum of unhealthy attitudes, but also positively as the ability to get on in life with one's fellow beings and with one's work, deriving satisfaction and happiness from one's social contacts and one's endeavours in one's life work. With this attitude to mental health, or deviations, it becomes apparent at once that the subject matter for the dual approach of psychiatrist and social worker is not restricted to those suffering from manifest and well established mental disorders and neurosis, but that in any social group, be it a unit of college students, or a particular group of industrial workers, or again a population belonging to an adult or juvenile institution—for example a school for the blind, an institution for destitute children, a shelter for women, or a sanatorium, there is need for such an approach by a psychiatrist and social worker, not only in the interest of the individual, but for the increased harmony and efficiency of the entire social unit. In many such approaches, an estimate of the individual's intellectual powers is required, and the psychologist has his contribution to make in the form of mental testing. It has thus come about that in countries advanced in psychiatric resources there is a team of psychiatrist, social worker and psychologist dealing with the problems of particular communities.

Let us consider, for example, the large group of individuals designated as criminals. In observing a considerable number of criminals, it was noted that the behaviour of certain members of the group appeared to be so deviated from the average as to lead to the conclusion that these persons were suffering from some definite mental disorder—and of course a few criminals do so suffer from definite psychosis, from severe neuroses or mental defect. But when a more systematic examination of the prison population was undertaken it was

found that milder degrees of mental ill health were much more prevalent. A minute study of mental life, also brought the awakening realization that quite apart from cases of criminality being accompanied, in many cases, by mental disturbance, the criminality in itself was but another manifestation of some superficial or deep seated mental conflict going on in the individual's mind. In other words the mental illness as seen, for example, in a neurotic or psychotic and the act of criminality were but two different manifestations—two different types of reaction or response to the same essential or basic factor: the presence of mental conflict, which in the last analysis is caused by a conflict between the individual and his environment. In the one case the mental conflict has resulted in a particular symptom or set of symptoms. In the other case it has resulted in a particular act of criminality. It is but fair to medical psychology, and to Freud and his teaching in particular, that the fact should be borne in mind that it was the knowledge gained with neurotic patients and applied to criminals that established the psychological causation of criminality quite apart from manifest causes such as social and economic stress. For example, the mental hygiene approach to stealing reveals that whereas in many cases of stealing, hunger, poverty or influence of undesirable companions appear to have caused the stealing, in many other cases the stealing occurs in the absence of such causes and appears to be brought about by psychological factors of many different sorts.

In regard to many children, if the child feels that he is not loved sufficiently by his mother or father, or that he does not get as much attention as a sibling, he may take to stealing. Or again, unfavourable comparisons by parents in regard to a sibling, or a sense of inferiority however engendered, producing mental insecurity, or conflicts in regard to sex, may lead to stealing—as when a very wealthy individual steals articles of very small value, or again, when a child steals without any motive of gain and discards the stolen object soon after the stealing. And similarly many other delinquent and criminal acts are caused by purely psychological factors, both in individuals who are suffering from definite mental disorders, as well as those who do not suffer thus.

For example, a soldier was charged with the murder of two or three women and with causing grievous hurt to some others. He would drive motor cars along deserted country roads and on sighting a woman riding a bicycle would drive straight into her, knocking her down or riding over her. He did this, killing two or three and injuring several others. The man did not present any obvious signs of insanity, but nevertheless it was established that he was definitely abnormal in so far as he felt an overwhelming urge to run over the cyclists—an urge which he could not control during the moments of his madness. In this case it is apparent that the man had some abnormality, which,

however, was not ordinarily discernible, but in many other cases, the delinquency occurs in individuals who are not definitely abnormal and the delinquency is itself the result or an expression of a mental conflict. One sees, then, how closely together the psychiatrist and the social worker need to work for prevention, treatment and after-care, not only in view of the diversity of causes of delinquency—economic, social, cultural, environmental and more individually psychological ones—but also on account of the growing realisation that has come about of late years that in many cases, though not in all; a delinquent or criminal act, like a mental symptom, is the distorted expression of unconscious mental conflicts or repressed impulses—such conflicts themselves being due very often, and particularly in juvenile delinquency, to such psychological factors as parental neglect, loss of love, or ill treatment, including over-domination, nagging or unfavourable comparisons.

Let us turn now to another group of individuals, school children. School children present a great many behaviour personality or habit deviations which need the combined efforts of the psychologist, the social worker and the psychiatrist. Scholastic backwardness is often due to mental defect or less severe retardation in the child. Quite frequently it happens, however, that the scholastic backwardness is due to psychological factors, just as mental symptoms or a delinquent act may be. When such is the case, it is not due merely to absence or truancy from school, but the child in spite of keenness to make scholastic progress, appears to get stuck and shows poor progress. The psychological factors may be in the nature of difficult home or family situations and difficulties in emotional relationships with family members or others, as in the case of *D* mentioned earlier. Some of these students with poor scholastic progress may have definite psychoses or psychoneuroses, or less definite twists in the personality, which need psychiatric treatment, but in many children the scholastic backwardness is the sole result of the emotional difficulties just mentioned. Again, the scholastic backwardness may be due to unsuitable courses in school or too rigid curricula resulting in lack of interest or a sense of failure. The help of the educational psychologist becomes very necessary to the psychiatrist in bringing about adjustment between the child and the school. The visiting teacher movement embodies with considerable success the combined approach of the psychologist, psychiatrist and the social worker in so far as a well trained visiting teacher is well versed in educational psychology, psychiatry and social case work. Except in children suffering from definite insanity or neuroses, or those presenting special complications, she is able herself to give the three-fold help of psychology, psychiatry and social case work.

In some of the students scholastic backwardness is due to general poor

health and malnutrition, or to sensory postural or speech defects, or again to glandular deficiency or unbalance. The physician contributes his share in the study and treatment of scholastic backwardness and other mental health problems in schools by thorough investigation and treatment of the physical causes that are discovered.

The mental hygiene approach, whether to the population of a prison, a school, an industrial unit, or a group of children in a Child Guidance Clinic, is an effort to treat the individual as a whole, attention being paid to the physical, psychiatric, psychological and social case work aspects of the problem. Only working thus is it possible to form a true estimate of the causes of the difficulty or deviation in question, and to formulate a plan of treatment and reintegration of the personality so necessary to bring about any lasting benefit to the individual. The co-operation between psychiatry and social work is necessary in formulating the problem, in investigating its causes, in applying therapeutic and remedial measures, and finally in after-care work to ensure that the reintegration of the personality and the benefit to the individual are maintained and not exposed to severe strain, or where this has occurred to bring about again an effective reintegration, as speedily as possible.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE BOMBAY INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES ACT, AND THE PRESENT WORK OF THE LABOUR OFFICER, BOMBAY

M. P. LA BOUCHARDIERE

In the September, 1940 issue of the *Journal*, Mr. S. Nageswaran presented a brief study of the conditions leading to the appointment of the Labour Officer, Bombay, and of his early activities. In this article, Mr. M. P. La Bouchardiere, the present Labour Officer, discusses some of the major gains under the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act and suggests certain changes looking towards the more effective working of the Act.

L *ABOUR Officer's duties under the Act.* The Bombay Industrial Disputes Act of 1938 is a modest publication of only 40 pages and 84 sections, but its provisions affect the hours of work, rates of pay, method of dismissal and conditions of leave, and in brief almost every matter which concerns the conditions of work and well being of—for the present—all workers in the 60 Cotton, 30 or so Silk, and 4 Woollen Mills in Bombay City, as well as a great number in other Industrial Centres of the Province. The present article, however, only deals with those workers in the industries mentioned who work in Bombay City and a small area around it. The present numbers affected are more than 200,000 workers, or if their families are included, not less than 700,000 individuals making up more than half the population of Bombay.

Though the Act itself is—as legal enactments tend to be—rather dry as dust, it is necessary first to devote a little attention to its legally worded provisions.

The powers and duties of the Labour Officer, Bombay, have been succinctly defined in a very brief chapter (Chapter IV) of the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act, 1938, as follows :

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE LABOUR OFFICER

25. (1) A Labour Officer shall exercise the powers conferred and perform the duties imposed on him by or under this Act.

(2) For the purpose of exercising such duties a Labour Officer may, after giving reasonable notice, enter any place used for the purpose of any industry or as the office of any union and shall be entitled to call for and inspect all relevant documents which are necessary for the due discharge of his duties and powers under this Act. A Labour Officer may for the same purpose enter, after giving reasonable notice, any premises provided by an employer for the purpose of residence of his employees.

(3) All particulars contained in or information obtained from any document inspected or called for under sub-section (2) shall, if the person in whose possession the document was so requires, be treated as confidential.

(4) A Labour Officer shall be entitled to appear in any proceeding under this Act.

It will thus be seen that the Labour Officer has been entrusted with

extremely wide powers, as was the intention of the framers of the Act, to obtain information regarding, or appear, in any case that might arise under the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act. The main judge of what are to be considered "relevant documents" must clearly be the Labour Officer himself, as it would cripple his full and frank enquiry into any of the wide matters which would form the basis of "notices of change" under the Act if he could be prevented by some specious reasoning from having access to important information affecting the workers and covering any specific industry coming under the Act. The Labour Officer's concern is mainly with "industrial matters", and the B. I. D. Act has here again attached the widest meaning to what an "industrial matter" is. The definition [Section 3 (14) of the Act] reads: "*Industrial matter* means any matter relating to work, pay, wages, reward, hours, privileges, rights or duties of employers or employees, or the mode, terms and conditions of employment or non-employment," etc. In case it is considered that this sufficiently wide definition is not comprehensive enough it adds that industrial matter also includes "all questions of what is fair and right in relation to any industrial matter having regard to the interest of the person immediately concerned and of the community as a whole." It is therefore clear that under the Act the widest powers of enquiry were entrusted to the Labour Officer. The only protection given to the suppliers of information to the Labour Officer is that should they desire the information given to be treated as confidential, it would have to be so treated, and not passed on to a third party who might conceivably misuse the information. So the Labour Officer is precluded from giving such information either to a Trade Union or a possible business rival of an interested management. It cannot be gainsaid that these reservations are only fair.

There is however one curious omission in the duties of the Labour Officer as defined in the new Act. The Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act, 1934, had the following addition: "It shall be the duty of the Labour Officer to watch over the interests of workmen with a view to promote harmonious relations between employers and workmen, and to take steps to report grievances of workmen to employers for the purpose of obtaining their redress." It would certainly be helpful to add this admonition to the list of duties given to the Labour Officer. It would help to humanise the Act more, and assist the Labour Officer in securing more harmony between employers and workmen to add this duty.

How Conciliation Works. Under the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act the first step in the redress of a grievance is to send a "notice of change" to the Labour Officer describing briefly exactly what change is sought to be made. It is then the duty of the Labour Officer to hold a meeting of those

affected, and see that representatives are elected, who alone (unless a representative Union exists) have the right to discuss the matter mutually with the opposite party, e.g., the employer, and seek to arrive at an agreed settlement, within 15 days of the formal service of the "notice of change". If no settlement is achieved within 15 days, the parties may take the matter further to an official *Conciliator*, who is permitted a further 2 months to try his hand at achieving a just settlement. Should he also fail, both the parties will have enjoyed the right of having argued their respective case before a trained and impartial person, who is aloof from the actual question. The Conciliator, in the case of failure to secure a settlement, next publishes his "report" or history of the case up-to-date in the Official Gazette, and after this has been done it is open to either party to do as it pleases within a period of 2 months, i.e., the employer may take the risk of enforcing his "change" upon his unwilling workers, or of dropping it altogether, while the workers have the power of resisting it by striking.

Why Conciliation? It may be asked, why is all this procedure gone through? The answer may be given briefly. There are two main methods of settling an industrial dispute :

(1) For both parties to talk over the issues dispassionately before an impartial conciliator, who has sufficient technical knowledge to understand and appreciate their separate viewpoints, and the merits of the case; or

(2) For one party to seize its opponent by the throat, and force him to give in to its wishes.

The first method is that provided for in a legal manner by the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act, and ordains that the parties shall first try conciliation, and then if there is still a sense of grievance, the strike method may still be employed, as a final weapon. The second method may be described as "strike first, and be damned to the consequences." It is the method of a militant labour body, which would be unwilling to concede any rights whatever to employers, and which considers that organised labour is the only body to enjoy any rights. If employers do not listen to labour, then they must be taught a stern lesson, and the only cure for the ills of labour is to obtain its desires by force. It is quite clear that the two methods are incompatible. There is no middle way. And for any country not given over wholly to communist principles it is evident that some such labour enactment as that laid down in the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act is the only solution.

Results of the Working of the Act. The Act, to justify its existence, must show that useful results have been achieved by it. The main test would be to see what results have been achieved in the cases taken up under the Act. The following are the results to-date:

SOME ASPECTS OF THE BOMBAY INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES ACT 61

	Number of Notices of Change registered by Labour Officer.	Agreements arrived at within 15 days.	Referred to further conciliation.	Excluded.
August-December 1939	40	25	7	8
January-June 1940	102	62	25	15
July-December 1940	187	122	34	31

From this summary it will be seen that cases have been taken up under the Act in increasing numbers and that the percentage of cases in which agreements have been reached within 15 days has been most encouraging even from the commencement of the working of the Act. The percentages work out as follows :

1939 (5 months)	62.5%
1940 (first 6 months). . .	60.0%
1940 (last 6 months). . .	65.4%

The cases which went before Conciliators have generally resulted in the securing of further settlements, though it will be seen that the bulk of the settlements were reached without even having recourse to the services of the Conciliators.

While quoting these figures as evidence of successful working, one major apparent failure must be recorded. This is the case of "Dearness Allowance". A demand was made by workers of a large number of mills in Bombay in December 1939, that in view of the increase in the cost of living owing to the war their wages should be largely increased. The original demands made were rather fantastic, having no relation to the actual rise in the cost of living at the time, as revealed by the official cost of living indices of the Labour Office. The failure of the initial proceedings before conciliators may be put down to the high demand of 40% increase in the previous prevailing wages, which the Girti Kamgar (Red Flag) Union made as their opening demand, and which immediately antagonised the employers, who refused to consider it, holding that it had no relation to the facts. Finally the Government of Bombay referred the matter to a Board of Conciliation, headed by Sir Sajba Rangneker under Section 39 of the Act. The Board also contained 2 representatives each of Capital and Labour. It found itself unable to come to a unanimous decision, 2 representatives arguing that there should be an increase in wages of 20% over those earned in August 1939 "to restore the pre-war purchasing power of the worker and to keep his standard unimpaired." The other two members and the Chairman came to the opinion that the percentage increase necessary to maintain the pre-war standard of living was 13% in January 1940. The majority report accordingly recommended a flat increase of 10% (amounting in the case of the cotton textile workers to 2 annas a day) together with the provision of

cost price grain shops, estimated to give workers the benefit of a further 3 %. The Bombay Millowners' Association accepted the majority view, and immediately sanctioned the payment of a dearness of living allowance on the flat rate of 2 annas per day per worker from December 1939. The Girni Kamgar (Red Flag) Union recommended to the workers that they should not accept this increase and should strike for more, at least 15 %. A disastrous strike ensued, and lasted 6 weeks, after which it completely collapsed and workers have since accepted the proffered allowance for the past year, during which the cost of living index showed no remarkable fluctuations. Even though the actual proceedings before the Conciliation Board ended in apparent failure, and the Board itself expressed the opinion in the final paragraph of its report that "the experience gained in the course of these proceedings does not encourage the hope that conciliation as a method of bringing about a settlement of industrial disputes *like the present one* (my italics) is likely to be successful in future in Bombay," it must be conceded that the percentage of successful conciliation cases quoted above goes to show that in the case of individual establishments conciliation is a success, even though it may not prove successful in the larger issues affecting several mills, until a stable and disciplined Trade Union can speak authoritatively for the workers.

The Bombay Industrial Disputes Act aims at the development of a Trade Union on the lines of the Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad, but so far such a Union has not come to the front in Bombay.

Standing Orders for Workers. Another major gain which is directly due to the passing of the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act is the settlement of Standing Orders having a legal force. Standing Orders, framed and approved by the Millowners' Association, did exist prior to 1939. But managements were a law unto themselves, and the managers' varying interpretations of these Standing Orders were usually the last word in the matter. Now if managements abuse the Standing Orders settled under the Act, workers have a remedy in taking the matter before the Industrial Court for redress, where the maximum penalty for breach of a Standing Order is Rs. 100/-, with a further penalty of up to Rs. 25/- per day for a continuing offence. (For illegal changes there is a heavier penalty of up to Rs. 5,000/- with a further penalty of up to Rs. 200/- per day for a continuing offence). Such breaches of Standing Orders as have occurred in Bombay since Standing Orders were settled appear to be due more to ignorance than intent, and managements have generally been ready to make reparation where breaches have occurred. The cases of intentional breach appear to be extremely rare; and in the case of mills belonging to the Millowners' Association, at any rate, it has become a practice for mill managers to consult the Association first before undertaking any action which

would bring them in conflict with the Industrial Law. This is a very healthy sign of grace.

Rights achieved for Labour under B. I. D. Act. The following legal rights have already been achieved for workers by settled Standing Orders :

- (1) Right of being treated as permanent employees after 2 months' probation.
- (2) Right of re-employment on re-opening of a night shift, according to length of service.
- (3) Right to a month's leave after 12 months' service. (Although all leave is still unpaid leave).
- (4) Right to 10 days' casual leave a year.
- (5) Right to a fair hearing before any summary dismissal can take place.
- (6) Right to a service certificate at time of discharge.

All these are now established as legal rights of workers, for the non-fulfilment of which penalties are provided. It is true that many of these are elementary rights, and it may be urged that some of them do not go far enough. It is also true that in the better-run mills, workers have possibly always enjoyed many of these rights, but the widening of them and giving them a legal status, enormously enhances their value. What it means is that the mills where labour has not hitherto had a fair deal will now have to "toe the line" with the better-run mills, or stand the consequences. Hitherto they have had no legal insistence that they must follow a fair line of treatment in their attitude towards labour. The well-run mills have nothing to fear in giving effect to these Standing Orders, but to labour as a whole the Standing Orders have proved to be their first Charter of Rights—their first Magna Charta.

" It is not to be doubted that the future will see a more liberal treatment in the management of labour generally, and for this the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act can be held to have opened the door, by enabling full and frank discussion of all the ills of labour in a systematic manner before impartial and reasonable judges.

Mill Labour Officers. A further circumstance which makes for the more regular and careful treatment of labour cases has been the growth in number of Labour Officers in the individual mills. There are now some 17 Labour Officers appointed in individual mills or groups of mills, and their influence is extended over some 37 Cotton Mills in Bombay. Many of these officers recently appointed are well qualified and keen young men, and their extension will without a doubt help to lessen friction between employers and employees, and also help to keep their respective managements correctly informed on labour

matters. It is desirable for the Silk Textile Industry to copy the Cotton Mills in this matter, as it is a young and growing industry, and while the number of individual complaints from Cotton Mills reaching the Labour Officer Bombay, tends to decrease each month, those from the Silk Mills still maintain a high level. This requires checking, and apart from the checks introduced by the penalty clauses of the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act, it is to the interest of the Silk Textile Industry to copy the measures already adopted by Cotton Mills in reducing friction between managements and their employees. The motto to follow is that "genuine grievances should not accumulate." The tried method of preventing the accumulation of genuine grievances is to put a trained Labour Officer to deal with them in the initial stages, and cure them there.

The Future. The achievements under the Act have been stated, and perhaps even understated. It is to be remembered that the Act has also been applied in a similar manner to other important centres of labour in the province, e.g., Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Poona, Jalgaon, Hubli, Gokak, Chalisgaon, Amalner, Surat, and many other smaller centres. This is not the place to describe the financial cost of establishing this system of treatment of labour problems, but it can be stated that, for the benefits already achieved in the regular and peaceful settlement of labour problems (both in major and individual matters), and in the reduction of large numbers of individual complaints (which prevailed before the settlement of Standing Orders), the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act has been introduced at an extremely low overhead cost of just over half a lakh of rupees a year. But this side cannot be developed in the space of the present article.

No one would attempt to urge that the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act is a perfect instrument—the nature of its introduction, as the first enactment of its kind in any province in India—goes against that. But such practical difficulties as have already arisen in the introduction of the provisions of the Act, are being closely examined, and errors of drafting which have been revealed are at present under the consideration of Government. At the same time improvements in procedure which practical working of the Act for a period of over 18 months have suggested, will also be examined, and rectified in due course. In the meantime the Act, even with its present imperfections, has been closely studied by other provinces of India, and it appears likely that legislation on similar lines will be undertaken shortly in some other provinces. It has been the privilege of Bombay to blaze the trail as a pioneer in an important labour enactment, and it has proved that the method employed is workable, and in the interest of industrial peace. With the further observation that the remarks following are made as a result of personal experience,

and are not necessarily the views of Government, I venture to put them down in the hope that they will stimulate further thought.

WHAT CHANGES IN THE ACT APPEAR DESIRABLE

(1) *Treatment of Cases of Individuals.* At present any individual may approach the Industrial Court direct for redress in a case of breach of a standing order or an illegal change. The maximum penalty for breach of a standing order is Rs. 100/-, with a maximum penalty of Rs. 25/- per day for a continuing offence after a conviction. Many of the cases of this nature which have already been taken to the Industrial Court have been dismissed. In any case it appears wasteful of the time of an Industrial Court, which has a High Court Judge as president, to try such cases in the initial stage. Perhaps a suitable solution would be to transfer all such cases to Conciliators and to give them power to decide such cases and enforce the penalty. Another reason, which may be urged for the grant of such powers to Conciliators, is that the Industrial Court is only able to sit at much less frequent intervals than the Conciliators, often over 6 weeks elapsing between sittings of the Industrial Court. Thus an individual seeking redress for wrongful dismissal involving a breach of standing orders, has often to wait a long time before his case comes up for hearing. He first exhausts all hope of getting a direct settlement with the mill itself. Then he approaches the Industrial Court. So by the time his case has received a decision in the Industrial Court he may be out of work for 3 or 4 months or more. Even the Industrial Court cannot give him financial redress. For this he has to go further still to a 1st Class Magistrate, armed with the Industrial Court's decision that he has been illegally dismissed. After all this his financial redress is only 13 days wages, which may amount to under Rs. 10/- in the case of a woman. At the most the Court may be urged to give him a portion of the fine (maximum fine, Rs. 100/-) inflicted on the management.¹ A further argument against the case of an individual worker going to the Industrial Court in any initial stage is that the worker is at a great disadvantage when he approaches the Industrial Court directly, as the mill is usually represented in this Court by legal experts whose services are beyond the financial capacity of a worker. Furthermore, in the case of illegal changes, which are merely breaches of Standing Orders, and not of a more serious nature, the discussions would frequently be on technical and not legal issues, or at the most on simple legal issues, which would be well within the competence of Conciliators. So from all points of view it appears desirable to entrust such cases to Conciliators, and leave it to them to transfer

¹ These remarks are based on actual cases that have come to the Labour Officer's notice.

the cases further to the Industrial Court only if difficult legal issues arise. The fact that there is no legal authority to administer the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act other than the Industrial Court appears to be a shortcoming of the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act.

(2) *A clearer differentiation of functions between the Conciliators and the Industrial Court.* Following from the remarks made above it appears desirable to confine the work of the Conciliators mainly to points of fact and to minor differences of law, and to reserve the functions of the Industrial Court for major law points. Apart from the agreements secured within 15 days of the invoking of the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act by any employer or employee approaching it, the next stage is taking the matter before a Conciliator. Here the issues are generally treated from a technical and practical standpoint, and legal points should be eschewed as far as possible.

There is also a danger to the legal experts themselves in attempting to discuss points of technical or departmental significance in the Industrial Court. An example of the pitfalls which lie ahead of legal luminaries in discussing such matters was furnished in the case of a Silk Mill, where a High Court Advocate urged before the Court that " '2-loom weaver' meant a weaver who was provided by a management with 2 looms, so that if one went out of order he had the other to work with " ! Any mill that attempted to keep a spare loom per weaver on these lines would be faced with financial loss.

It would therefore appear desirable that Conciliators should be employed mainly in deciding or clarifying technical points, and also have the power of referring cases to the Industrial Court if necessary, if difficult legal decisions are involved. It is clear that the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act will still provide a variety of legal conundrums, but it appears wasteful of effort to call upon the Industrial Court to decide technical matters as well as difficult legal questions. If the technical side of a case has been sufficiently explored in the course of conciliation, the time of the Industrial Court will not be unduly wasted, with happier results for all parties concerned.

(3) *"Contract Labour."* It appears to have been the intention of the framers of the Act that labour employed by contractors, and not directly paid by a mill management, should benefit by the provisions of the Act, in common with labour paid directly by the mills. The definition of "Employer" under the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act includes the following: Section 11 (e).

"Where the owner of any industry in the course of or for the purpose of conducting such industry *contracts with any other person* for the execution by or under the contractor of the whole or part of any work which is ordinarily part of the said industry, the owner of such industry . . . "

This appears to show clearly enough that contract labour should be

treated on identical terms with employees directly recruited by an employer.

However, when the case of the payment of a dearness of living allowance to workers in Ahmedabad arose, the case of persons employed by contractors was considered. The Industrial Court dealt with the question finally, and gave a full bench ruling. This ruling is interesting and runs as follows :

“In our opinion there is a good deal to be said for excluding such persons from the benefit of the Award. In the first instance, these persons are employed not by the mills themselves, but by the contractors to whom a contract is given for doing particular work. *After the contract is given, it is no concern of the mills as to how many people are employed and how much is paid to them by the contractors.*”

Against this full bench ruling there is no appeal, as under Section 60 of the Act “No order passed by the Industrial Court shall be called in question in any civil or criminal court.”

Accordingly all persons employed in the Textile Industry in Ahmedabad, and not paid directly by a mill management, have been excluded from the benefits of a wage increase, which was probably all the more necessary in their case, and which was paid to all other classes of labour in the Textile Industry in Ahmedabad. It is true that the Bombay Mills took a more liberal view, and freely conceded the grant of the allowance to all their employees, including those indirectly employed through contractors.

It would appear desirable to make the matter entirely free from doubt by amending the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act so that it may not be necessary to go to the Industrial Court hereafter for a ruling which has proved so adverse to labour. It might reasonably be argued that if it was necessary to give an allowance on account of the dearness of living to workers directly employed by a mill, it was still more necessary to give the allowance to workers less well paid, and whose tenure of employment depended on the whim of a contractor.

The changes suggested that might improve the working of the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act are those which, in the brief period of watching the working of the Act so far, have shown themselves as desirable to the present writer, and the list is by no means exhaustive. Their mention will, however, perhaps stimulate interest in the Act, which judged all in all can be held to have fully justified itself and to have opened a new and smoother path for the settlement of industrial disputes.

THE COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN SHOLAPUR

S. THOMAS EDWARD:

The city of Sholapur had a position of importance as a handloom weaving centre long before the establishment of power industry in the city. The development of the mill industry has been a steady one, until Sholapur now ranks third in industrial importance in Bombay Province.

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THE city of Sholapur ranks third in industrial importance in the Province of Bombay. It is situated about 272 miles south-east of Bombay, on the main railway line that connects Bombay and Madras. The city is the administrative centre of the district that bears the same name—a district admeasuring 4,569 square miles, with 700 villages and a population of over 6,00,000 people. The district lies at the southern end of the Deccan plateau on the borders of the Nizam's State, and is noted for its soft alluvial soil and black cotton tracts. But owing to a very scanty rainfall of but 20 to 30 inches per year, the district is constantly faced with severe drought, and the agricultural yield is uneconomic. Hence the farmer and the agricultural labourer have to look to other occupations to supplement their precarious income. During the hot weather the temperature often rises above 115 degrees, while during the winter it falls below 70 degrees. Because of climatic and soil conditions, cotton is one of the main crops of the Sholapur region.

In the city of Sholapur there are five cotton mills and in the district there are four more. Before the industrial development of the city, Sholapur and its surrounding villages had a flourishing handloom trade. It was the importance of the city as a handloom weaving centre that attracted Bombay mill magnates to it as a suitable place for the cotton textile industry. In spite of the existing mills, even today the handloom industry is flourishing in the district. The earlier mills which were started mainly to supply spun thread for the handlooms have gradually developed into weaving mills also.

The industrial development of Sholapur has been facilitated by an abundant cheap labour supply from the district. As already stated, the scanty rainfall, which hinders agricultural development, prevents agricultural labour from finding full employment in agriculture. For 8 out of 12 months, the villagers having no other occupation, turn to the mills as a means of earning their livelihood. Then of course there is the natural migration of young people to the city, and the hope for a less restricted life on the part of the depressed classes. Further, the location of a large Criminal Tribes

Settlement in Sholapur, provides a considerable supply of cheap labour.

Regarding raw materials, the city can safely depend upon a good supply of raw cotton from the numerous cotton centres round about. Being near to Bombay, Sholapur also has easy access to foreign materials and machinery.

The Great Indian Peninsula and the Madras and Southern Maratha Railways connect the city with a wide potential marketing area. The M.S.M. Railway links Sholapur to important cotton centres such as Bijapur, Bagalkot, Gadag, and Hubli, while the G. I. P. provides an outlet to places like Gulburgha and Wadi in the Nizam's State. In addition to the railways, various bus services link Sholapur to Provincial and State towns.

The first cotton mill in the city was started in 1877 by Mr. Morarjee Gokuldas, a far-sighted industrialist of Bombay, under the name of the Sholapur Spinning Co. In the early days it was designed as a spinning mill with 16,500 spindles, principally to meet local demand. But as the years advanced and the demand for mill cloth increased, the concern developed into a Spinning and Weaving Mill. Today the mill is one of the largest, having 2,234 looms, 1,11,360 spindles, and employing over 7,000 men. The Lakshmi Mill was started in 1898 by the Bombay Company, which was already operating similar concerns in Bombay. Then followed the Raja Narsinggirji Mills in 1899, the Jam Shri Ranjitsingji Mills in 1907, and the Vishnu Cotton Mills in 1912—the latter also started by the Bombay Company as a sister mill to the Lakshmi. It is thus apparent that Sholapur had developed to its full capacity as a textile centre before the First World War and that her industrial growth has been a steady one. The five mills today have an aggregate paid up capital of Rs. 65,85,050, a strength of 6,582 looms and 2,88,280 spindles, and employ over 18,000 men.¹

The three main classes of labour supply are (1) the small land holders ; (2) the landless proletariat ; (3) the low caste menials and village servants. Small scale farming is for the most part uneconomic and the natural difficulties are increased by the prevailing system of partitioning hereditary property generation after generation. The small landholder is driven into debt and migrates to the city to find a new life as an industrial worker. The landless proletariat work on the land when the opportunity offers, but when no work is at hand they too set forth in search of employment. The third group of low caste menials, being increasingly deprived of their hereditary means of earning, and acquiring a growing knowledge of the world through improvement in communications, regard the city as a way of escape and as an opportunity to find the freedom and equality which is denied to them in the villages.

¹ The Millowners' Association, Bombay, *Mill Statement for 31 August 1940*.

The labour force of Sholapur is drawn in the main from the surrounding villages and from the borders of the Nizam's State. The Salis and Muslims who come from the Nizam's State may be regarded as practically a permanent industrial force as they are to a large extent hereditary handloom weavers who have been displaced by the factory and have come to take their place in organized industry. About 8 per cent of the labour force comes from outside areas, such as Poona District, Ahmednagar, and some of the Northern Districts of the Province of Madras. The labour force is relatively stable, as 60 per cent of the workers come from within Sholapur city limits and immediate neighbourhood. Men within three miles radius come daily on cycles and return home after work. 32 per cent of the workers come from the border villages of Hyderabad State. Unlike Bombay, the great majority of the families of the labour class are settled in the city, and often more than one member of the family works in the industry. The labour population of Sholapur is more homogeneous than that of Bombay or Ahmedabad.

But in spite of all this, the figures for absenteeism in Sholapur are very high when compared with those of Bombay and Ahmedabad, being double the Ahmedabad figures and one and one-half times the Bombay rate. The reasons for this may be due to an indiscriminate badli system and to the fact that people drawn from the surrounding villages often go home for the week end and then fail to return in time for work because of their interest in their private village affairs. Added to this there is no systematic method of checking or reducing absenteeism as there is in Bombay. It is only recently that the Sholapur mills have employed labour officers, who are giving a considerable amount of their time to badli control and the reduction of absenteeism. Recruitment is still largely in the hands of the jobbers, which leads to corruption and presents a formidable obstacle to the organization of the labour force.

From the point of view of health, Sholapur is in a relatively favoured position. The city being sparsely populated, one does not find the great slum areas which disfigure the city of Bombay. The mills are all constructed in large areas with plenty of open space and are planned so as to allow sufficient light and air inside the work rooms. There are no special statistics regarding the health of the industrial worker, but the Municipal Health Report reveals about 25 per cent of the city's deaths as due to respiratory diseases, while hospital figures reveal a high percentage of treatment for respiratory diseases. The evil of drugging babies with opium still persists in Sholapur. Large numbers of women are employed in the mills and opium is administered to keep the babies quiet at home. Sholapur also has a higher percentage of children employed than either Bombay or Ahmedabad.

According to the Census of 1931, out of a total of 18,501 labourers then

employed in Sholapur, 4,251 were women and 329 children. 36 per cent of the total working force in the mill industry were the only workers in their families; 40.2 per cent had two earning members; 18 per cent had three earning members, and the remainder more than three earning members. Out of a total number of about 9,000 families dependent on the industry, in 59 per cent of the families only the husbands were wage earners, and in 26 per cent both husband and wife were earners. The percentage of non-working family members to that of wage earners is 59.5 and 40.5 in Sholapur, as against 51.3 and 48.7 in Bombay.

The average earnings per day in the Sholapur mill industry as compared with Bombay, Ahmedabad and the Presidency Proper are as follows :²

	MEN			WOMEN		
	<i>Time Workers</i>	<i>Piece Workers</i>		<i>Time Workers</i>	<i>Piece Workers</i>	
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
Bombay City	1 0 0	1 7 11		0 10 4	0 10 10	
Ahmedabad	1 1 11	1 14 7		0 12 9	0 11 11	
Sholapur	0 10 6	1 2 2		0 6 7	0 5 11	
Presidency						
Proper	0 15 7	1 8 6		0 10 5	0 4 4	

A study of the above figures will reveal the economic position of the workers. Ahmedabad and Sholapur, being up-country cities, have more or less the same living conditions and the cost of living is almost the same. But the wages earned by the Sholapur workers, both in time and piece rates are little over half of the earnings of the Ahmedabad workers. If the Ahmedabad wages are taken as 100 per cent, Sholapur wages are about 60 per cent. Since 1937 conditions have improved, for as a result of the interim recommendations of the Textile Enquiry Committee, about 12½ per cent increase has been given in general. Since, however, this increase extends to the whole Province, the comparative wage levels are not materially changed. But the Sholapur worker does have more money in hand. More than 60 per cent of the Sholapur workers are in debt, paying interest ranging from 75 to 300 per cent.

Owing to the foresight of Mr. Narotham Morarjee Gokuldas, the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Company gave a lead in the sphere of industrial welfare activities. A system of giving some maternity benefit was in effect in this mill before the Bombay Maternity Benefit Act came into force. The mill has a fully equipped hospital, with a full time doctor, a well conducted school and a technical school. All of the Sholapur mills have creches and medical facilities. The European managers of the Vishnu and Lakshmi Mills take special care in promoting the welfare activities of the mills.

² 1937 Wage Census Report, Government of Bombay.

There is no proper labour leadership or organization in Sholapur. Politics seem to play a large part in all of the labour moves. The Sholapur worker is a quiet type of person, with little interest in labour organization. There have been relatively few strikes in the industry.

This general survey of the situation in Sholapur reveals that the city is on the road to progress in the field of industry. There is a steady and continuous working of the mills as contrasted to sudden rises and falls in other textile centres. Since the labour supply is becoming more urbanised and more regular, it would be in the interests of both the industry and labour if better housing facilities could be provided. An attempt to improve the standard of living of the labour population by paying an adequate wage, according to the earning ability of the mills, will I am sure, increase the prosperity of the city by quick rotation of the money value and ready consumption of goods produced. The economic stability of any industry depends not only upon its productive capacity, but also on an adequate consuming community.

The need for scientifically organizing and developing the existent welfare activities is very essential. Even in industry there is a place for the development of individual personality, and the Sholapur textile industry will profit by a recognition of this fact.

One great incentive to efficient and interested working is the security of a job. In Sholapur there is little security. It would be a definite help to industrial efficiency if the present haphazard recruitments could be given up and a definite system of badli control and labour administration devised. Non-political labour organizations could also fulfil a useful function in this field.

Sholapur holds an important place in the industrial life of the Province. She can improve her position still further by a greater development of efficiency—an efficiency dependent not only upon modern machines, but also on proper consideration for the men behind the machines. Industrial management is not simply a matter of machines and figures—it is a matter of men—and of sympathetic imagination.

SOME SOCIAL EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

G. A. LIMAYE

"An unemployed man," says Mr. Limaye, "loses far more than that which is designated as 'employment'." Unemployment means loss of income, but it may also mean loss of opportunity for proving oneself a useful member of the community, loss of opportunity for essential physical and mental activity, loss of alertness and skill, loss of social status and very often loss of mental health. And the tragedy of the situation is that the effects of the unemployment are not confined to the unemployed person alone, but extend into the family and the wider community.

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THE purpose of this article is to attempt to throw some light on the social aspects of unemployment, primarily as they were revealed to me through a study of 85 unemployed persons residing in the De Lisle Road Chawls in the city of Bombay. Among the unemployed whom I interviewed there were various types of persons. There were unmarried persons, married persons and widowers. There were those who had to support their wives alone, and those who were responsible for the maintenance of their children—sometimes numbering as many as eight—as well as other relatives in addition to the immediate family.

The ages of these unemployed people also materially varied. They ranged from nearly 20 years to 45 years. There was also a considerable disparity in work-experience. There were some who had never been employed, and as such possessed no work-experience whatsoever. But there were others who were unemployed in spite of the fact that they had quite a good experience of work behind them. These unemployed persons did not belong to any particular caste or community. Every caste seemed to have its share of the evils of unemployment.

For my purpose, I specially selected the De Lisle Road Chawls as a representative cross-section of residential quarters of the labour classes in Bombay. These chawls are all four-storeyed cement buildings with rooms facing each other on a common corridor. The area of each tenement does not exceed 240 square feet. They are specially designed to accommodate the working population and the people flock into them—if I may use such a simile—as pigeons flock into their holes.

The DeLisle Road Chawls were chosen as the principal field of study, after consultation with the Labour Welfare Officer to the Government of Bombay. The reasons for this selection were several. In the first place the unemployment problem in the vicinity of DeLisle Road is a patent one. There

are in all 32 cement chawls—only 20 of which are occupied—with a population of about 12,000 souls. The major portion of the population is semi-skilled and unskilled. Naturally among the unemployed persons, a greater proportion comes under semi-skilled or unskilled.

In the second place, the DeLisle Road chawls provide us with comparative pictures of the unfortunate unemployed and the so-called fortunate employed persons.

Thirdly, the majority of the population are solely dependent on their earnings in Bombay. They have little, or rather no possibilities, of any other support in their native places and are thus compelled to remain in Bombay.

The sources of information out of which I have built my article are mainly based on :

(1) *Interviews with unemployed labourers.* I personally interviewed 85 unemployed persons and inquired into the conditions of their life. In fact, I had opportunities to talk to far more unemployed people than the number I desired to study. Their accounts were both interesting and instructive. It was first-hand information and as such its value was immense.

(2) *Interviews with the neighbours of the unemployed interviewed.* An investigator who seeks to have complete information cannot remain content only with interviewing the persons concerned. There are certain gaps which require to be filled in. I therefore sought interviews with some of the neighbours and immediate relatives of the persons whom I had already interviewed. They were able to give me various relevant facts, which had been omitted by the unemployed themselves. These omissions related most often to habits acquired by the unemployed during the period of unemployment and to their financial circumstances. However poor a man may be, so long as he is not a regular beggar, he remains somewhat reluctant to disclose his economic difficulties, particularly to a stranger. In view of this, I had to interview, as I have said above, the relatives and friends in order to leave nothing incomplete.

(3) *Interviews with prominent members or group leaders in the locality concerned.* During the course of my inquiry I availed myself of the opportunity to have some conversations with prominent persons or group leaders in that locality. It may look rather out of the way to try to seek information from such persons. But I did collect some very useful data about the unemployed persons, though it was more of a general character than of an individual nature. The leaders are very often approached by the members of the community, and as such, they are definitely in a position to say a good deal about the people around them. One must not, however, forget that their versions are to be accepted with some reasonable reserve.

(4) *Interviews with the officials attached to the Welfare Centre.* My next source of information was the officials attached to the Welfare Centre at DeLisle Road. I am glad to say that these officials gave me every kind of help and placed at my disposal all the possible information that they possessed. It is a part of the duty of the Welfare Centre staff to write and record applications for the unemployed persons within their immediate area. They thus acquire considerable information regarding the unemployed who seek their help and the co-operation of these people makes the work of any research student comparatively easier.

(5) *Observations of the life and circumstances of the unemployed made while moving with them.* Last of all I had to use my eyes and ears, and use them keenly. I obtained a considerable amount of information from what I casually saw and heard during my visits. This was very useful. One has to keep one's eyes and ears open, and then quietly think through this material at a later time. A keen observer can very often obtain more information than several questions and answers would secure for him.

This is not a statistical study. It is descriptive. There is an ever-present temptation in such studies to describe what is exceptional and therefore striking, instead of what is typical. I have tried to keep constantly on guard against this danger.

When I undertook the inquiry I imagined that I would make an easy job of it. But little did I dream that my actual experience would be, not only unpleasant, but definitely discouraging. The material for my inquiry was plentiful. The scope too was immense. But my real difficulty was how to create confidence among the people and induce them to speak. I have already enumerated my varied sources of information. As regards the information that was to be collected from the non-official sources, everything worked smoothly for a few days. I felt that my optimism at the outset of my work was justified. But it was not to be so. There was a sudden hitch. To my great disappointment and surprise, I suddenly found one day that every man I approached was most reluctant to answer my questions. In some cases the interviewees were positively hostile.

The sudden reluctance on the part of these unemployed was found to be due to a misunderstanding which was created in the minds of these persons by some over-enthusiastic persons. In these days of war any gossip spreads like fire. And these persons were somehow or other led to believe that I was an agent of Government collecting information for the recruiting department. They thought that my object in collecting the information was not only disadvantageous to them, but definitely harmful. They suspected that I was a spy moving among them to ascertain the possible number of recruits for war that

the locality would be able to provide. The immediate effects of this episode upon my mind were almost shocking. In a fit of total dejection I left the place and returned to the Welfare Centre where I explained the whole situation to the officials. They knew everything about it. They had already guessed that some such thing would happen. But they were willing to do what they could for me. Even though they themselves were Government officials, they had created a confidence about themselves in the minds of the persons within the locality. One of the officials convinced the members of the locality, that my object in collecting the information was nothing but beneficial to them and there was no cause whatsoever for any apprehension. From that point my work became easier.

In this study of unemployed persons I have mainly concerned myself with the effects of unemployment: economic, physical, mental and social. The problem of unemployment presents three immediate difficulties—the problem of food, the problem of clothing and the problem of finding suitable shelter. I have already stated that during the course of my investigations, I came across different types of unemployed persons, such as married, unmarried and with or without children. The severity of the problem presented by unemployment depends primarily on the conditions of individual cases. What I mean is, that a man with few or no dependants does not feel the pangs of unemployment as much as one with a wife and half a dozen children does. The responsibility of the former is much less than that of the latter, while their modes of life also materially differ.

In one chawl I met a young man 22 years of age. Up to the age of 18 he had lived with his retired father and his elder brother in the same house. He had also a widowed sister who added to the income of the family. He had very little schooling and had left school when he was fourteen. For four years he did nothing whatsoever and neither his father nor his brother ever complained—probably on account of wrong notions of love and affection. But this could not go on for ever. By the time he finished his 18th year, he was almost compelled to find work somewhere. Unskilled as he was, he could find work nowhere, except in a hotel, where he continued for a year. Becoming tired of it, he left his job of his own accord. The father did not allow him to sit idle at home. He had to secure another job. He was employed in a cycle repairing shop where he seemed to be more interested. In about a year he managed to acquire the necessary skill and knowledge of repairing work and was thus able to earn about Rs. 15 a month. He continued in the shop for a year more and then subsequently left the work. The father was adamant. He would not allow the youth to enjoy the hospitality of the house when he was not working. What could he do? He left the house and went to some of his

friends, who supported him for a few months. During that period too, he was unable to secure another job. He always moved in the company of other unemployed young men. Either he was ashamed of himself or was afraid of his father, but one fact is certain: that he avoided his parents and other relatives. Very soon he totally despaired of securing any honest means of livelihood. This drove him to some objectionable methods of earning money. Gambling was the first and the foremost. He gambled desperately and induced other people to participate in the game. Sometimes he lost; sometimes he gained; but anyhow he carried on. The net result of his varied career during the last 18 months, is a debt of nearly Rs. 50 (equivalent to three months' wages) which he owes to his friends.

The above illustration does not, by any means, represent a wide class of young people, but it is one case out of several of a similar nature, which I came across during the study. Young men, particularly those who are unmarried, are, I would say, more fortunate, or rather less unfortunate, during their unemployment. They have to worry only about themselves. Naturally they endeavour to remain in the family house so long as they can conveniently do so without the risk of any humiliation. Unemployment brings humiliation equally to the single man and the one with a family. But the family man is helpless in spite of humiliation. Whether he likes it or not he has to stick to his employed and earning relations. It is different with single persons. They are not so prepared to swallow insults, and I found in more than half a dozen cases, young men leaving their relatives and going to their friends, after but a small incident. These young unemployed people seem to prefer a life away from their relatives. They eat whenever they are able to secure food, and get themselves accustomed to partial starvation. I have observed that they do not abide by any uniformity as regards the nature and time of their meals. Any food, at any time of the day, as suits their convenience is their practice. It is not true to say that all unmarried young men leave their parents or other relatives on account of unemployment. I have met some who did stick to their parents and had the good fortune of being looked after, as if they were employed and earning. During unemployment these people of course are not the same as they are when they are in a position to earn their bread. They suffer psychologically as well as physically.

Comparatively more difficult, in one sense, is the lot of the unemployed person who has to maintain his wife and children besides himself. Comparatively more difficult, I say, because he cannot run away from his responsibility. Insult or no insult he has to stick to his house, if not for himself, at least for the sake of his family. Fortunately for these labour class people their wives may also earn and supplement the family purse. Actual statistics go to prove

that about 25% of working-class women are in a position to work and do work for the help of the family. Their maintenance is not necessarily dependent upon the income of the male members as in the case of advanced communities. Another factor is the possibility of help from the grown up children. During the study, I found several women steadily employed throughout the entire year. There were others who sought work only because the male members were thrown out of employment. It was very necessary for them to do so in order to enable them to pull on until the males found jobs. Side by side with the women, there is a tendency among these unemployed people to endeavour to secure some sort of work for their children, even those of the age of 13 or 14 who should be attending school.

I should like to give a true picture here of a married labourer with wife and 4 children. He is 40 years of age. His wife is 30 and his children are 12, 9, 4 and 2 years of age, respectively. His last employment was in the A— Mills where he earned about Rs. 33/- per month. He had worked there for over two years. Before that he had twice suffered from unemployment. For the last 8 months he has been unemployed. His wife is employed in another mill. Her income is about Rs. 12/- per month. When both husband and wife were earning the family managed in a neat and satisfactory manner, though part of their income had to be used every month in repayment of a loan incurred during the sickness of the wife. Troubles arose, however, with the loss of employment of the man. The family income was suddenly reduced but the expenditure remained practically the same. The family continued to reside as sub-tenants, as they did before, for about 2 or 3 months. Thereafter they were compelled to seek shelter in some other place, where the credit of the family was intact for some time. They were not of course in a position to pay their share of the rent for 3 months before shifting. Naturally they had to part with household possessions to satisfy the demand for rent.

The general condition of the family, from what I have myself noticed and gathered from others, is almost tragic. If one desires to see the evils of unemployment they are here in this family. Just imagine the problem of maintaining, not one or two, but six persons within a monthly income of Rs. 12/- or 13/-. The wife is doing her best. She is straining every nerve to make both ends meet; but how can that be possible? Every morning she works for her children and hurries to the mill. I was told that on many occasions the poor woman works for a day without even a particle of food for herself. Their new place, to which they shifted for the sake of economy, is absolutely crowded. There were already 7 persons living there. These six added to that number make a crowd, considering the small area of the room. When the father was employed, two of the children attended school, but after

he was thrown out of employment he became somewhat indifferent towards his children. The children too avoid school, partly because of the indifference of the father, and partly on the ground that they have no clothes to wear. The father spends much of his time out of the house searching for work and returns late in the evening. He seems to have either no desire to speak, or no heart to do so, with his wife and children. I am told that the man has started doing cooly work as the last means of earning at least a few annas every day. For days together no one has seen all the members of the family eating together. It appears that the father spends about an anna for his afternoon meal and in the evening he returns late to find some little things left for him. Families like this have no chance to get any grain on credit as they already owe the grain merchant a comparatively heavy amount.

Side by side with the picture of an unemployed person with an earning wife I should like to offer a second picture of a woman compelled to seek work. In this case the husband, having worked for some years in Bombay, found himself unemployed as a result of a prolonged illness which rendered him almost unfit for work. Although he offered himself for re-employment regularly, the management of the mill would not listen to his arguments and turned him out. His wife had never worked before, as there was no necessity for it. But now she had to face a great difficulty. The husband was too weak to work. The monthly expenditure remained the same, and over and above there was a debt incurred during the husband's sickness, which only added to a previous one taken for the marriage of their daughter. What could the woman do under such circumstances? She desperately tried to find some sort of job that would at least solve the problem of food. The only job that she could secure was that of a domestic servant which brought in Rs. 8/- per month. Under almost similar circumstances, other women met with in this study, resorted to vegetable selling or even cooly work. In a few cases these wives of unemployed husbands began to accept paying guests in their houses. This practice, however, is viewed with disfavour by both the persons concerned and their neighbours.

I have already mentioned that a variety of circumstances are noticed among the workers who are unemployed. I have thus far dealt with three types of them. Besides these I observed several others. In some cases the wives and children were dispatched to the native places of the respective unemployed. Such cases were, however, very rare. In most cases they had to remain in Bombay because their native places offered no solution to the problem of unemployment. Another method of solving the problem of food was found to be in the distribution of the different family members into families of relatives. In this connection I have noticed with interest that these working class people

are very often more than willing to offer their hand of help to their brethren in distress. They do realise the value of mutual assistance. Unfortunately a very different state of affairs is revealed among the middle classes.

Unemployment means the absence of work, either due to its non-existence or the withdrawal of it. The economic effects of unemployment generally lead to poverty with all its different aspects. The effects may vary both as regards their intensity and nature. One may feel the effects of unemployment very acutely and another may not be so much affected by the same. It all depends on individuals and individual circumstances. My study of the unemployed persons in the vicinity of DeLisle Road, revealed to me some of the economic effects of prolonged unemployment. In almost all cases, I was told that the persons concerned tried their level best during the earlier stages of their forced idleness. Every honest and sincere effort was made to secure a suitable job; but as time passed on with no results, hope changed to desperation. The tragedy is that through prolonged unemployment many of the unemployed become so physically unfit as to be unemployable.

Among those whom I interviewed there were a certain number who held that unemployment presented no problem to them. I actually met a few persons who remarked that their work was so distasteful that their unemployment was a relief and almost a boon to them. It is doubtful whether this feeling and carefree attitude will last for a long time. In certain cases I observed that the more shrewd persons were able to capitalize their situation and to become dependent upon others.

The withdrawal or non-existence of work naturally means the stoppage of income and the absence of money for subsistence. Man must continue life, either as it is or with some modifications. There are certain fundamental things, however, in which modification and economy are not practicable. While inquiring into the economic conditions of these labourers, I could clearly see that their daily needs are very few. There is practically no scope for any drastic reduction. Any modification in their normal expenditure would mean partial starvation.

Under these circumstances, a considerable number of the cases studied had no alternative than to utilise the services of their wives and children. Even during normal conditions a good many women from the labour class contribute a share to the family funds. They do so over and above their daily domestic duties. Naturally they have to work in the house before and after their working hours. Even though the children of the family may not be able to secure any suitable work, an anna or two a day is looked upon as worthwhile help. Child labour is thus in some respects a result of adult unemployment.

The financial contribution of women and children among the cases studied was far from substantial, and this situation creates other problems. When it is clear to the unemployed male that the income brought in by the wife and child is insufficient for the maintenance of the family, he starts borrowing money either from his friends or from the moneylenders, but such a situation cannot long continue. If the unemployment continues beyond that stage of borrowing, the unemployed has to either pawn or sell some of his belongings. The rate of interest on borrowed money is generally enormous and the marwaries reap a good harvest at the cost of these poor people. The continued presence of Pathan moneylenders in this locality on all days of the week is quite significant and is an evident proof of the indebtedness of these people. The Welfare Centre in the DeLisle Road locality has observed that indebtedness is a common evil among the labourers as a whole. Even employed persons are not free from debts, which under normal circumstances very often amount to three times the monthly wages of the head of the family. It has also been noticed that the rate of interest charged by Pathan moneylenders and marwaries is sometimes as high as 75 % per annum. The condition of the unemployed persons is of course worse than that of the employed.

In the preceding paragraphs I have only referred to the legitimate means of earning money, which are resorted to by the unemployed persons. But there are others, which are both illegitimate and immoral. A tendency towards begging is found to be prevalent among certain unemployed persons. The form of begging in the case of these persons is, however, slightly different from that of ordinary beggars. They beg only on certain days of the month which have some religious significance. It is also noticed that the half-starved children, wandering about the streets in the locality have developed the same tendency of begging for coppers from the passers-by. A careful scrutiny, however, revealed that the coins thus obtained were in many cases used for gambling purposes. Gambling has its place among the effects of unemployment in this locality. The forms of gambling to which the children and adults resort are found to be slightly different in different cases. Though gambling is quite common, begging is the last desperate attempt to make both ends meet.

The economic insecurity of the unemployed has a direct bearing upon the physical and mental health of the family. Want of sufficient funds leads to partial or even total starvation. Scarcity of money brings in a change, both in the quantity and quality of the food consumed. The immediate effect of this change in diet is deterioration of health. In a few cases which I observed, this scarcity of food has so much crippled the persons that they are

complete physical wrecks. This is the result of long periods of semi-starvation coupled with mental unrest. The unemployment of the husband affects also the health of the wife, either directly or indirectly. The wife must share the misfortunes of her husband and naturally can only have the same food as the husband eats. In some cases, however, women are doubly unfortunate. They have to carry out their domestic duties, and due to the unemployment of the husband have to do some other work to bring in some income. This double strain naturally tells upon their health.

The children too in the family share the evils of unemployment. When they ought to be properly cared for and properly fed, they are completely neglected. Children as a matter of fact have a greater necessity of sufficient food. Their very growth depends on what they eat.

It is quite clear to every one that loss of employment and consequent reduction of income necessitates a lower standard of living, or some modifications in the needs and desires. If the need for lowering the standard of life is not great or if the ambitions and desires are simple, the unemployed person may be quite able to adapt himself to the changed circumstances. But on the other hand, if the ambition of the unemployed man is greater than average, or if his desire for material comforts is strong, he finds it more difficult to submit to the unhappy situation caused by the loss of employment.

The principal way in which unemployment affects mental health is by imposing strains and anxieties on people. The capacity of human beings to endure mental stress varies with individuals. Some persons seem to be naturally more free from internal stresses and better able to resist external ones, than others.

Unemployment, however, has brought about circumstances under which the strongest have had to surrender. It is a patent fact that unemployment impairs the mental health of those individuals who are mentally weak. Moreover it seems more than probable that many others who may have been on the border line of mental ill-health before unemployment go under it after the loss of their jobs.

One of the most powerful of human instincts is the desire for security—physical, economic and emotional. Unemployment brings insecurity of all these types. Physical and economic insecurity caused by unemployment have been already discussed in the preceding pages. We are now concerned with the emotional insecurity that results from unemployment. Emotional insecurity causes fear and its resulting chain of symptoms. Threats to pride, to sense of power, to success in attainment, to affections and loves, often come from economic frustration, and the resulting insecurity may cause any variety or degree of mental disorder.

It is beyond question that unemployment does exercise a demoralizing influence both upon the individual unemployed and those dependent upon him. His being out of work creates in him an inferiority complex. He tends to become detached from regular workers and loses his social status. After a time he identifies himself with the rest of the unemployed. This new group attachment means a lower standard of life and an attitude of hostility towards those who are more fortunate than himself. Thus personal demoralization is accompanied by social disorganisation. The social status of the wife of the unemployed man also suffers. The children, if any, have also to share the misfortunes. Their education is neglected, and the lack of proper guidance and control may lead them to objectionable behaviour. Child delinquency, like child labour, may have its origin in the unemployment of adults. The lack of education at the proper time practically condemns the children to a miserable life in the future. Thus we find that children have to rue the consequences of the hard luck of their unemployed father. In some cases, however, where the father is unemployed, it is noticed that a sense of rivalry springs up between the father and son—particularly when the son maintains the family.

The effects of unemployment upon the unemployed and their families are therefore not only physical and economic. The mental and social effects are equally great. The saying that "Man does not live by bread alone" has become quite commonplace and is often misused. But so far as the unemployed persons are concerned it contains a very deep truth. The economic effects constitute an important factor in the problem of unemployment. But one cannot forget that the economic factor is but one factor among many. It would be a very great mistake to think that the only reason why unemployed people cannot become reconciled to the state of unemployment is because of the drop in economic status and the standards which accompany unemployment. This wrong belief is obviously due to a misconception about the word unemployed. Unemployment is the absence or loss of employment. But what does it really mean? Does it mean only that the unemployed are those people who have lost something called "employment"? If we are led by the word unemployment to assume this and to argue on this basis we will be hopelessly misled. Unemployment does mean the loss of something called "employment", but it means much more. Though a majority of people lose with employment their income for their maintenance, others lose something else by the loss of the job. Some lose the opportunity of proving to themselves and to others that they are useful members of a working community. Others lose along with work an opportunity for physical and mental activity which keeps them going. Some others lose their best, or only opportunities,

for self-expression, for expressing their strength, or their alertness or their skill or even in some cases their artistic feelings.

Thus it is clear that unemployment is responsible not only for economic and physical loss to the unemployed, but is also responsible for the loss of social status and very often of mental health.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

AN EXPERIMENT IN PLANNED SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

INDIA is a land of poverty. Nearly 90 per cent of the population can be classed as poor. This poverty, however, has not the same expression at every place. There are at least three major types of poverty in India : (1) the poverty of contentment ; (2) the poverty of discontent ; (3) the poverty of decline and defeat. Millions of our peasants have known poverty for centuries and yet they live their lives in contentment and even happiness, unaware of a better standard of life or the possibilities of achievements and knowledge. The urban working classes, who witness the achievements of science and industry and the expressions of wealth and opportunities, gradually enter the second class. They see before them a better future and begin to take advantage of education and other opportunities, struggling and striving to become better and more prosperous. To the third class belong the poor who have known the blessings of opportunities, education and wealth ; but who, due to various causes, are introduced to want, poverty and decline.

The task of social reconstruction is to bring all classes of people to a normal standard of existence where there is health, education, efficiency and capacity for social and cultural achievement. This is mainly a task of rehabilitation, of restoring deviations from normal to normal, of improving the individual, restoring happiness and unity to the family, and vitality and organization to the social group.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Certain fundamental principles should govern the planning of social reconstruction :

1. Planning within well-defined geographical boundaries, irrespective of caste or creed, affords the best chances of success.
2. The leadership and organisational staff must be qualified in the theory and methods of social reconstruction.
3. The aim must be rehabilitation and not merely relief and amelioration.
4. There must be a personal and direct approach to the poor.
5. All welfare activities need to be evaluated and correlated to a pre-determined plan of social reconstruction.

In India, social welfare on a class, caste or sectarian basis has been in vogue. Activities are, therefore, scattered over extensive areas and administered by central authorities, which often do not maintain a contact with the poor and the activities that are provided for their welfare. The neighbourhood or community afford the greatest scope to leadership for efficient organisation, supervision and experimentation. The place and the physical environment provide a natural boundary for the execution of a programme that can be made most suitable to solve prevailing problems. A plan of social reconstruction, with the village, locality or street as unit is perhaps the best solution to the communal problem, as real problems will be faced by different communities together and there will be a check on interested parties who exploit ignorant persons by focussing the attention of the poor on less vital issues.

The major success of any plan depends upon the qualifications, knowledge and experience of leadership. By now it ought to be clear that the task of social reconstruction is difficult and involves the knowledge of problems and of the way to solve them, of social and individual psychology and of the ability to deal effectively with fast changing social phenomena.

The importance of direct and personal contact is easily realised if the welfare worker visualises his task as that of moulding the lives of individuals, families and societies and guiding the minds of people to work on constructive and creative lines. Personal contact affords the best opportunity for gaining knowledge of real problems, their intensity and effect. This makes planning easy and effective.

The aim of social work has been the subject of discussion and experimentation for centuries. It should now be conceded that mere palliatives, relief and amelioration, far from solving problems, create fresh problems and lead to the degeneration and deterioration of the individual and society. The real remedy lies in the effective and permanent eradication of poverty. The family must become the unit of social health. The free individual must be able to contribute the best towards human evolution. That is the real task of social welfare.

Imitation is a grave danger to social work. It is undesirable that welfare activities should be started at random simply because similar work is being done in some other place, without any consideration of existing circumstances and without the availability of efficient leadership and good organisation.

A CONCRETE PROJECT

The present article is not an attempt to elaborate the theories which ought to govern a planned effort for social welfare. A better insight can be obtained by describing an actual attempt to put theory into practice. The

following details describe the history, plan, methods and organisation of the Welfare Centre at the Sir Ratan Tata Buildings, Cowasji Jehangir Colony, Bombay. The Welfare Centre deals with nearly 250 poor Parsi families. It is thus a sectarian endeavour, though the plan is prepared on a neighbourhood basis. The sectarian approach could not be avoided due to conditions which govern finance and the conditions prevailing in the Parsi community. The leadership of the Welfare Centre, however, maintains a very broad outlook in the conduct of all activities.

The welfare plan is a sequel to the alarming increase of poverty in the Parsi community. About 3,000 families are maintained by doles and nearly 4,000 able-bodied persons are victims of chronic unemployment. The consequences of such poverty have been found to tell on the health and morale of the individual and the family. This poverty exists in spite of the annual help of about five lacs of rupees which are given away in the shape of doles and far larger sums which are spent on maintaining hospitals and clinics, educational institutions, industrial homes and related activities. During the last ten years more than a crore of rupees have been spent on providing cheap houses for the poor.

The actual conditions prevailing in the community were studied by a very detailed socio-economic survey which was carried out by the Parsi Statistical Bureau in 1939. The investigations obtained data on family history and migration, housing, health, education, economic conditions and unemployment in 11,000 Parsi families. The survey revealed the urgent need of planned social welfare work if a serious crisis in the community was to be avoided.

The Sir Ratan Tata Charities decided to spend about eight lacs of rupees to build eleven buildings on a large estate which was presented to them. The buildings were planned to house nearly 250 tenants. A good plan for the buildings with up-to-date sanitary arrangement, large rooms, adequate provisions for air and sunlight and necessary conveniences was prepared by a well-known firm of Bombay architects. The tenements are of three types : (1) one room and kitchen to house families of not more than 4 persons ; (2) one large room and kitchen to house families of 5 persons ; (3) two rooms and kitchen to house larger families. The rents of the tenements vary between Rs. 9 and Rs. 13 per month.

Nearly 2,100 applications were received for the unoccupied flats. Each application contained details of family composition by age, sex and relationship, as well as social and economic data. A further special house-to-house inquiry into the conditions of prospective tenants was carried out by a student of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work who is now appointed

Superintendent of the Colony. The following principles guided the selection of tenants who were later to receive the benefit of planned social welfare :

1. That housing needs should prevail over economic needs.
2. That the benefit of housing should go to the largest number of persons that could be housed without causing overcrowding and insanitary conditions.
3. That simple families should receive preference over lone persons, mixed families and joint families.
4. That the benefit of housing should go to families with an income of less than Rs. 100/- per month, provided such families are not destitutes.

The benefit of housing was given to families living in prostitution and insanitary areas and slums ; stranded families ; families living in overcrowded tenements ; and families paying a rent which was more than .33 % of their income.

The need of good housing can be seen from the fact stated above, that about 2,100 families applied for these 250 tenements.

The Trustees entrusted the plan and programme of social welfare to the Zoroastrian Welfare Association. The Association carries out its work with the help of trained and specially qualified leadership. 130 social workers contribute between 2 and 20 hours of work per week to this Association.

There are three primary approaches to the subject of social welfare. These are: (1) the personal approach ; (2) the family approach; and (3) the community approach. By utilising a method involving all the three types of social approach, a dynamic and co-ordinated plan of social welfare is able to affect all the important aspects of the lives of all the individuals residing in the Colony.

Personal approach is obtained by means of special activities for selected groups. The important groups are : (1) children between 5 and 12 ; (2) boys between 12 and 21; (3) girls between 12 and 21 ; (4) male adults between 21 and 55, and (5) female adults between 21 and 55.

Infant children are not neglected by the welfare programme. There is a Maternity and Child Welfare Clinic in the immediate neighbourhood which caters to this section of the community. The Clinic provides free milk and essential nutrition and medical care for the children, and also works for the education and training of the mothers. Family planning, involving instruction in birth control methods, is also a part of the Clinic's programme.

The most important activities for the benefit of children between 5 and 12 are : (1) a pre-school group; (2) a primary school; (3) a kiddy club, and (4) a play centre.

The Nursery School has a staff of trained teachers. It has the advantage of an excellent building with playgrounds and a play-shed. The playground of the Nursery School has been specially planned for the purpose and trees have been planted to provide cool shade. The playground is equipped with the necessary apparatus required for various games. With the assistance of qualified medical experts the following balanced diet is provided to the children:

Weekly Menu for Children of Pre-School Age

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Short Break 11 A.M.	Tomatoes Banana or Oranges	Bananas or Oranges	Bananas or Oranges	Bananas or Oranges	Bananas or Oranges
LUNCH 12-30 P.M.	<p>Vegetable stew of :— Spinach, Potatoes, Carrots, Onions, Tomatoes, Green peas, Green chillies</p> <p>Scrambled eggs</p> <p>Whole wheat bread</p> <p>Ground-nut cake</p> <p>Sour lime</p> <p>(Dal to be given to older children)</p>	<p>Rice and dal</p> <p>Liver mince with tomatoes and green chillies</p> <p>Sour lime</p> <p>Ground-nut cake</p>	<p>Grated raw vegetables</p> <p>Whole wheat bread</p> <p>Spaghetti or Lentil masur</p> <p>Tomato gravy with green chillies</p> <p>Sour lime</p> <p>Ground-nut cake</p>	<p>Wheat salad</p> <p>Eggs</p> <p>Sour lime</p> <p>Bread and butter</p> <p>Ground-nut cake</p>	<p>Rice & vegetable curry</p> <p>Raw salad</p> <p>Lentil-mag with green chillies</p> <p>Sour lime</p> <p>Ground-nut cake</p>
Afternoon Breakfast 3-30 P.M.	Milk with molasses Bread and butter	Whole wheat porridge	Juar or cholam pudding	Milk with molasses Bread and butter	Wheat bran custard

The curriculum of the school includes a special activity course which is suitable to the requirements of working class children. The course is based on the curriculum of labour schools in Europe. The child is introduced to the principal forms of matter used in modern agricultural and industrial production. There is a graded course of work-processes which involves the training

of the senses, the development of skills, and the assimilation of major work habits. The activity course, which is in addition to the other items of nursery and primary school training, includes reading, writing, story-telling, singing, drawing and kindergarten work.

The kiddy club is an organized group where children between 5 and 12 may spend their play hours in the evening, when the play-centre is not functioning. The club is under an instructor who provides planned play and other activities which are interesting and familiar to children. Activities for boys and girls include : (1) evening play-centre; (2) boys club; (3) girls club, and (4) nature club.

The play centre is the most important welfare activity for the benefit of persons between 5 and 20 years of age.

The ideal of the play centre is to provide healthy, interesting and organised pastimes for young children, boys and girls, with the end in view of developing character and preparing the young to become energetic, useful, healthy and social members of the community.

The aims of the play-centre are :

- (1) To provide suitable play to interest various age-groups of both the sexes.
- (2) To train members in disciplined enjoyment, self-government and leadership.
- (3) To provide outdoor life for the young.

The method of the play-centre is to organize children residing in small, well-defined localities into play-groups managed by themselves ; and organized, directed and supervised by persons who are friends of the young.

The entire play centre is treated as one unit. The play is divided according to heights of children into the following sections, under a section leader who can also be a group leader :

- (1) The Nursery Section, having both boys and girls.
- (2) The Junior Girls Section.
- (3) The Junior Boys Section.
- (4) The Senior Girls Section.
- (5) The Senior Boys Section.

Each Section is divided under a group leader into groups with not more than 25 members.

The director, the superintendents and the instructors are in charge of the direction of the play centre. The efficiency officer, the supervisor, the quarter-master and the health supervisor are responsible for the management and supervision of the centre. Sections and groups are managed by section and group leaders.

Games played at the centres are divided into the following groups : (1) free play without leadership ; (2) nursery activities ; (3) organised group and team games ; (4) major team games like volley-ball, basket-ball, cricket, hockey, captain ball, hutu-tu and ata-pata ; and (5) indoor games. Other allied activities of the play centre include excursions, cycling, skating, swimming, tramping and camping.

The aims of the boys and girls clubs are :

1. To develop native talent by giving encouragement and providing opportunity for self-expression.
2. To foster skills by engaging the members in the elementary practice of applied sciences and arts.
3. To give opportunity for healthy social and intellectual recreation.
4. To build character and inculcate in the young a spirit of service, comradeship and brotherhood.
5. To create a love for outdoor life.

Activities of the boys clubs include elementary handyman ship, mechanics, electrical mechanics, applied chemistry, painting and drawing, hobbies, carpentry, fretwork, reading of interesting boys literature, radio and cinema for educational purposes, outdoor life, camping, visits to interesting places and social activities.

Activities of the girls clubs include drawing, painting, singing, music, embroidery, knitting, raffia-work, basket-making, flower-making, cooking and sewing.

The nature club aims at creating a love for nature and outdoor life in the young. Hikes, excursions, tramps and camps are frequently organised and boys undertake long distance hikes on bicycles.

The women's club is an organisation to provide recreation and adult education to the most important section of the community. The programme of the women's club includes socials, musical evenings, lectures, excursions, visits to places of interest and classes in domestic economy, cooking, sewing and embroidery.

The men's club is an organisation with a programme similar to the women's club. Recently a workingmen's recreation club has been planned to provide daily recreation to men when they return from work. Indoor and outdoor games are the chief attraction.

The above programme of group work is meant to enlist the interest, enthusiasm and energy of every member of the community in a systematic effort to improve the character, morale, education and ability of all the members of the community. The continuous effect of a well planned programme creates a new outlook, a happier reaction to life and a desire to better one's

condition and get out of the clutches of chronic poverty.

The problem of the individual is the problem of society as a whole. In ordinary cases it can be expected that a simple programme of group work on a well organized basis will be enough to secure a measure of co-operation and public spirit. This is, however, not true when families have been under the spell of poverty for a generation. Maladjustments have not only crept into the lives of individuals, but of families as a whole. In many cases bad housing in the past, chronic unemployment, chronic sub-health and want of social and recreational life have so undermined the morale and happiness of the individual and the family that it becomes imperative to solve the problem of the family by case work.

Case work is the most important and most difficult branch of social work. The case of each family has to be studied historically ; the real causes of poverty have to be traced ; the happiness and unity of the members of the family have to be restored ; and such help as is essential for putting a family on its legs has to be given.

This is done by a qualified and trained social worker who knows the methods of family case work, individual and social psychology, and the right methods of individual and social approach. This is the main task of the superintendent of the colony. He is not merely an official in charge of housing, but he maintains a friendly and individual contact with all the residents of the colony. He visits each family as often as possible. In the first stage a complete historical, social and economic record of the family is obtained. The historical, marital, economic, social and religious life of the family is studied and continuous addition to the initial data is obtained through case cards which are filled in at each visit. Over and above this the superintendent maintains the following records :

- (1) A register of births, initiations, marriages and deaths.
- (2) A register of employment and unemployment.
- (3) A register of family health.
- (4) A personal record of education of the student community.

The task of a superintendent is to be a friend, adviser, guide and helper to the poor families who are constantly in need of aid. After general direction is given to the family to improve conditions, the case is taken up for exhaustive treatment.

The treatment includes such items as the settling of family disputes, provision for employment or maintenance and the restoration of health. Doles are given in rare cases, but the major object in view is to put the family on a basis of independence, self-reliance and self-respect.

The community approach is attempted in six distinct directions :

(1) housing ; (2) general education ; (3) economic reconstruction ; (4) organisation of social life ; (5) health and (6) religion.

We have already said that houses are provided at cheap rent with adequate amenities and sanitation. Overcrowding is avoided and slum conditions are controlled by good planning and scientific housing management.

The superintendent of the colony is in general charge of housing. He sees to it that the rules are obeyed, cleanliness maintained and an atmosphere of peace and goodwill reigns in the neighbourhood. The actual management and administration of housing is left to the manager of the colony who is responsible for the collection of rent, the control of the menial staff and the care and maintenance of houses, playground and roads.

The trustees are the owners of the colony and the direction and control of the colony is entrusted by them to a housing committee consisting of doctors, civil engineers, ladies and welfare workers. This unofficial committee supervises the work of the staff, visits the tenants and looks after sanitation and cleanliness.

In all cases a human and friendly approach is maintained and the difficulties of the poor are sympathetically considered and dealt with. This does not mean that there is any want of firmness or that sentimentality is allowed to overrule the needs of discipline and good organisation.

Education is the most important weapon of social reconstruction. Education is not meant for children alone, but all human beings are constantly required to educate themselves with the aid of social educational programmes.

The Welfare Centre is a large and extensive building which provides all facilities for a full educational programme. It was built at a cost of Rs. 40,000 with a spacious hall and large rooms. It is specially planned for welfare and educational activities. It is used as a workshop and centre for vocational training in the day and for educational, recreational, and welfare activities in the evening. The building includes an office, which is planned to be the centre of propaganda and organisation, a sales shop, a health clinic and separate rooms for activities of boys, girls, men, women and children.

The Welfare Centre has its own newspaper called *Colony Jivan* (Colony Life). It is a monthly bulletin giving an educative editorial. Special items are included to interest men, women and youth. The paper gives general world news and local news and programmes. There is a leader's page to guide local leadership.

An intellectual life is tonic to poverty. It is essential to awaken the consciousness of the poor and make them realise the problems that confront them and the obstacles they have to overcome. The reading room, library, circulating library, debating society and dramatic club, all help to keep up

the interest of the residents of the colony in the problems of life. Newspapers and magazines are a good recreation to those who can spare some hours to know the path this world is treading and the reading room is able to attract a small audience till late hours in the night. A library must fit the requirements and intellectual tastes of the public and therefore the selection of literature for the library is an important problem. Good novels and easy literature are kept in the library, whilst books on history, economics, science, politics, psychology and education are kept in a special circulating library for the benefit of persons of better intellectual calibre. The debating society is patronised by old and young, men and women alike, and it provides keen interest to the otherwise dull life of the workingmen. The dramatic society is a further incentive to local enthusiasts to portray local life and problems in action, colour, song and music.

A distinct enthusiasm for the adult education programme is added by the radio and the cinema. Educational films draw large audiences and visual education has proved a most useful and efficient tool for adult education.

Small annual exhibitions on various topics are a good medium of education. During the last two years two local exhibitions were organised—one on "Home and Child Welfare" and another on "Arts and Crafts." Exhibitions help to create interest in various aspects of life and bring to public notice latent talents amongst the poor.

The Welfare Centre pavilion will house a local museum to perpetuate interesting creations of the local population. The museum is to become a permanent source of education.

Economic reconstruction is the most difficult part of the local welfare programme. Three main branches seek to solve the economic problem : (1) The employment bureau ; (2) development of local industries and handicrafts, and (3) cooperative societies.

Unemployment is a major issue that has worried the Parsi community for a long time. The Association gave a close study to the problem. The facts and figures given by the Parsi Statistical Bureau were examined and it was found that a scientifically and systematically managed employment bureau was the crying need of the community.

The employment bureau gives special attention to every individual case and all work is distributed into five divisions : (1) recording and investigation ; (2) grading of capacity ; (3) canvassing and study of employment demand ; (4) follow-up and vocational guidance, and (5) vocational training.

The above method has proved useful and successful. A detailed unemployment record is prepared, giving a full survey of the economic conditions, academic qualifications, experience and life history of the unemployed person.

The unemployed person then goes through a brief examination and an intensive study of his case is undertaken by specially qualified persons. The result is stated in a confidential report. Copies of the record and confidential report are sent to employers. Advertisements in daily, local and up-country papers are studied. Applications are made and dispatched to the probable employers, together with recommendation letters from influential persons. In many cases employers are interviewed by our officers. Some important friends work as agents of our bureau in important offices and they let us know about vacancies that occur. If a person is employed, contact is maintained with the person recommended by us. Every necessary help and advice is given to him, and if problems arise, they are solved for him. It is also seen that satisfactory, regular and efficient service is given by persons recommended by us.

Where it is found during investigation that prospects of an unemployed person will improve by further vocational training, arrangements are made for apprenticeship in mills, factories, workshops, or for special training in type-writing and shorthand classes. The experience of our employment bureau has revealed that there is an urgent need to preserve the talents of artists and craftsmen. This can only be done by well organised handicrafts, aided by small machinery, where the skill of the unemployed can be employed and improved, and jobs can be found for them.

The need was also disclosed for well organised, regional workhouses where the able-bodied, middle-aged and uneducated unemployed can do some useful work under proper supervision.

In order to take advantage of the welfare centre pavilion, consideration was given to discovering a small industry for which there might be a demand in the market ; where there were possibilities for expansion ; which would not require a very large capital outlay or involve any serious risk, and which would enable us to employ artists, skilled craftsmen and others. Our study revealed that there is a good deal of demand in the market for what is called nursery furniture, specially constructed to suit the requirements of children and at the same time provide for training and development. Spray-painted furniture with ornamentation to suit a child's aesthetics, is much in demand, and is able to obtain a fair price. A small industry has therefore been created to produce kindergarten, nursery and infant school equipment ; furniture for home nursery and classrooms ; play articles like blocks, jig saws, fancy toys and rag dolls ; playground equipment ; toys suitable for advertising purposes, and sundry wooden, spray-painted articles.

Participation in social life is not merely social recreation, it is a contribution towards social organisation, social unity and social harmony. The leadership of the welfare organisation takes advantage of every opportunity

to bring and keep the residents together and gradually weld them into a happy and creative neighbourhood. Holidays are celebrated with social gatherings, songs, music and entertainment. The athletic sports, annual exhibitions and annual social gatherings are important occasions where all sections of the community come together to realise the bonds that bind society together. Frequent programmes of lectures and religious and other functions are also organised to educate and create social consciousness. Over and above this, the welfare centre and all its allied activities provide opportunities for social action, social effort and social participation for the common good.

The colony is fortunate in having within its precincts a Fire Temple which is under the direction of an educated priest who is a student in the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work. It is planned to make religion a centre for cultivated brotherhood, peace and tolerance. A religious leadership with learning and a broad outlook is able to overcome petty religious bigotry, prejudices and superstitions; and instil real life into the mere form of religion. Freed from the limitations of uneducated and over-ritualistic priestcraft, religion is bound to grow to serve the people and contribute towards such spiritual development as is necessary for every human being.

B. H. M.

THE CHILDREN'S CLUB AS A FACTOR IN CIVIC EDUCATION

SINCE the problem of group living is becoming more and more difficult with the growing complexity of our modern civilisation, the purpose of a democratic plan of education has come to include the development of well-integrated individuals who can live successfully in an ever-changing dynamic culture. Its function, therefore, among others is to train children not only to solve problems of human relationships within the limits of their individual capacities but also to take the steps necessary to achieve success in the art of co-operative living. The home and the school have long been reckoned as important agencies to teach children to be open-minded, tolerant and kindly toward the beliefs of others, to think logically, to make wise personal and social choices and to cultivate the essential disciplines of self-direction, self-appraisal and self-control. And now the playground has been added to this list of educational agencies because of its social significance.

Though we in India have begun to provide parks and playgrounds in congested urban areas, our main aim in this undertaking is to keep underprivileged children off the streets and provide them with opportunities for the enjoyment of their leisure. But character building as an objective to be obtained through play has not yet come to be recognised,

While play can contribute in many directions to the socialization of the child, the use of the playground in itself is of little value in character formation. Desirable social attitudes and habits can be formed in children only when their play activities are properly supervised and guided. To this important aspect little or no thought has yet been given. In the West, clubs are organised in different localities where children can go regularly and participate in supervised group play with children more or less of the same age. Through trained leadership these clubs try to make the play activities of children productive of social values.

Though the children's club movement has not yet become popular in India, some efforts are being made here and there to utilise the club as an effective educational agency. For instance, Mrs. E. Asirvatham, B. A., started a few years ago the Inayatbagh Children's Club in Lucknow, with a small group of children of the neighbourhood. The club has grown rapidly in its membership, and now has a club house with play equipment such as swings, seesaw, kiddy cars, climbing ladder and the like. Another interesting feature of this club is its library, which has a fairly good collection of children's story and picture books. The little members make good use of the library books both at the club and in the home.

No doubt, the Inayatbagh Children's Club has received some recognition from those who appreciate its usefulness in the education of the child, but the children's club movement has not yet taken root in India because the social values of play have not yet received our serious consideration. Even so great a thinker as Spencer, who declared that children should be encouraged to play in order that they might work off their surplus energy, lost sight of its social significance. Rightly do modern psychologists refuse to regard play simply as a superfluity of childhood. In it they see a wise provision of Nature for the development of the human race.

As the child plays, so the man works. In other words, there is a close connection between the character and extent of the child's play and the sort of life he leads when he grows up to manhood. And in the most natural way, play prepares the child for his later activities as an adult. The naturalness, the freedom and the spontaneity of play contribute much more to the development of his personality than we have yet realized. It is not without purpose that Nature has made the child a little playing animal; he plays not because he is young; he is young in order that he may play and thereby train himself in the art of living. And naturally, therefore, during the early years of his life, he educates himself in a very real sense through his play activities.

Since play is in harmony with his very nature, the child enters into it wholeheartedly, and through unconscious exercise acquires an adequate physi-

cal basis for his life. In the course of play he develops his reflexes, increases his powers of physical control, makes his digestive organs and nervous system strong, his blood pure, and his heart and lungs sound. In addition, he gains precision in his movements, an accurate knowledge of his environment, and enough resistance to throw off disease germs. In short, the child acquires health, strength, endurance, grace and symmetry. But the effects of play are not merely physical ; they are mental and social as well.

Children begin playing in the second quarter of the first year, and long before the close of that year, they have engaged in a great variety of play. Almost every sensation and movement, which comes under their control, is repeated again and again in play. For the first two or three years, the child's play is almost wholly sensory, motor and perceptive. In the third year his powers of imagination are sufficiently developed to be used fairly extensively in play. Feasts and fetes are provided on short notice and without complications which so often perplex adult dispensers of hospitality. Imagination, as a director of play activities, usually approaches its climax in the fifth and sixth years. Children of this age are specially interested in fairy stories, largely because such tales give playful exercise to their powers of imagination.

During the first five years, the child's activities are free and imaginative, and are almost wholly of the kind called play; while in the period from five to ten, games become more and more prominent. And then on to puberty, testing exercises of physical powers are important elements in his play activities. During the latter part of this period, there is a desire not only to do what companions can or cannot do, but to reach certain standards, to "make records." Thus play stimulates not only the child's physical growth, but also his mental development. These effects of play were the first values to be discovered. The social and moral influences of play activities of children were unobserved until some of their necessary consequences became too patent to remain hidden from the view of social scientists. That some of the world's great teachers have long since discerned the value of play is true, but the popular mind has not followed them. And the discovery had to be made anew. Even now the social values of play have not been given the consideration they deserve.

Though the Duke of Wellington, when asked to explain his victory at Waterloo, is reported to have replied that it had been won years ago on the playgrounds of Eton, yet we have been very slow to recognize that the playground is the place where the child learns to lead and be led, to live and let live, and play the game in the struggle for existence even if the odds are against him.

So the child's real world is the world of play, and he thinks and acts in terms of play. Naturally, therefore, it is in the playground companionship

that he gets nearly all of his experiences and forms almost all of his attitudes towards others. On the play field his choices are many; he acts as a free agent and creates his own ideals. It is there he does what he wants to do, and acts from the inner law of his own being. Such actual participation in life and its various responsibilities affords a civic training for which no other substitute can be found. In fact, it is here that we get our cue as to the possibilities of play, and to the need of its proper cultivation so that the normal social impulse may have a chance to contribute its part to manhood and womanhood.

Since the social nature of the child finds its fullest and freest expression in his recreative activities, play produces indelible effects on him for good or bad. Without proper supervision and guidance, group play may often develop undesirable social habits and attitudes, and produce the bully or the coward. But in the club, play activities are well-planned and supervised, thus minimizing bad influences and impressing upon the child's mind the ideals of method and co-operation. Few children are by nature generous; the majority of them, being selfish, need the companionship of other children to round off their rough corners. Through the associated activities of the club, children soon learn—though they have no clear idea at first of the rights of the individual—that no group of children can usurp all the privileges, that the right to use a play outfit cannot be monopolized by any one, that all things should be held in common, and that every child should be given an equal opportunity.

In this manner the supervised activities of the club help to eliminate from the child's mind the vulgar notion that "might is right," and inculcate in him the idea that others also have rights and such rights must be respected. He is thus made to recognize mutual rights as a principle in co-operative living. Need we point out the profound significance of this development of the notion of mutual rights for the growth of a healthy citizenship? Our rapidly growing communal consciousness, social and political expansion, and the increasing number of contacts which they involve, demand new delimitations of rights and more ample recognition of the boundaries of the group and the individual. The fact that play gives the child the much-needed training in the recognition of mutual rights, entitles it to be regarded as an important school for the training of citizens.

Allied to the development of this recognition of mutual rights is the growth of self-control as a natural consequence of the former. The social results which follow are expressed in such ethical values as obedience, order, self-control and discipline. Self-control, which develops from the influence of play, makes obedience something more than unwilling subordination. The child, who thus learns to respect the rules of the playground, respects authority

as he grows up and obeys the laws of the State. Even the conflicts of the playground are not without some value in building up the child's character; in point of fact, such conflicts awaken his first notions of social justice. Further, the child's experiences in supervised group activities go a long way in producing in him a sense of the value and uses of order, which is the mainstay of social stability.

Play being social in character, another of its positive social values lies in the effectiveness with which it brings together on a common level children of different castes and social strata. They are all alike in their need of play and the ideals of the playground are more or less the same for them all. This common human need and this common mode of expression furnish a basis on which children of all kinds and conditions can meet. By working and playing in situations which demand a variety of interactions and reactions, the child slowly builds up his capacity for good judgment in social relationships. Surely no better opportunities than those furnished by play could be desired for allaying caste prejudices, mitigating social and class differences, and laying the foundation of our common humanity. Play, if properly guided, makes children thoughtful and courteous, and draws out the finer qualities of the spirit. And yet training in friendliness and neighbourliness has not been thought of as an important function of education.

Few opportunities for discipline in living together are more significant than those afforded by supervised group play. If we wish to realise the ideal of social efficiency, we can ill-afford to neglect the play-life of the child. Sooner or later the child draws away from the protective care of the family and emerges as a self-directing individual. Albeit, it is absurd to expect the child to make the transition mechanically from the individualism of his recently discovered selfhood to the intricate relationships of adulthood with all the attitudes and skills for social living ready made. Truth to tell, it is his social group that develops most of his social attitudes and values, and enables him to orient himself in the practices and purposes of community life.

It is on the playground he learns, if his activities are wisely guided, the knack of getting on with his fellowmen, acquires the spirit of cooperation, self-sacrifice and loyalty to the group, and it is there he prepares himself to become the efficient citizen of a democracy. The club under trained management can control the group activities so as to enable children to develop the habits, standards and attitudes of greatest value to them and to society. It is this understanding of child nature and the educational possibilities of play that is at the basis of the rapidly expanding movement for children's clubs in Europe and America.

We cannot lag behind the progressive countries of the West in making

the best use of the opportunity child nature provides in the training of India's future citizens in the art of group living. The danger to a wholesome civic life in India lies in the communal conflicts and caste prejudices, in the lack of sympathy and understanding, and in the persistence within our gates of seemingly irreconcilable and hostile elements. But the opportunities afforded by organized and supervised recreation for accomplishing this difficult task of unifying the discordant forces are certainly very great. If we want the future citizen of India to live at peace and harmony with his fellows and co-operate generally as a good citizen, we cannot neglect this club-way of training the child in group living.

J. M. K.

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE WORK IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY: TODAY AND TOMORROW¹

THE historical roots of modern industrial welfare work are to be found in the humanitarian movement which took rise in England during the second half of the eighteenth century, under the influence of the Wesleyan revival. It was Robert Owen (1771-1858), himself a prosperous factory manager, who first perceived the relationship between satisfactory working conditions and increased production. His unorthodox procedure in increasing wages, shortening hours and reducing child labour to a minimum astounded his fellow-employers, but won the loyalty and co-operation of his own employees.

Owen realized that if a worker is to be at his best it is necessary not only that he should work under satisfactory conditions, but also live under satisfactory conditions. Hence in the factory village of New Lanark he provided such amenities as decent sanitation, medical care, a savings bank and a model provision store. He interested himself in the education of children and organized night classes for adults. He provided the village with a public park, recreation facilities and a public hall.

The experiments of Owen are worthy of mention because they demonstrated in the early days of industry, under unideal conditions, that attention to the amenities of working life is not incompatible with a profitable industry.

But though Owen had his followers, it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that welfare work made any marked progress in British industry. The reasons which led employers to undertake welfare work are varied and the motives undoubtedly mixed. In some instances the motive was undoubtedly humanitarian and idealistic. In others it may have been purely selfish—a

¹ The materials in this note first appeared as an article in the Jubilee Number of *The Indian Textile Journal* and are reprinted here with the kind permission of the Editor.

means to the end of increased profits. Ranging between these two extremes are the obviously utilitarian motives: the desire for increased efficiency; the desire to attract a better type of labourers into the plant, or the desire to attract labourers to a new industrial centre—perhaps in an out-of-the-way location—by offering special inducements. With the rise of the labour movement many employers turned to welfare work as a means of keeping a step or two in advance of the demands of labour and thus preventing the spread of unionism. It is not unknown for employers to start welfare work as a means of utilising surplus profits and thus avoiding payment of heavy taxes to governments. But whatever the motive, the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century saw a marked increase in the number of employers introducing safety and sanitary measures, improving the working and living conditions of the workers, reducing hours of work and providing for the education and recreation of both workers and their families.

The first cotton mill in India was organised in Bombay in 1851. The American Civil War gave an impetus to the cotton textile industry and by 1873 there were 18 mills, employing approximately 10,000 men, women and children. The First Indian Factories Act (1881) was not wholly a result of the development of a social conscience in India, but received a powerful impetus from the concern of Lancashire manufacturers over Indian competition, leading to a demand to regulate Indian labour. It is not my purpose here to present a history of Indian labour legislation. I would only point out that progressive improvement has been brought about by legislation in respect to working conditions, hours of work and the employment of women and children. No less important is the legislation relating to workmens' compensation, maternity benefit and payment of wages. In some instances, welfare work on the part of advanced employers has influenced legislation; in other instances legislation has been necessary to bring lagging employers into line. Though there is an intimate connection between welfare work and industrial legislation, my concern in this paper is with that voluntary welfare work undertaken by employers over and above the demands imposed by legislation.

Industrial welfare work, as commonly understood in India today, refers to steps taken by management, within and without the place of work, to increase the efficiency and happiness of the labour staff. Such activities include the measures compelled by factory legislation, but go beyond legislation in providing for the health, safety and comfort of the workers. Thus welfare work is concerned with medical care, education, housing, promotion of thrift, recreation, social security—in fact with any activity or condition which will help the worker to adjust to his environment in a more satisfactory manner. In India as elsewhere, the motive for welfare work varies. In some

cases the motive is frankly, "It pays"; while in other cases there is a genuine concern for the welfare of the employees as men and fellow workers.

The amount of welfare work in India is still small when compared with the number of workers employed in industry. India being a poor country, one would not expect to find welfare work upon the extensive and often lavish scale that it is practised in the West. But even welfare work of a modest nature is altogether too rare.

It was ten years ago that the Royal Commission on Labour in India made the following statement :

We believe that there are great opportunities for the extension of welfare work in India, and that in few directions is expenditure of money and thought so certain to give valuable results. There are benefits of great importance which the worker is unable to secure for himself, such as decent housing, adequate sanitation, efficient medical attention and the education of his children, and an advance of State activity should be looked for in these directions. There is a difficulty in that the industrial workers form only a small fraction of the population and it is difficult to justify any elaborate and expensive extension of State services for their exclusive benefit. In present circumstances, therefore, further advance must depend to a considerable extent on the co-operation of employers with other sections of the community. It is precisely the fact that the workers have been brought together in an industrial area which creates many of the problems of health, housing, recreation, etc., with which they are faced. For this reason, we are strongly in favour, at the present juncture, of a more general extension on the part of the employer of welfare work in its broader sense. It is advisable to remember that there is a danger in giving to welfare what should go in wages and so depriving the worker of independence and of the educative experience which comes from having a margin after necessities have been met. But ordinarily there is no question of choosing between raising wages and developing welfare activities. Employers who have done most in the way of welfare work do not usually pay lower wages than their neighbours. Indeed, welfare work is generally associated with wages higher than are paid in corresponding establishments where no such work is attempted. Extensive welfare schemes may be regarded as a wise investment which should, and usually does, bring in a profitable return in the form of greater efficiency. (pp. 259-260.)

The extension of industrial welfare work to which the Royal Commission on Labour looked forward has not materialized. As a matter of fact there is reason to believe that relative to the increase in the number of workers, the situation has deteriorated during the past ten years. The welfare work examined by the Commission was in large measure an inheritance of the general prosperity of the early 1920's, and in part the result of feverish activity on the part of a number of employers to have something tangible to exhibit to the Commission—even though the forced plant died a natural death once the sunlight of Commission inspection was removed. Again, the condition of the textile industry during the last decade has not been such as to encourage the employers to make large expenditures for welfare work. Difficulty has been experienced in maintaining the status quo.

It is obviously impossible in an article of this nature to give a detailed account of all the welfare activities being carried on in the Indian Textile

Industry. It is therefore perhaps invidious to single out even a half dozen pieces of work for special mention. But the illustrations cited do give some indication both of the type of work that is being done, and of what can be attempted in the welfare field.

One of the best, as well as one of the oldest pieces of welfare work, is that sponsored by the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras. The activities carried on cover a wide field, including health propaganda and medical care, athletics, workmen's stores, co-operative societies, safety first education, low rent worker's housing, library, dramatic society and forum. The educational programme includes a school for the education of halftimers, training for apprentices, and night classes for those workers who wish to pursue their studies further. The welfare committee of the Mills, composed of representatives of management and workers, deals with such questions as provident fund and gratuity, workers' pensions, wage increments, fines, bonuses, and leave and medical certificates. The work is under the supervision of a full-time secretary and his staff and the programme changes from time to time to meet the changing needs of the workers. A succession of annual reports, dating back to 1922, indicate clearly that the welfare committee has been an important factor in promoting peace and harmony in the mills and enriching the life of the workers.

The Empress Mills in Nagpur also have a long record of achievement. The welfare work consists of two types—internal and external. The internal work is under the direction of the management and includes such activities as cheap grain sales, medical assistance, creches for infants, instruction for half-day girl and boy workers, noon-time recreational activities, cinema shows and entertainments. The external work is entrusted to the Y.M.C.A. and is carried on in the "bastis" or residential areas of the workers. The programme includes kindergarten and primary schools, adult classes, illustrated lectures, mothers' classes, institutes for games and reading purposes, co-operative societies, medical activities, scouting and outdoor games. The model housing programme of the Mills, in which the Company has granted special facilities to workers for the erection of their own private dwellings, has attracted wide attention.

In Cawnpore, Messrs. Begg, Sutherland & Co., Ltd., employ a welfare superintendent to direct the welfare activities of the various companies under their agency. The work follows the general pattern of schools, library and reading room, indoor and outdoor games, scouting, adult education, medical work and entertainment. A number of workers' houses are provided at low rents. The welfare superintendent hears the workers' grievances and brings them to the attention of the proper authorities. He also deals with cases

involving accidents and accident compensation.

The Delhi Cloth Mills support a welfare programme which includes recreational activities; health hygiene and safety measures; educational and vocational training schemes; workers' housing, and miscellaneous benefits to workers, such as provident fund, sickness insurance scheme and old age pensions. A gymnasium, swimming pool and theatre are the outstanding attractions in the recreational programme. A maternity home, child welfare centre, creche and hospital are important elements in the health programme. A labour officer engages staff, looks into complaints and supervises welfare work.

Ahmedabad is unique in that the lead for welfare work is given not by the employers, but by a labour union—The Textile Labour Association. Under intelligent leadership this union has developed a strong programme and enrolled a membership of some 25,000 workers. The activities of the Association include workers' housing, medical care, schools for children of workers and adult education. The union has been an important factor in preserving industrial peace in Ahmedabad. Ahmedabad is one of the few centres in India where the workers are taking the lead in helping themselves.

In Bombay a number of mills are carrying on welfare work that is worthy of mention. These mills include the Sassoon Group, Century, Svadeshi, Khatau Makanjee, Kohinoor, Morarji Gokuldas, Simplex, Spring and Hindustan.

The Bombay welfare work is comprehensive in scope. A number of the mills provide literacy education opportunities for their workers. A few maintain primary schools, while over a dozen mills send promising workers for further training in the special technical classes conducted by the Social Service League or the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute. Visual education is carried on both within the mill premises and outside the mills.

Practically all of the Bombay mills provide some sort of facilities for either indoor or outdoor games—or both—and sponsor various types of leisure-time activities such as bhajans, dramatic performances, excursions and exhibitions. Eighteen mills provide partial housing accommodation for their employees; more than 40 mills have canteens; 12 mills provide tiffin rooms and 3 mills have boarding houses. Thirty-seven Bombay mills maintain their own dispensaries, which provide medical facilities for the workers and their families.

That the Bombay Mill owners have an interest in the economic security of their employees is evidenced by the fact that 24 Bombay Mills support a total of 41 co-operative societies; 15 mills have provident fund schemes; 10 grant some sort of bonus, and 11 grant pensions or gratuities to old employees at the discretion of the managing agents.

All of the larger mills in India comply at least with the minimum legislative requirements regarding sanitation, ventilation, drinking water, safety, crèches, maternity benefit and workmen's compensation, and many of the mills are considerably in advance of the law. The most commonly accepted forms of voluntary welfare work are concerned with medical relief and housing.

A definite advance in recent years has been the appointment of both Government labour officers and private labour officers, extending the meaning of welfare from the provision of amenities for working men and their families to a serious attempt to deal with internal working conditions, workers' grievances and the promotion of industrial harmony. The outstanding development in this direction has been in the city of Bombay, where the Government Labour Officer, Labour Officer of the Millowners' Association and labour officers from individual mills are co-operating in improving conditions, efficiency and raising the standard of wages.

A still more recent development in the Bombay Province has been the appointment of a Government Labour Welfare Officer and the opening of labour welfare centres by Government in the cities of Ahmedabad and Bombay. This step is a recognition of the principle that the welfare of the worker is not the concern of the employers alone, but of Government as well. The work is wholly extra-mural, being carried on in the various localities in which the workers live.

So much for a very brief account of some the welfare work that is being done in the Indian textile industry today. The remainder of my article will be devoted to welfare work tomorrow, as I discuss a number of ways by which the meaning of welfare can be extended, so that welfare work may be of greater service both to employers and employees.

It was the World War and a growing interest in the application of psychology to industry which gave a new turn to welfare work in the United States. For some time the psychologists had been experimenting with industrial fatigue and endeavouring to discover means of lessening the strain of modern machine industry. They had also devoted attention to the study of labour turnover, with its attendant waste. The World War created a difficult problem in that it placed new demands on industry and at the same time called experienced workmen out of industry for army service. If efficiency was to be maintained it was essential that the displaced workmen be replaced by men who could operate machines in an intelligent manner. The tool which the psychologists offered was based upon the theory of individual differences. If men did differ in abilities, the task was to discover these differences and to endeavour to place each man in the position in which he could function most efficiently. This new approach to the problem of industrial management was

given the name of Personnel Administration and the older welfare activities were designated as a department under this general head, known as service management or employee services. Personnel administration has been described as "labour management enlightened by a scientific spirit and a social conscience."² The officer-in-charge of a modern personnel division or industrial relations department is regarded as equal in importance to the executives charged with finance, production or distribution.

The enlargement in scope from the earlier welfare activities to a modern personnel department can be seen from the following description of the functions of such a department :

- (a) Employment management, which is concerned with the maintenance of the necessary staff of workers, that is, selecting, hiring, transfer, promotion, discharge and the like ;
- (b) Training activities ;
- (c) Health and safety efforts ;
- (d) Joint negotiation and adjustment, which is concerned with the conduct of collective bargaining or relations with company unions in the determination of terms and conditions of employment and the handling of individual cases requiring adjudication under such agreements ; and
- (e) Service or welfare work, which is concerned with the administration of the numerous supplementary efforts such as insurance, pensions, savings plans, company housing, lunch rooms, recreational facilities, and the like.³

A further study of the kinds of service provided under "(e) service or welfare work" reveals a wide range of effort including medical service and hospitals, indoor and outdoor recreational facilities, libraries, lunch rooms, loan funds, thrift plans, benefit associations, group insurance, provision for sick leave with pay and provision for vacation with pay. Considerable attention is being paid to providing for the security of employees through mutual benefit associations, death benefits, sickness and accident benefits, group life insurance, group health and accident insurance, group unemployment insurance and pensions. There has also been a marked development of employee representation on works councils, shop committees and the like.

As a means toward self help a large number of western industrialists encourage systematic savings funds, both with and without company contributions. In some instances the company pays a higher rate of interest than can be secured from the local banks. Employee stock-ownership plans are another form of saving. Profit-sharing plans, about which much was heard in the earlier days, are today on the wane.

Educational activities include training on the job, apprenticeship training and varieties of courses offered for purely cultural purposes and

² *Social Work Year Book*, 1929, p. 322.

³ *Social Work Year Book*, 1937, p. 340.

general personal advancement. Continuous research is financed by the employers with the end in view of making personnel service more effective.

Labour unions have tended to be suspicious of welfare work because they believed that it was a substitute on the part of the employers for paying higher wages, and because they believed—and in many cases rightly—that it was an attempt on the part of the employers to lessen the influence of the unions. But with the abandonment of the term “welfare” and the integrating of labour relationships into the inner councils of management, much of this prejudice has disappeared. It is now seen that the personnel officer approaches his task, not simply as one content to supply wash rooms and creches, but as a serious student of labour problems, who endeavours to view the industrial situation in its entirety.

The present-day objective in industrial relationships is the attempt “to adjust productive capacity to standards of living.” The International Industrial Relations Institute has adopted the phrase, *optimum productivity*, to describe the new objective. By definition, “The optimum of productivity is the best possible achievement, quantitative and qualitative, in output and performance, directed toward the highest standards of living, material and cultural, which are attainable with rational conservation of resources, human and material, and full utilization of the human and technical sciences, invention and skill.”

Miss Mary van Kleeck, the Director of the Department of Industrial Studies of the Russell Sage Foundation, points out the implications in this definition when she says :

If the nature of the problem is to achieve such a *social administration of technology* as shall fully develop its potentialities, then we must recognize three partners in the procedure:

(1) Industrial management as a science has to administer not only the separately owned units, but the interrelationships of plants and of industries in an effective producing system.

(2) Labour unions must similarly function, not only within the workshop, important as is their functioning there, but also on an industry-wide and community-wide basis. Recognizing at once that there are conflicts of interest between labour and management, it must be said that the optimum cannot be completely achieved under present conditions, but that optimum procedure calls for participation of representatives of the unions in the management of production, especially in determining the speed and rate of output. To quote from the paper on optimum productivity presented by Mary L. Fledderus at the 1938 conference of the Industrial Relations Institute at the Hague: ‘For the establishment of scientific criteria by management and workers, the contributions of the technical and human sciences are fully needed. Together they can establish these criteria for optimum procedure. For it is this optimum procedure which at any given moment determines what is optimum in workshop productivity.’ Moreover, it should be noted that the trade-union movement is the only organized group exclusively and directly concerned with maintenance of basic factors in the standards of living, namely, adequate wage rates and reasonable hours of work. The function of the trade unions in the achievement of the optimum is therefore obvious.

(3) Government, though inevitably subject to political pressure from special interests, is not precluded from constructive action, especially through labour laws. The task of government in establishing good working conditions is to generalize standards achieved by the most progressive managers. This function of generalization is of great importance, and can be discharged by no other agency save that of Government. ⁴

No one is more aware than myself that conditions in Indian industry—particularly on the side of labour organization—are not such as to warrant an immediate adoption of such a programme. But at the same time we must move with the times. It is absolute folly to place the responsibility for welfare work on the shoulders of department heads, already overburdened with their own responsibilities. It is equally foolish to entrust this responsibility to men, specifically designated for welfare work, but who have had no adequate background of training and who cannot see the problem in its proper perspective. No board of directors would place an unqualified man in charge of finance or production. But when it comes to the most difficult element in the whole industrial system—the labour element—the cheapest man available is generally regarded as good enough. Ignoring the very aspects which make for efficiency, we bewail our lack of efficiency. To state a problem is not to solve it, but awareness of our shortcomings may in time lead to their correction.

C. M.

A TOWN WITHOUT BEGGARS

KOTTAYAM is a comparatively small town in central Travancore. To-day you do not find any begging in its streets. Kottayam is trying an old, outmoded experiment of the West, but unique in India, and perhaps the dawning of a new era in the treatment of destitution and poverty.

In September 1939, at the initiation of the Municipality, a meeting was called at which a Committee was appointed to prepare a scheme of work. The first task was to take a census of beggars. For this, volunteers—students from local High Schools and Colleges—visited the houses in town, collected the weekly quota of their charity, and requested the householders not to give alms on that day to any beggar, but to direct all beggars to a central place where a census would be taken and the collected money disbursed. The claims of each beggar were examined and tickets were issued to those found to be deserving of public relief. Thus many undeserving beggars were eliminated. There was at this first stage a form of licensed begging.

An Association was framed to ensure a permanent source of income and interest. There are two classes of members—ordinary members contributing Rs. 5/- and patrons contributing Rs. 100/-. In August 1940, a centre was opened where the vagrants have been fed every day since then. They have

⁴ *American Labour Legislation Review*, June, 1940.

further been prevented from begging on the street. On the average some 300 persons are fed every day at the centre.

A Nursery School has also been started at the centre for children between the ages of $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 6. It is the hope of the organisers to start a school for juveniles and provide separate accommodation for lepers and other diseased persons.

The most notable feature of the scheme is the hearty co-operation which is being accorded by all sections and communities in the town. The Municipality and Government are co-operating. The churches and other religious institutions are in full sympathy.

We congratulate Kottayam for leading the way, and are glad to note that representatives from other towns are watching and studying with interest the Kottayam scheme, in the hope that they also can start some organised form of beggar relief. Where Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and other cities have failed Kottayam has succeeded.

P. M. T.

SELECTING STUDENTS FOR THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

THE Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work limits its student body to twenty graduates of Indian Universities. As the number of applicants is always very greatly in excess of the number who can be admitted, the process of selection is a most difficult one. It is of interest, therefore, to note the discussion on "Selection of Personnel in the Field of Social Work," being a summary of a special session arranged by The National Committee for Mental Hygiene (U.S.A.) at its 1940 Conference, and reported in the January 1941 issue of the Journal *Mental Hygiene*.

Dr. Maud E. Watson, Director, The Children's Center, Detroit Michigan, states the problem. Since social work demands "intelligent, adequately trained individuals who must of necessity not only understand interpersonal relationships, but also themselves possess well-integrated personalities in order to work effectively," how can we minimise the risk of training people who later prove themselves to be unfitted for social work? She suggests first of all a really thorough physical examination to determine whether the candidate has the necessary physical vigour to carry heavy physical and emotional burdens. Second, shall the intelligence of the candidate be measured in terms of previous high academic attainment, or "shall intelligence rather be evaluated by a battery of tests under a good clinical psychologist who has an understanding of emotional conflicts?" The third examination should be by a psychiatrist, in order that we may have complete insight into a total personality.

Dr. Temple Burling, in continuing the discussion, suggests that it is just as much the function of the school to provide the student with opportunities for growth and maturing as to equip him with intellectual tools. "The problem, as I see it," he says, "is not to find young people who are mature and poised, but to discover those who are most likely to profit by the experience, and thereby develop insight, poise, and maturity."

Dr. Helen Witmer, of Smith College School for Social Work, points out the "difficulty of judging maturity, stability, and capacity for being of help to clients when the applicant for admission to a school is a young, untried person of narrow life experience." She feels that the successful selection of students is "a highly specialized task for which much research is needed,"—involving the study of many students' academic progress and subsequent careers.

Neither American Schools nor our own School have solved this problem, but it is of value to have experienced workers in the field recognizing it and devoting time to its discussion.

C. M.

AN EXPERIMENT IN MORAL WELFARE WORK

MORAL Welfare work is the term now used for what used to be called rescue and preventive work. This change of name denotes an important change of policy. Instead of largely concentrating on the reclamation of girls in moral danger, attempt is now made to strike at root causes. Today an active moral welfare agency aims at raising moral standards, especially amongst men, from whom comes the demand. Moral education of children is advocated in order that they may both receive sex instruction in the right way and also be helped to formulate the right sex ideals. Social reform has to be planned, as bad housing, unemployment and sweated industries are direct causes of prostitution. Steps have also to be taken to secure the right type of legislation for the proper penalisation of trafficking in vice. Lastly, adequate provision has to be made of different types of institutions for different kinds of women and girls. Shelters and refuges offer temporary accommodation; long term training homes seek to equip girls for a fresh start in life; medical homes serve the need of those who have contracted disease, and mother and baby homes exist for unmarried mothers.

Moral Welfare work in the West is still rather a new branch of social work. The outbreak of total war must, however, have proved a doubly dread disaster. On the one hand, in many invaded countries rescue organisations must have been swept away and the work built up in past generations must

have been smashed to atoms. On the other hand the need for such work must have been raised by war conditions to the nth degree. The concentration of troops and munition workers must necessarily constitute a grave moral danger ; many problems arise from large scale civilian evacuation and refugee immigration ; the very insecurity of the present time with its long drawn out war of nerves must act as a kind of stimulant, whilst the materialism of the times tends to lower existing moral standards. Much is said in war as to physical casualties but little is noted abroad as to its moral casualties. The basic importance of securing a right equilibrium in the relations of the sexes is seen from the fact that failure to solve the moral problem has proved one of the main causes of the downfall of past civilisations.

In the East, Moral Welfare work is still in a very undeveloped state. In only a few of the biggest Indian cities have rescue homes been started. The need for such work is immense. Owing to the immensity of the need on the one hand and the shortage of rescue homes on the other, it is impossible as yet to secure any specialisation in the work. It is, therefore, wise, as a first step, to establish an Indian rescue home on a very wide basis ; to endeavour to train the right type of Indian woman worker in the work itself—as there are no facilities for obtaining trained rescue workers—and to utilise the home as a small field of practical social work whereby local public opinion can be educated regarding moral problems. This has been the underlying policy in the recent establishment of a new type of rescue home for girls of all castes and creeds at Yerandavna, near Poona in the Province of Bombay.

Prior to the actual opening of this home in December 1940, the small group of people responsible for this step, under the auspices of Christa Prema Seva Sangha, had been exploring the social needs of Poona for many months. As a result of searching inquiry it was found that a home of this kind was urgently required. It was seen that, although the Bombay Children Act was in full force in Poona, there were no remand facilities for non-Hindu girls under 16 years of age. The Bombay Borstal Schools' Act was found to be completely inoperative for girls because of the lack of any institution equipped to give Borstal training to girl offenders aged between 16 and 21 years. It also appeared that there was no system of after-care for women prisoners leaving the local jail and that completely destitute women denied a safe asylum on discharge were only too likely to revert to crime and prostitution. Then with the outbreak of war it was found that Poona had become a much larger cantonment area, as well as a bigger munitions centre. Such things must necessarily have a direct effect on the moral health of the adjacent city. Lastly conditions in Poona City—bad housing, overcrowding, unemployment, unrelieved destitution, together with bad caste practices and social traditions,

all interact in causing terrible wastage in girl life. It was, therefore, decided to concentrate on opening a rescue home in Poona, on a side at Yerandavna, situated on the very edge of Poona City, in ideal country surroundings, lying under the very shadow of the Parvati temple-crowned hill. About ten miles away the Western Ghats rear their rugged heads, culminating in the sheer steepness of Sinhgad, Shivaji's famous fort.

Nearly half the total amount of money collected was spent on putting the old buildings into proper repair. It was agreed that younger, less dependable girls, used to simple Indian standards of living, should be accommodated in the main orphanage building and that about 6 or 7 of the separate disused teachers' quarters should be set apart as cottages, where small groups of older, steadier girls could live in little 'families'. On the top floor of another building, one dormitory has been fitted up for girls of any community, accustomed to a Western standard of living. An old school building will shortly be turned into a sisal fibre workshop. This industry has proved a successful enterprise in Ahmednagar. It is hoped that the girls will learn to make floor mats, brushes and sandals and, if the industry proves a success, it is intended to pay the girls piece rate wages for efficient work. A small dispensary has already been equipped and the honorary services of a visiting woman doctor secured. It will probably later be necessary to engage a residential full trained nurse in order that girls who have contracted venereal disease may receive necessary treatment in the home. Again, when the work has progressed and the necessary funds have been collected, one empty bungalow will be used as a mother and baby home, where unmarried mothers will be encouraged to stay until their babies have been weaned.

The above outline represents the policy underlying the establishment of this new home. The name chosen—*Mahila Seva Gram*—"place of uplift and service for women," has been deliberately selected because of its Gandhian reference and also because its very vagueness will prevent any inmate being labelled as a rescue case. Again, this name stresses the need of humble service. Girls of all castes and creeds will be admitted, and although definite Christian teaching will be given to Christian girls, the faith of non-Christians will be respected, as the Committee have rightly decided against proselytism.

Although *Mahila Seva Gram* was declared officially open on 13th December 1940, the buildings were not entirely finished until the end of the month. The first nine weeks' experience demonstrated that the new home undoubtedly meets a real need, as no less than 27 girls, women and children were admitted. Of these 16 were Christian and 11 Muslim and Hindu. Four married women sought admission because of ill-treatment by their husbands and three of them were accompanied by their babies. Seven girls and young children have been

sent by the Poona Juvenile Court. Two girls, aged over 16, one of whom had been involved in a sensational kidnapping case, were sent by the police. Three unmarried mothers, with their babies, have been admitted. In addition, application has been made to Government for recognition, in order that selected women prisoners, for whom jail treatment is inadvisable and young girl offenders belonging to the Borstal age group may be sent for admission. Such facts and figures in respect of the first two months' experience show that useful work is already being done. Extension of the work will necessarily depend upon two factors—amplification of funds and direct contact with the actual need. It is, however, believed that as more and more girls are helped, the means of contact will be increased and funds will be made available. Given success, this experiment should provide facilities whereby the Bombay Children Act, the Borstal Schools Act and the Prostitution Act—in so far as they affect girls—can be put into more active operation. It is also hoped that the Home may give scope for practical training of Indian women rescue workers.

M. K. DAVIS

THE WORKING OF THE MYSORE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT, BANGALORE

THE Late Mr. C. F. Andrews, in his Convocation Address to the University of Mysore in 1938, suggested that some kind of University Settlement should be started. The matter was seriously taken up by the Vice-Chancellor and it is almost entirely due to his efforts that the present Settlement came into being in August 1939. Through the Settlement the students of the University are brought into contact with the poorest people of the land : slum dwellers of the cities and the peasants of the countryside. It is the aim of the Settlement to bring the rich and the poor together, and to make the University not an isolated place where men and women live a life of ease and sometimes luxury, but a centre where students may discover for themselves what are the difficulties of the poor, and what are the proper ways of meeting these difficulties.

The idea behind the Settlement is well-known. It is to raise the standard of life of the slum workers—economically, physically, and morally. To this end, the city slum areas have been our chief concern. The various slum areas have been divided and work has been allotted to each area. There are in all 15 student members inside the Settlement, out of whom 12 are under-graduates selected from different University Institutions on a stipendiary basis, and 3 are graduates. All the members of the Settlement have to spend 2 hours every evening in the welfare centres of the Settlement and all of them are residential members of the institution.

Last year the workers of the Settlement made initial contacts with the slum dwellers. This year it has been possible for us to work in other directions.

The Settlement is conducting a night primary school in each of the slum areas. Our workers, in addition to teaching, conduct games for the children. This has brought some cheerfulness to the lives of these children. We are also paying increasing attention to sanitation and hygienic conditions. Cases of disease are immediately brought to the notice of medical men. It has been our chief aim to see that proper roads are laid in the slum areas and enough fresh water supplied to the inhabitants. This work is being well conducted in co-operation with the Bangalore City Municipality.

Apart from these things the office is engaged in carrying on social and economic survey work in the slum areas with a view to finding out the income, expenditure, the number of earners and dependants, the state of health, etc., and assisting in the preparation of family budgets. Our workers frequently take the children round the various parts of the city, and arrange musical entertainments for the benefit of all.

A series of propaganda talks on sanitation, nutrition, health, hygiene, temperance, co-operation and usefulness of community centres was arranged in co-operation with the Government Development Departments.

Two graduate probationers chosen by the University are placed in the Settlement for training. Regular lectures are being given to them and they have been responsible to a great extent for the development of the welfare centres attached to the Settlement. They have also carried on the social and economic surveys of the localities entrusted to them, under the guidance of the Settlement authorities. Lectures are delivered to them on four days every week, the hours of lecturing being 2 to 3-30 p. m. The lectures cover the organisation of social welfare activities, social case-work, organisation of welfare centres, rural and urban problems and the history of the Settlement movement.

The Settlement workers will in the future devote considerable attention to the adult education problem. A great interest is being taken by the Warden and the Settlement authorities in trying to start a workers' art centre, and a special committee is working to collect funds for developing such a centre for the guidance of aspiring dramatists and actors. Three Advocates of Bangalore have volunteered to give free legal advice to those who are unable to pay. Youth leagues have been started in various centres with a view to organising games, debates, entertainments, group discussions and even to attempt social reform.

As soon as a Women's Settlement is started, during the month of June 1941, it is hoped to develop a creche, a nursery school, girls' and women's

clubs and classes in hygiene, cooking and domestic economy. The problem of supplying milk to babies and under-nourished children is also engaging the attention of the Settlement.

In the Rural Settlement at Markonahalli, the work will be of a different nature. Here some men with agricultural training will be permanently posted. They will get their own plots of land to work. It is expected that this will place them more on a par with the ryots and they will also, with the aid of the different Government departments, carry to the peasants new agricultural improvements and instruct them in hygiene, sanitation, village-industries and co-operation. During vacations batches of students from the various colleges of the University will join the activities of the Rural Settlement and receive training in rural welfare work.

The University desires its students to be more than class room scholars. It expects them to be useful and practical citizens, who can understand the poor man's problems and work for their solution.

G. K. GOPALA RAO

THE SIR DORABJI TATA GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION, 1940-41

THE Executive Committee of the Alumni Association has the pleasure to submit the first Annual Report on the working of the Association for the year 1940-41.

Founding of the Association. At a meeting of the past students of the School held in the School Library on 10th March 1940 and attended by 30 members, it was unanimously decided to start an Alumni Association of the School with the following aims and objects :

- (1) To serve as a binding link between the School and its alumni.
- (2) To build up a professional morale and to further the cause of Social Work in India.
- (3) To help promote and co-ordinate research activities in the field of Social Work.
- (4) To hold up high professional standards in Social Work.

A Constitution for the Association was adopted and the following members were elected as members of the Executive Committee for the first year :

Secretaries—

Miss Indira Bellimal

Mr. K. B. Golwala

Treasurer—

Miss Freny M. Soonawala

Members of the Committee—

Mr. Wilfred Singh, Bombay

Mr. S. L. Sahni, Bombay

Mr. S. Nageswaran, Outside Bombay

Mr. G. N. Harshe, Outside Bombay

Committee Meetings. During the year, 6 meetings of the Executive Committee were held.

Contact with the School. A social was arranged in the School on the 6th July to welcome the new batch of students on behalf of the Alumni Association, to which the Faculty was also invited.

A games evening and a debate were also held with the present students during the year.

Social Activities. The Executive Committee agreed to a method by means of which the Bombay members of the Association could fraternise occasionally, without the Committee having to make all the arrangements and the Association having to bear all the expenses. Each member was to be asked to arrange and pay for a social at his or her place, to which all the members of the Association in town, as well as the friends of the host were to be invited.

According to this plan, socials were given by Mr. Limaye at Chembur Home in September, Mr. Kochavara at Umarchadi Children's Home in December, Mr. Kulkarni at Byfamji Jijibhoy Home at Matunga in February, and Miss Soonawala at Juhu in March. Some more such socials were arranged but had to be postponed due to various reasons. These jovial gatherings serve a much-felt need in bringing together old school-friends who otherwise are unable to meet each other as often as they would like. They also serve in helping to make the members forget their hard work once in a while.

No picnics or excursions could be organised because a sufficient number of members could not get leave on identical days.

Cultural Activities. A debate between past and present students was held in August when we proposed that "Social Work is a Hindrance to Human Progress."

A Debate between the Faculty and our Association was attempted, but could not be held due to various reasons.

Nothing more in this sphere could be done because there are only 15 members of the Association in Bombay and almost all of them are very busy people, doing important work even in the evenings, and very often on holidays as well.

Sports Activities. A Games Evening was held in the Nagpada Neighbourhood House in September when matches were played between representatives of our Association and of the Students Association in Teni-koit, Ping-Pong, Draughts, Carrom, and Table-Golf, in which our representatives acquitted themselves very well.

An Inter-Association Sports Competition on the same lines in other games such as Volley-ball, Basket-ball, Tennis was arranged, but could not take place due to our members not being able to spare any time for the game.

Contact with Outside Members. Several circulars were issued to members of the Association asking them to send to the Secretaries reports of their work, but replies were received from very few of those outside Bombay. It is trusted that in future moribund members will co-operate with the Association by sending to the Secretaries accounts of their work periodically. This will help the Committee to keep in touch with the activities of our members, so that other members, the Faculty, or anyone else needing information about them can get it from the committee. The secretaries have always been willing to do any work for our moribund members, to be done in Bombay.

Research. Mr. Nageshwaran has been authorised to do research work in Probation on behalf of the Association and is at work on it now.

New Appointments. During the year, the following members secured new positions as under :

Miss Raj Kaur :	Lady Welfare Officer, Sri Ram Mill, Delhi.
Mr. G. M. Mekhri :	Hindustan Scout Organiser, Sind.
Mr. Wilfred Singh :	Probation Officer, Children's Aid Society, Bombay.
Mr. Om Prakash Goel :	Probation Officer, Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, Bombay.
Mr. J. Barnabas :	Organising Secretary, Social Service League, Lucknow.
Mr. Gurbaxani :	Welfare Organiser, Indian Institute, Colaba, Bombay.
Mr. Kulkarni :	Superintendent, Yeravda Industrial School, Poona.

We congratulate these members on their appointments. We are proud to note that these, as well as all our other members, are doing very good work, and that many of our alumni are occupying most important positions, thereby establishing for their alma mater a niche for itself in the field of social work in India.

Finance. Out of the 36 old students of the school, only 22 have become members of the Association. It is trusted that all the others will pay up their dues this year. Yet, a balance of Rs. 32/5/6, out of total receipts of Rs. 42/-, is a standard which future committees will find hard to maintain.

Social Workers Conference. We finished our year with a Social Workers Conference and social on the 19th March. Although we have not been able to do much in the way of activities, due to inherent handicaps, the work has not been bad for a start, and the Association has already justified its existence by at least serving as a connecting link between the various members, as well as between the past students and the Faculty and the present students.

Record Cards. Index cards of all the past students of the School, with degrees, thesis, employment and address recorded on each card, have been prepared for reference purposes for future secretaries.

Thanks. Our thanks are due to the Office Staff of the School for helping us in making copies of our circulars and to the Health Visitors Institute for allowing us to hold our Committee Meetings in its premises.

(Sd.) K. B. Golwala,

Indira Bellimal,

Bombay, 19th March, 1941.

Jt. Secretaries.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Psychology of Parent-Child Relationships. By PERCIVAL M. SYMONDS. New York : D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939. Pages 228. Rs. 6-12-0.

In the volume under review are incorporated two valuable studies on the far reaching importance of emotional security on the personality development of every child. With the growth of child study in recent years, emotional relationships are coming to be recognized as significant conditioning factors in human development. Not only is emotional security, as Dr. Symonds points out, a prime essential for the formation of a healthy, normal, well-integrated personality, but it is a factor which enters into all human relationships—parent-child, teacher-pupil, counsellor-client, employer-employee, doctor-patient—as a healing, sustaining and constructive influence. Its absence, when felt as insecurity, is a harmful and destructive force.

Since parental *acceptance-rejection* and *dominance-submission* seem to have special significance for child behaviour and personality development, these two forms of parent-child relations were chosen for special study ; and the investigations were carried out with the generous co-operation of a number of persons, who are engaged actively in some sort of counselling, guidance work, teaching or educational administration, under the direction of the author. The first chapter of this book surveys the history of these emerging concepts of human relationship. Liberal quotations are given to indicate how the psycho-analysts first noted the patterns in the kind of child behaviour and personality traits which are found in association with certain forms of parental supervision, discipline and emotional attitudes. The quotations which follow the above summarise in rough chronological sequence the statistical studies and discussions bearing on this problem and show how they are now generally accepted and recognised in psychological literature.

Since parental acceptance-rejection seemed to be the variable which had the greatest probability of being an important conditioning factor producing deviations in the behaviour and attitudes of the offspring, a number of systematically prepared case studies contrasting rejected children with children growing up under similar circumstances but not rejected were made. The second chapter, which contains the report and findings of this study, presents new evidence of the effects on personality of the presence or absence of emotional security in the home. On the basis of the evidence gathered in the study of thirty-one pairs of cases, the author feels justified in saying that

accepted children reveal extremely desirable social characteristics, while rejected children show attention-getting, restless, antisocial and delinquent trends.

Similarly, the third chapter contains the report of the study on parental dominance and submission. The purpose of this study is similar to that of the preceding one, namely, to determine how the children of dominating parents differ from those of submissive parents in behaviour personality, and in their mental life and attitudes. In addition, as before, an inquiry is also made of the adjustment between father and mother as married partners and of the childhood background of the parents. A study of twenty-eight pairs of cases are reported, each pair comprising a child much dominated by his parents and a child who dominates his parents, but who are as alike as possible in other characteristics such as sex, age, intelligence, school grade and socio-economic background.

This investigation makes clear that children of dominating parents are better socialised and have more acceptable behaviour than children of submissive parents. They show the results of training in their behaviour. They are more interested in and have a better attitude toward work at school. On the other hand, they tend to be more sensitive, self-conscious, submissive, shy, retiring, seclusive, and to have greater difficulty in self-expression than children who are given more freedom. They also conform more closely to the mores of the group in which they have been brought up. On the other hand, children of submissive parents are disobedient and irresponsible. In school they tend to be disorderly and classroom nuisances; they lack interest and capacity for sustained attention. They do not possess the regular orderly habits of the well-supervised child and are more inclined to be tardy and lazy. They are, however, forward and can express effectively. They tend to defy authority, to be stubborn and unmanageable.

There is some correspondence between these results and those of the accepted-rejected study. In broad outline the accepted children are more like the dominated children; whereas the rejected children are like the dominating children. But there are also differences. Acceptance-rejection shows most clearly in *social* relationships of co-operation, friendliness and loyalty on the one hand or delinquency on the other. There is no evidence that submissiveness on the part of parents, *per se*, leads to delinquency. Acceptance and rejection has something to do with emotional stability and instability.

In the fourth chapter, the author summarizes the trends as revealed in a tabulation of the factors in a number of published clinical case studies, for their suggestive value. Chapters five, six and seven are devoted to a discussion of parent-child relations, teacher pupil relations and counsellor-client relations, respectively. In chapter five an attempt is made to define, as precisely as our

present knowledge permits, what is meant by emotional security and what form of behaviour on the part of parents furnishes the child this security, as well as to enumerate the deviations from the ideal. This is followed by a summary of the etiological factors at work to produce the varieties of parent-child relations. The same theme, the quality of human relationships, runs through the last two chapters. In the seventh chapter, Dr. Symonds tries to show how the relation of a counsellor to his client is like and at the same time different from the relation of a parent to a child, or a teacher to a pupil.

Though causation in human affairs is exceedingly complex, it is the aim of science to discover general and universal relationships. The studies and discussions reported in this book indicate the possibility of finding invariant relationships between a person's behaviour and personality, and the parental forces to which he has been subjected earlier in life. Some of these relations do emerge quite clearly. Nevertheless, human nature being as complex as it is, one cannot expect to find the same invariant relations which are found in physical nature. Albeit, the forces at work do not produce utterly wild and unpredictable results, and the studies contained in this volume point out some of the threads which bind human relationships to human personality.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

Heredity and Social Problems. By L. L. BURLINGAME. New York : McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940. Pages 369. Rs. 12-4-0.

Here we have a text-book that is in perfect accord with modern scientists' growing belief in the relatedness of all the different fields of knowledge. The student who goes in for intensive specialization in any one field of study is apt to become too involved in technicalities to see the obvious and subtle relationships that exist among the various sciences. And, particularly in India, where every single branch of study is so rigidly compartmentalized, the student is all the more prone to lose sight of these interrelationships and close rapprochement. Thus, Burlingame, in this book, does not restrict himself to the science of genetics but discusses subjects of such wide and varied significance as Race and Population Problems, War and Migration, Education and Government, Intelligence, Mental Deficiency, Medical Problems and Crime and Insanity.

As the author points out in the Preface, the sevenfold purpose of this book is "(1) to present a brief and simple introduction to the biology of reproduction and its consequence, heredity; (2) to show how and when this knowledge can or cannot be applied to social problems in the broader sense; (3) to acquaint the biology student with the possible practical applications of his science to human affairs; (4) in particular to set forth as clearly as

possible the way in which heredity and environment jointly control the development of organisms, including man, and to contribute toward dispelling the common popular misconception that these two factors are opposed or mutually exclusive; (5) to show how changes in birth and death rates, immigration, war, and differential fertility alter the genetic composition of populations; (6) to show what methods are practicable to alter the rate or direction of any of these changes that society may think necessary or desirable; (7) to indicate the bearing of genetics on education and the theories and practices of government."

The book is so lucidly and interestingly written that one does not have the feeling of having waded through a heavy text-book on reading it, even though every chapter is instinct with the power of sound scholarship backed by scientific technique and statistical data. It is more than a text-book. It is a stimulating and comprehensive treatment of the relation of the science of genetics to human affairs. And, in so far as it deals with the practical application of the knowledge of heredity to the causation and amelioration of social problems, it is universal in appeal.

The first eleven chapters present in an unusually simple manner the principles of genetics and the mechanism of heredity, with a considerable amount of general biological information so that the student of social science may know (a) what is actually inherited; (b) by what mechanism this inherited material is transmitted from parent to offspring; (c) to what laws the transmission conforms; (d) to what extent the end result of development is influenced by differences in environment; (e) whether environmental differences affect the development of all sorts of traits equally; (f) whether heredity affects mental as well as physical characteristics.

The most instructive and enlightening chapters, however, are contained in the latter half of the book where the author discusses the bearing of genetics on such weighty problems as race, population, intelligence, education and government.

In the chapters on "Genetic Aspects of Race" and "Race Problems" the author explodes the myth of racial purity by showing that genetically pure races are very rare in any species of organisms. Only among self-pollinated plants do we find pure homozygous races. Animals, being unisexual, must mate with other animals, and all possible gene combinations are likely to be found whenever more than one allelomorph of each gene is available in a population and mating is more or less random. "A result of this is," says the author, "that the violent discussions that rage about racial differences in man are found to be largely just so many irrelevant words." The author maintains that the Negro Race presents a serious race problem whether viewed from the purely social,

the biological or the combined point of view as its differences are both qualitative and quantitative. The Mexicans, according to him, present the second most serious race problem, and the Jews are admittedly involved in grave race problems all over the world. In the case of the Jews, however, the genetic difference does not seem to be the actual cause of their troubles so much as their long and stubbornly maintained differences in social attitudes. The only solution for them is to yield to the social pressure of the group with which they live, and "do as the Romans do" when they settle in alien lands. All this seems reasonable, but one can hardly agree with the author's conclusion that the average intelligence of the Negro Race "appears to be distinctly inferior to that of the White," and that "in proportion to their number, Negroes contribute far too few persons of high ability and far too many who are low normal or deficient in ability." One is inclined to discredit this view, especially in view of the fact that such comparisons can only be made when opportunities given to the White and the Negro are appreciably equal. It is surprising that the author could have arrived at such a conclusion since he himself admits that "hardly anyone would contend that the opportunity for a colored man of high ability to achieve eminence is anywhere near equal to that of the White. So great indeed is this handicap that it seems likely that such comparisons can have little or no significance." Again, his conclusions with regard to the Mexicans seem to be mere generalizations of a layman rather than sound, well established statements of a scientist. Here again, he admits, on the one hand, that, "Tests have been few, and the results are probably less reliable than those for more settled groups. Since their social and economic status is very low, whatever this may do to lower test scores should be allowed for in considering the results." And, on the other hand, he remarks, "Physically they are not a particularly desirable group to introduce into the population. Intellectually they seem from the scanty evidence available to be even less desirable." Whatever the purely social and economic status of the Mexican may be, such a conclusion is hardly warranted on a genetic basis and it seems difficult to believe that a biologist could make such a statement without taking the genetic aspects of the problem into consideration. As he himself points out, "Intelligence is by no means the whole of personality, and we badly need a technique of making a quantitative classification of populations in respect to their total social fitness."

Apart from these two anomalies, Burlingame's suggestions and conclusions with regard to mental deficiency, crime, insanity, education and government are both instructive and significant. It is interesting to note that heredity is found to play the major role in determining intelligence, and that environmental modification is small even if certainly real. Psychological tests

help to differentiate one grade of intelligence from another and are roughly quantitative in respect to particular components of intelligence, but do not contain adequate quantitative expressions for the differences between different mental faculties. As the author observes, "They are adequate to obtain rank order of intelligences but do not permit of a quantitative definition of these orders." Thus rank order may give fairly satisfactory evidence to determine whether or not intelligence is inherited but not to determine the number of the active genes or their mode of expression. The author is convinced, however, that the individual components of social competence are inherited, and believes that some of them may be more modifiable by environment than is intelligence.

Another significant fact brought home by the author is that the number of potential parents of defectives is so very large that only well studied methods of altering the birth rate are advisable lest even greater social and economic problems be created. It is also found that the genotypes most likely to produce defective offspring are most frequent among unskilled and farm laborers but not necessarily confined to them. And, since low intelligence is associated with high fertility the author suggests that this problem should be remedied by equalising or further reducing their net fertility rate by the various common humane and practicable methods now in use. The author cautions, however, that though mental deficiency is due in most cases to defective genotypes, in some cases, particularly those of idiots and imbeciles, the cause may be the prenatal environment or accidents of parturition.

Again, genotypic difference appears to be an important etiological factor in Huntington's chorea, amaurotic idiocy, mongolism and epilepsy. In schizophrenia and endocrine disorders too, heredity is a very important element in causation, but as the author observes, further advances in endocrinology may serve to make diseases due to endocrine disorders phenotypically less important. Environmental control of schizophrenia has so far proved ineffective to a great extent and, therefore, limitation or prevention of reproduction is necessary. Burlingame very rightly observes that since criminal ancestry and criminal environment are frequently found associated, any measure for controlling environment may have a salutary influence on the former. "Social supervision of the children of criminals and the provision of more healthful social environments," he remarks, "is justified on humanitarian grounds."

In the last chapter the author attempts to indicate the bearing of genetic facts on the formulation and objectives of educational systems by pointing out that "Heredity differences in children suggest a number of ways in which education might be profitably varied in order to fit it to different sorts of children." Thus the study of individual differences, special abilities, individual interests, special skills, mental limitations or personality difficulties may give a clue to

inherited or acquired competence, and talent may be discovered and subsidized wherever possible. The government as a social institution must regulate the genetic composition of the population with regard to intelligence and social competence, so that it will be adequate to the demands made on it. It must also see to the mutual adjustment of genetic supply of talent and economic demands for talent, and set up an educational system so diversified as to prepare all types of future citizens for their effective roles in society and the state.

Altogether the book is a distinctive contribution to modern scholarship in the fields of biology and the social sciences and merits the serious attention of those seeking a solution to many of our social ills.

KATAYUN H. CAMA

Group Life. By MARY K. SIMKHOVITCH. New York : Association Press, 1940. Pp. 98. Rs. 5-4-0.

This is an interesting book by a well-known social worker in the United States : the Co-Founder and Director of Greenwich House in New York City. Living in a world of individualists, Miss Simkhovitch tells how people live and work in groups. Instead of theorising, the group life at Greenwich House attempts to discover the real difficulties and problems of living together. Miss Simkhovitch, however, writes more as a social philosopher than as a mere practical group worker.

The family plays the most important part in group life, and the book attempts to show how family relations grow through school, club, committee, neighbourhood and church groups. The book opens with a chapter on the family. The author investigates important family problems, such as the struggle for power in the family, the causes of family conflicts and the ideal bases of inter-relations between man and woman.

The second most important factor in group life is the school, and there is an instructive discussion on teacher-pupil relations. It is but right that play takes an important place in the book as a vital socialising force, giving most useful opportunities for group life. The discussions on group behaviour in play, the relation between play and work life, and the contribution of play to the development of personality show the author's original deductions from a close survey of social experience. It is natural that she finds a great exultation in group play in which is seen "the happy exercise of power unrelated to oppression, the use of energy that brings no reward but the satisfaction of capabilities and a sense of comity that enriches the spirit and is symbolic of a kind of society the world has not yet attained."

Human associations are of fundamental social importance and the club is the symbol of voluntary friendly association. Indians who are familiar

with a certain connotation for the word "Club" will find here quite a different and refreshing interpretation. The club-member lives a gang-life with like-minded people, seeking fulfilment of individual desires in effort shared with fellow brethren. The meaning and purpose of club leadership is original and the functions of club life are critically investigated.

The management of group life brings the author to a more practical plane and the observations on the functions of a committee show how merely functional groups can contribute the utmost towards the upliftment of society.

Recreational group life is a world apart from the group life of workers engaged in vocations. Away from the world of economic conflicts, Miss Simkhovitch discusses the creative possibilities. She says that "labour organization is fundamentally a fight for life." Trade Unions attempt to raise the standard of life and their efforts contribute a good deal to social advancement. Amongst other items of group life the author discusses Consumers Co-operation.

The latter part of the book discusses more fundamental problems, such as the Race Problem and the Class Problem: and these major problems are linked up to local factors like the Neighbourhood and the Church, showing group life as an evolving social phenomenon.

On the whole the book is an excellent exposition of the philosophy of group life growing out of practical experience. The pages show how a human mind is formed in the process of experimenting and effort, leading to conclusions which are original and creative. There is no air of finality or absolutism about the book and thought-provoking matter is put before the reader to enable him to reach his own conclusions.

B. H. MEHTA

Planning the Community School. By N. L. ENGELHARDT and N. L. ENGELHARDT, JR. New York: American Book Co., 1940. Pp. 188.

Education, as understood by the authors of this volume, is not merely a matter for the children as is commonly understood in India. *Planning the Community School* mainly deals with Adult Education and the social efforts that ought to be made to keep up the cultural, social and educational high-water-mark of a human community. The book is intensely practical and is meant to demonstrate the planning and organization of innumerable activities to suit American conditions. There is also a reference to similar community programmes carried out in England. The real importance of the book lies in the fact that it has not been realised in India that the ordinary school building for boys and girls can be used—and is used—for educational activities, not merely for the benefit of children, but for the community also. In the introduction, Mr. Cartwright writes, "School buildings grow obsolescent and

deteriorate. Public investment in a school plant should be charged with securing the maximum social and educational dividends during the life of the buildings. A democracy is interested in enhancing the life opportunities of its citizens even at the cost of reducing the service life of its physical properties. The next decades may be expected to witness even more extensive use of public school buildings for adult or general community use than in the past."

In India, school buildings are hardly ever planned, and in the majority of cases buildings meant for residential and business purposes are used for educational purposes. Improper school environment therefore cuts at the root of good education. *Planning the Community School* goes a step further and says rightly that the school building must serve the two-fold purpose of educating the children and adults alike. This should especially be so in "decadent city areas which point to the desirability of stimulating effective community activity" for the purpose of rehabilitation. The book conceives a school building which will permit a regular day school programme, and at the same time, provide adaptation for extensive adult use in the afternoons and evenings.

The book gives a five-fold programme for community schooling. This includes (1) socio-civic-economic programme; (2) family and domestic life programme; (3) recreation programme; (4) vocational programme, and (5) social problems.

There is a detailed discussion on planning, methods, organisation and execution of these programmes. The descriptions of programmes carried out in eleven such centres are practical, useful and interesting.

As applied to Indian conditions, the book will only be useful to a very advanced type of social leadership which thinks in terms of the maximum expression of human life. In another way it indicates how education can make a distinct contribution towards social welfare.

B. H. MEHTA

Meet the Prisoner. By JOHN A. F. WATSON. London: Jonathan Cape, 1939. Pages 303. Rs. 6-6-0.

This book is a survey of English penal methods written by a man who has had fifteen years' experience in five prisons, as a visitor, a teacher, and as a member of a prisoners' aid society. It begins with the work of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry, and the lesser known Sarah Martin. Whereas in the 18th Century no one cared very much what happened to prisoners, in the 19th Century—due largely to the efforts of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry "prison conditions and methods and punishment became topics of general interest and keen controversy."

The transfer of local prisons to central ownership and control took place under the Prisons Act of 1877. By this Act the ownership of local prisons was vested in the Secretary of State and their management entrusted to the newly constituted Prison Commissioners. The Commissioners effected a marked improvement in material conditions, but in other ways were singularly unimaginative. The Report of the Gladstone Committee, appointed in 1894, led to the Prison Act of 1898, which made the prison system much more elastic. The Probation of Offenders Act, 1907, provided the courts with a new method of dealing with offenders against whom a charge was found proved. The Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, provided "preventive detention" for the habitual criminal. The Criminal Justice Administration Act, 1914, amended existing law and empowered the courts, in proper cases, to allow reasonable time for the repayment of fines. The name of Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise was intimately associated with the prison reform movement from the time of the Gladstone Report until 1921.

There are at the present time 31 prisons in commission. Four are convict prisons for men, to each of which is allocated a special grade of offender. Women convicts are confined in Holloway "local" prison in London.

"However enlightened the theory of prison administration may be," says the author, "everything depends upon the men and women who are entrusted with the responsibility for translating the theory into practice." (p. 75)

The book describes the classification of offenders, prison buildings, prison service, prison employment and punishments. With this general background, the author is ready to discuss the work of the prison visitors—"voluntary workers who on the invitation of the Prison Commissioners are permitted to undertake regular visitation of prisoners." He gives intimate pictures of the prisoner at work and in his leisure hours.

"The work of all voluntary workers among prisoners . . . is one of preparation . . . —so to train and prepare the prisoner that he may on his release be fit to make the great personal effort which society will demand of him if he is to be received again as a worthy member. But if, when he arrives at the critical day of discharge, there was no machinery for bringing these efforts to their conclusion and helping him back to decent citizenship, the whole of this work would be wasted." (p. 174) Fortunately, such machinery does exist in the form of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, whose primary function is the reinstatement of the ex-prisoner in employment. The author presents interesting glimpses of Prisoners' Aid Societies at work and pays tribute to the employers who co-operate with the societies by providing jobs for ex-prisoners.

A final chapter is devoted to "The English Prison To-morrow," which examines the leading provisions of the Criminal Justice Bill. But when all is said and done, concludes the author, the point of prime importance is not so much social service amongst prisoners as "social service in the ordinary walks of life, that the need to imprison may not arise. Prevention is not merely better than cure. It is the essence of all penology."

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT

Dealing with Delinquency. 1940 Yearbook of the National Probation Association. New York: The National Probation Association, 1940. Pages 341, \$ 1.75.

This volume is chiefly a compilation of the papers presented at the 1940 Conference of the National Probation Association. The papers deal with organizing for delinquency prevention, treatment of the juvenile offender, some types of adult offenders, individualised treatment, and probation and parole administration.

Perhaps the most interesting paper in the volume is that on "Treatment of the Adolescent Offender," by William Draper Lewis, which discusses the model Youth Correction Authority Act proposed by the American Law Institute—an association of leading judges and lawyers. The proposed Act is concerned with the disposition of young offenders between the upper limit of juvenile court age and 21.

Underlying the provisions of the Youth Correction Authority Act are two beliefs:

(1) That the treatment of a convicted youth should depend on his character rather than on the character of the violation of law of which he has been convicted; and (2) that one agency rather than several should control the convicted youth; that is, control the investigation of his character, the treatment which he should at first receive, the changes in the treatment which from time to time should be made, and the time when he should be discharged. (p. 83).

The proposed Act creates a Youth Correction Authority responsible for providing and administering corrective and preventive training and treatment for young persons committed to it after conviction.

The first duty of the Authority towards a youth committed to its care is "to examine him and make any investigation necessary to determine the treatment which he should at first receive. This treatment may vary from close confinement to probation. It may sometimes result in immediate discharge." The Act visualizes using existing treatment agencies to the fullest extent possible. The principal new agencies would probably be suitable places for the detention of youth sentenced to the Authority, pending their examination by the Authority.

A youth sent to an institution by the Authority is under the control of

the managers of that institution, though he may be withdrawn by the Authority, placed on parole or sent to another institution or agency. "When the Authority is convinced that the youth committed to it would be no longer a danger to the person or property of others, it will be the duty of the Authority to release him." Thus commitment to the Authority is in a sense an indeterminate sentence.

While the proposal of the American Law Institute is a most interesting one, those of us who are interested in juvenile court work cannot but ask certain questions: "Why should not the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court be extended up to the age of 21, setting up youth divisions of the Court, rather than attempting to introduce a somewhat complicated new machinery?" "Is there any guarantee that the proposed Youth Authority will approach its task with any more vision or wisdom than the enlightened Juvenile Court?" "Is there not danger of conflict between the new Authority, the Court and other existing agencies, which will militate against the efficient functioning of the proposed scheme?" But regardless of detail, the American Law Institute is performing a genuine service in urging the claims for a more intelligent treatment of delinquent youth.

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT

Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up. By SHELDON and ELEANOR GLUECK. New York: The Commonwealth Fund; London: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pages 330. Rs. 12/-.

Those readers who are familiar with the previous studies of the Gluecks will welcome this new study which reveals what happens to juvenile delinquents as they enter manhood, and why. The study was undertaken to answer such questions as "What happens to youngsters who go through correctional mills—juvenile courts, probation, industrial schools, reformatories, prisons, parole?" "As they grow older, what proportion of them becomes law abiding instead of continuing in criminal aggressions?" "What are the crucial factors that turn them one way or the other?" "How may existing procedures be improved to give greater promise of success?"

In 1934 the Gluecks published the results of an investigation of one thousand boy delinquents who had appeared before the Boston Juvenile Court and who had been examined by the Clinic of the Judge Baker Foundation during the years 1917-1922.¹ The principal emphasis in that work was on the amount of recidivism during a five year period following the completion of the treatment carried out by the Court and its affiliated community agencies. The present work attempts to discover what has happened to these one thousand

¹ *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934.

delinquents during the ten years that have elapsed since the five-year study. Hence we have here a group of juvenile delinquents followed through for fifteen years—the first study of its kind ever undertaken.

The task of locating these former juvenile delinquents was a major job in itself, to say nothing of the delicacy required in approaching and interviewing men—now at the average age of 29—a considerable number of whom were married and had children of their own.

The study revealed that with the passing of the years there had been a steady decrease in the number of youths who continued to be offenders, that at the age of 29, about 40 per cent had ceased to be criminals. Furthermore, among those who continued in crime, the number of serious offenders dropped from 75.6 per cent to 47.8 per cent in the 15 year period. Although other elements enter into the situation, the natural process of maturation appears to explain the greater part of the improvement. A comparison of those reforming and those continuing in crime revealed that the reformed group were endowed with better heredity and had lived in a more favourable environment than those continuing in crime.

On the basis of the materials gathered the authors worked out a prediction table to assist juvenile court judges in the disposition of cases, and also prediction tables showing the probable behaviour of offenders during extra-mural and intramural treatment, as well as during specific forms of peno-correctional treatment.

“Treatment,” say the Gluecks, “cannot succeed if sentencing judge, probation officer, institutional administrator, paroling authority, and parole agent each regards his work as an end in itself and deals with but one piece of what ought to be a unified process. Treatment should be governed by a plan made in the light of the traits, experiences, and predictable progress of the individual offender.” (p. 273)

In this study the Gluecks have broken new ground, and we in India will watch with great interest the practical applications of the study in the more advanced American courts.

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT

Problems in Prison Psychiatry. By J. W. WILSON, M.D. and M. J. PESCOR, M.D. Caldwell, Idaho : The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1939. Pp. 275.

Good books on problems in Prison Psychiatry are indeed very few and *Problems in Prison Psychiatry* is therefore very welcome as a scientific attempt to present the problems of prison life from the psychiatric aspect. The book is the result of several years' experience with prisoners. It formulates the problem of reformation of character, presents a classification of prisoners on a

psychiatric basis, describes the effect of legal restraint on the mental life of the convict and discusses the methods used to bring about reformation of character and rehabilitation of the prisoner.

Our social values are still coloured by the traditional outlook of a pre-scientific society. Rapid strides have been made in the advance of scientific knowledge concerning human conduct and behaviour. This knowledge has been applied in the various fields of life. Such application, however, invariably meets with resistance of varying intensity, and the application of scientific knowledge to the understanding of criminals has met with a particularly large measure of resistance. The concept of the criminal as being altogether "bad," "evil," or "wicked" is difficult to efface in large numbers of individuals, and knowledge regarding the sociological and psychological factors so abundantly demonstrated of recent years still finds difficulty in being accepted. The authors stress the need for a scientific approach to the problem and comment on the value of education in its broadest sense, i.e., reformation, rehabilitation, and the reintegration of the entire personality. The more knowledge society has of the causation of delinquency and criminality, the more readily it can arrange for the scientific treatment that will minimise such criminality and delinquency.

One of the main values of the book lies in a description it gives of the various remedial procedures employed to reform, rehabilitate and reintegrate the deviated personality of the criminal. If knowledge of the causation of misbehaviour and misconduct enables one to formulate and carry out enlightened measures of treatment, such knowledge also clearly demonstrates not only the inutility of the traditional measures of eradicating criminality, but the actual deterioration and worsening they bring about in the maladjustment of the criminal. But even though the prison environment is recognised by the authors as not conducive to reformation and rehabilitation, they describe in a very readable manner, how the clash which appears inevitable at times between custodial and primitive measures based on force on the one hand, and rehabilitative measures on the other, can be got over by the adoption by the heads of both the custodial and re-educational departments, of a sane and healthy compromise which will not thwart each others aims. The authors describe how constructive and co-ordinated attempts to solve the problem have been made by various staff members of such departments as the social welfare, religious, custodial, recreational, educational, employment, and medical departments—this latter including the department of psychiatry, psychology and general medicine.

It is naturally with the psychiatric problems in prisons and psychiatric aids in the reintegration of the personality that the book is mainly concerned

and the authors divide all individuals into the six psychiatric classifications of normal, feeble minded, psychoneurotic, psychopathic, psychotic and neuro-pathic. A chapter is devoted to each variety of prisoner, in which the psychiatric make-up and characteristics of each group, the treatment to be given, the kinds of crime particularly committed, the special problems to be met with, and the ways to get over them are described lucidly and in a practical and helpful manner. The authors, however, do not treat the subject in a deep manner, as regards the psychiatric characteristics and special psychotherapeutic techniques and difficulties of the various groups. This will probably cause some disappointment to psychiatrists and students of advanced psychiatry, specially interested in the more psychological aspects of crime and criminals. The authors are also not quite clear in accepting the psychological factors in causations even in the group of psychoneurotics and they are also not very accurate in describing the psychogenic theory of the psychoneuroses. For example, on page 99 it is stated "It is the belief of the proponents of this theory (psychogenic theory of the psycho-neuroses) notably Freud, that the mind is composed of three fundamental divisions, namely the super ego, the ego and the Id. The latter is usually spoken of as the subconscious or unconscious mind, and the former two are collectively designated as the conscious mind." It is stressed by the Freudians particularly that both the super ego and the ego have unconscious components as well. In speaking of the "psychopathic" prisoner and differentiating him from the psychoneurotic and psychotic the authors hold that the "psychopathic" prisoners have no mental conflict. This would seem to be an exaggeration and a generalisation which many psychiatrists would have difficulty in accepting. But the authors use the term in all probability, not in its usual psychiatric sense, but to mean that there is an absence of conscious mental discomfort or conscious feelings of tension among the "psychopaths." These drawbacks, however, are amply compensated by the very practical nature of the book, rendered possible by the authors' intimate experience of prison problems, and the book will be of great value to all psychiatrists and physicians who come in contact with prisoners, judges, prison officials, probation officers and other social case workers—as well as to all serious students of psychiatry.

K. R. MASANI

Freedom and Culture. By JOHN DEWEY. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1940. Pp. 176. 7s. 6d.

This is a timely and courageous book. It is timely, in that the author clarifies many vital issues of great contemporary interest and importance. It is courageous, because in spite of all evidences and trends to the contrary, the

author asserts the potency, rationality and feasibility of the maintenance of democratic methods of social, economic and political organization. Out of seven chapters, two are devoted to the American background and the relevance of democracy in the American Setting. Other chapters deal with the Problem of Freedom, Culture and Human Nature, Totalitarian Economics and Democracy, Democracy and Human Nature, Science and Free Culture.

The author says, "We are beginning to realise that emotions and imagination are more potent in shaping public sentiment and opinion than information and reason," (p. 10) and that "just now the favourite ideological psychological candidate for the control of human activity is love of power." (p. 17) Thus, it is the help of social psychology that is urgently needed in the manipulations of social controls. It is a configuration of various factors that constitute culture.

Dealing with Totalitarian Economics and Democracy, the author says, "It is ironical that the theory which has made the most display of the greatest pretext of having a scientific foundation should be the one which has violated most systematically every principle of scientific method. What we may learn from the contradiction is the potential alliance between scientific and democratic method and the need of consummating this potentiality in the techniques of legislation and administration." (p. 101-2) The claims of Totalitarian States that Democracy is decayed are both a challenge and an opportunity for Democracies to solve the contradictions and make democracy work. "A culture which permits science to destroy traditional values but which distrusts its power to create new ones is a culture which is destroying itself." (p. 154) The author's appeal to America to make its democracy work efficiently in all spheres, is the same appeal people all over the world would like to make to all democracies in this period of crisis. It is a tragic irony that when an old philosopher like John Dewey is so earnest about democracy and has such abiding faith in it, many members of the younger generation are abdicating from their right places of responsible citizenship and willingly assenting to the commands of demagogues and dictators.

P. M. TITUS

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SOCIAL WORK IN HOSPITALS

P. M. TITUS

In this article Dr. Titus discusses the development and nature of social services in hospitals, and the functions of the Hospital Social Worker. He makes a plea for the establishment of a social service department in hospitals in India as an essential part of hospital procedure.

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HOSPITALS, as they are, come under the category of social service agencies. Then what is it that we call 'Social Work in Hospitals'? Is it becoming a fad to introduce social work into every institution and agency, or is it aimed at serving some definite purpose? Social work in the main has as its purpose adjustment of individuals to their environments, adaptation of environments to ensure the full development of personalities and rehabilitation of individuals in society as healthy, good citizens. As such, social work in hospitals serves as a supplementary service to that rendered by the medical professional staff. It seeks to understand and to treat the social complications of disease by establishing a close relationship between the medical care of patients in hospitals or dispensaries and the services of those skilled in the profession of social work; in other words, it seeks to bring the institutionalized care of the sick such personal knowledge of their social condition as will hasten and safeguard their recovery.

The physician generally meets the patient in the hospital. He recognises physical symptoms and seeks for the underlying causes of disease. After an apparently correct diagnosis, he prescribes medicine, diet etc. and the hospital staff administers them to the patient. The nurses, by their personal attendance on the patient, add a kindly touch to the entire process. The hospital staff, as such, has neither the time nor the necessary qualifications to do much out of the ordinary line of their professional services. Physical or mental symptoms, or at times both, are the only data available to the hospital staff to start with. The skilled social worker, on the other hand,

recognises social symptoms of human distress and also seeks their underlying causes that she may the more wisely help. Our large hospitals and dispensaries shelter many persons who need both kinds of aid. The services of doctor and social worker then become interdependent, just as the physical and social conditions of the patient are interrelated. This interdependence of medical and social work, not only in treatment but also in diagnosis, is the criterion on which hospital social work is based. It strives to find the common ground of medicine and sociology, and to relate effectively the functions of doctor and social worker.

"The tendency in medicine to place increasing emphasis on such values as good hygiene, adequate and proper diet, recreation, a job suitable to one's strength, a constructive attitude toward life, has created new types of medical recommendation. The physician who years ago might have prescribed medicine for a patient will today for a similar condition advise convalescent care, or a change of job. The taking of pills and powders is simple. To carry out a recommendation that a mother leave her family for several weeks' convalescent care, or that a factory worker change to an out-of-door job, may require the rearrangement of a whole scheme of life. Here begins the task of the social worker." ¹

A new approach to such familiar human problems as broken homes, neglected childhood, and lives warped by industrial and economic pressure has been recognised in the hospital by pioneers in the hospital social service movement. We find a gradual development of a sympathetic interweaving of efforts by the two professional groups of medical men and social workers who in the earlier stages struggled separately with the problems of the sick and dependent in the community. Not only has it been demonstrated that medical and social interests are closely interrelated, but also that, in their technique, neither practitioner can reach a high quality of service unless each is excellent.

The social worker may destroy the value of a doctor's prescription by a faulty social diagnosis or treatment. A doctor may no less effectively vitiate an excellent social diagnosis or treatment. A patient for whom a back brace was ordered by an orthopedic surgeon was found subsequently by a social worker to be starving herself to pay for the brace. Later a general physical examination showed that she was suffering from pernicious anemia. It is certain that by the time the patient pays up in full the cost of the brace, the pernicious anemia would take its toll. Good and costly prescriptions of the qualified doctor may be good in themselves. But does he know the other details

¹ *Vocational Aspects of Medical Social Work*, (New York: Amer. Assn. of Social Workers, 1927), p. 16.

of the patient's life to ascertain whether he could afford to buy these prescribed medicines? Does he know whether proper nourishment is taken at home, whether home atmosphere is congenial and conducive to the easy recovery of the patient? Such facts are indispensable for proper treatment. Hospital social workers are indispensable to carry on such investigations and continue the follow-up-programme prescribed by the doctor during the convalescent period. Good and effective medical work is possible in most cases only with the assistance of good hospital social workers.

BEGINNINGS OF HOSPITAL SOCIAL WORK

Such assistance as envisaged in the hospital social work has not been neglected entirely even in earlier days. In India, the Ayurvedic practitioner, who ministered as a family physician in almost all the homes in a village, served both as a physician and social worker. In modern hospitals also there are many persons who recognise that the patient's needs are not entirely physical, and who contribute their share of cheer and comfort to the sick. Busy doctors and nurses have done countless unrecorded acts of kindness not demanded by the requirements of their professional duties. The ministrations of priests, friends and other volunteers met the patient's spiritual and emotional needs. We see that such needs have long been recognised both in theory and in practice.

There are, however, certain fundamental differences between these intramural attentions and organized hospital social work. Neither the priest nor the friendly visitor co-operated closely and constantly with the doctor inside or with the social worker outside the hospital. It has remained for the hospital social worker of the present-day to supplement the function of the unofficial visitors with a fuller consideration of a patient's needs, and with a form of skilful service that is now accepted as an important element in thorough medical treatment.

In England and America, hospital social work began to get defined and independently recognised only by the turn of this century. The immediate backgrounds of it were many. About 1880 an organization was founded in England known as the Society for After Care of Poor Persons Discharged Recovered from Insane Asylums. Its purpose was to arrange for the care of discharged patients, especially who had no homes, and to guide them through the process of re-adjustment to the community. A second and probably the most important contribution to hospital social work came through the "lady almoners" connected with London hospitals in the 'nineties'. Originally the function of the Lady Almoner was to investigate the finances of hospital patients in order to prevent the hospital from being imposed upon by persons

who were able to pay something, but who represented themselves as destitute and therefore fit subjects for the aid of a charitable hospital. Gradually, however, the Lady Almoner had begun to be interested in the patients as well as in the hospital funds, and had begun to labour for the patients' benefits as well as the hospital's. A third factor was the work of the visiting nurses who early found themselves forced to undertake many responsibilities not ordinarily associated with their duties. They have been forced to take account of the patients' economic, mental, and moral difficulties, to extend their work beyond the field of nursing proper, and thus to approach very closely to the field of the social worker. The fourth significant contribution came through the training given to medical students at John Hopkins University. Dr. Emerson "recognised that truly effective medical training must include an understanding by a physician of the background and the standards of living of his patients". The final step came with the establishment of a social service department in Massachusetts General Hospital in 1906. Since then the number of hospitals and dispensaries with social service departments have increased greatly in America.

NATURE OF HOSPITAL SOCIAL WORK

What is the nature of Hospital Social Work? Before proceeding to this question it may be well to consider the hospital and nursing background. As against the past, hospitals have become mechanically more efficient and more popular. The administration of anesthesia, the application of asepsis and antisepsis, the laboratory as a diagnostic factor, the wider use of such therapeutic measures as X-ray, hydrotherapy, massage—all the modern refinements of medicine, surgery and nursing, and the team-work necessitated between the practitioners of these different branches—emphasise the economy of grouping many forms of medical treatment in one institution. The dangerously rapid growth of our cities, with the overcrowding in wretched tenements, the poverty, weakened vitality, and disease that comes with such growth, requires hospital treatment for an increasing number of people not well cared for at home. Another factor which contributes to a larger attendance at hospitals is the diminishing prejudice against them. The public sees constant repeated evidence of their improved care of the sick. The attitude of the mother who leaves her child in the hospital is now full of hope than of despair. Patients who have been treated in the hospitals with kindness and skill have helped to establish in the community a justified confidence which has on its part augmented the demands on the capacity of hospitals. The advantages and conveniences of hospital care, especially in cases of surgery and obstetrics, have greatly increased the use of hospitals by people of every economic status.

• During the rapid material expansion of hospital accommodation, the attention of the institution officers and trustees has quite naturally been concentrated on the economic and quasi-military aspects of the organisation and on the problems of properly housing and caring for the large numbers of patients applying for admission. This has resulted in the application of the techniques of administration developed in the business world to medical institutions and also a division of function. Details of management, such as the investment of funds, purchase and distribution of supplies, employment and supervision of the large corps of employees, care of the plant, running of the laundry, providing food, regulation of the dietary, and book-keeping, have necessitated careful business organization. This has engaged the attention of superintendents and trustees. They have been setting their house in order and have had little time to study the public which not only relies upon hospital service but supports it. The medical work of a hospital and its relation to the actual needs of the sick who apply for its care have been to a great extent passed on to physicians and nurses.

But the staff of physicians and surgeons has been organised, not for a sensitive appreciation of what the public needs, but to promote efficient and consistent technical service and to assure authoritative control of the medical work within the hospital. The corps of nurses, with their rigid organization and severe discipline, have been absorbed in the difficult task of getting the day's work done in the wards.

The large modern hospital with its elaborate organization and system has become so like a great machine that the uninitiated are usually oppressed by it. The mechanism is baldly apparent, while the reason for its existence is often obscured. System and organisation are necessary; not until the machinery runs smoothly can a hospital reach its most effective medical service. Nevertheless, smooth-working machinery alone cannot produce a successful hospital, any more than a good constitution can produce an efficient administration, nor rigid laws a nation. Because attention has been concentrated upon internal development, the hospital has faced the danger to which all big institutions are susceptible—that of becoming unduly self-centred. Yet the fact that it exists primarily for the community, makes it, perforce, an institution the social aspect of which no technical efficiency should be allowed to obscure. While the hospital management may be unconscious of its social significance, the ultimate test of its usefulness is the flexible adjustment of its perfect machinery to the changing needs of the community from which its patients and its financial support are drawn.

The staff physician or surgeon in a hospital exercises his technical skill and professional abilities. But naturally the pressure of duties upon him and

his interest in the technical side of the work lead him to concentrate on the strictly "clinical material" before him. Because of urgency of work, he may give little attention to the mental and environmental aspects of his patients' lives. How often do we see in the out-patient wards of our hospitals, physicians writing prescriptions without even looking up at the patient's face for once. Not seldom it happens that patients are treated *in absentia*; the ailments are repeated to the doctor at the hospital by a third party and prescriptions are written.

The same conditions dominate the activities of the nurses. Pressure of work is so great that little time is afforded for the niceties of nursing practice. Her work is exacting and fatiguing. In proportion to the innate imagination and sympathy possessed by the woman, the human interest of the nurse survives. Yet it is almost impossible to keep one's attitude toward any familiar object fresh and sensitive. Oft repeated action tends to become unconscious habit. The nurse who is under the stress of great physical fatigue, under the "illusion of routine", must gradually come to take much of her work as a matter of course. The art of nursing becomes thus a mere routine.

Here then stands the hospital as a smooth-running machine, ready daily to care for the sick and suffering. But what of the patient? All about him he sees people who seemingly are indifferent where he is excited, comfortably unconscious of his pain, swiftly and easily passing him through their hands as the sailor coils a rope. To this big, strange place he comes, absorbed in the realization of his own danger and discomfort, only to realise that he is one of many, a small part of a confusing whole. Too often he is expected to conform to rules and standards to which he sometimes cannot quickly adjust himself. In due course his residence and experience in the hospital give him an appreciative understanding of the whole regime, and he leaves, if he is cured, with a sense of gratitude for what has been done for him.

The hospital, obviously, is a permanent consistent organization regulated by deep-rooted conventions. The ever-shifting troops of patients form the unstable, non-resisting element—the inchoate mass of material that must be made to fit into a more or less rigid, well-ordered routine. They come to the hospital as individuals but the tendency of the hospital staff is to consider them *en masse*. As in the industrial plant, they are not Gopal, Radha, Usman or Antony, but only Bed No. 7, 14, 32 or 23. The inevitable impersonality of a crowded hospital atmosphere tells heavily on the patient, and this when he needs personal attention and sympathy most.

Physicians on the staffs of our large dispensaries have more or less consciously accepted two different standards of medical work: one that of private practice—the careful examination of the individual patient; the other

that of the overcrowded modern clinic where a hasty, incomplete inquiry is all that can be given to a large majority of the sick. In spite of having all the equipment, staff, and other conveniences in a hospital, necessary for accurate medical diagnosis, the physician simply does not have the time to pause and pay attention to those other elements which he is able to do in private practice. In private practice, he tries to understand the patient, and establishes a sort of 'primary relationship' between the patient and himself. He knows the temperament of his patient before he decides upon the rest-cure or the work-cure; he recognises the patient's religious beliefs before he prescribes a dietary; he learns the family finances before he advises a trip to a health resort. It is to be admitted that there are limitations of time and a constriction of the field of attention which mark the difference between a physician's private practice and his hospital service.

The limitations of time that affect the observation of a hospital patient's physical condition can be corrected by better organization of medical service. Such a programme of expansion, extension and increase in personnel, is long overdue in this country. But that will not correct the other limitation—that of the field of attention.

Rightly does Ida M. Cannon point out that "the mind accustomed to consider disease as a factor in social maladjustment sees in the train of all this sickness, conditions possibly causal, possibly contributory, which are more closely related to the illness of the individual than the medical specialist is likely to perceive. The shattered limb, which means to the surgeon merely a demand upon his skill, may have social significance because the result of an industrial accident that could have been prevented, and likely to be attended by the tragedy of unemployment and family dependence. The nurse, seeing in the recovery of the desperately sick "typhoid" the justification for her devoted service, may have little conception of the real significance of her work in preserving unbroken family ties—the father restored to the support of his family, or the mother to the care of her children. The pathologist may see in the smear of impoverished blood merely a routine laboratory test, yet it may be the climax in the story of a girl forced into factory life to add a pittance to the meagre income of a deserted mother".²

For the extension of the field of attention to the social aspects of medical work we need the co-operation of those skilled in understanding social problems and equipped by training and experience to guide patients in solving those personal ones that may arise from their illness or to which their illness may have been due in part. Hospital social workers are to supplement the

² Ida M. Cannon : "*Social Work in Hospitals*", (New York : Russel Sage Foundation 1930), p. 26.

work of the physician and the nurse to produce effective results. They have to become a component part of organized medicine. A patient, for instance, may present problems of chronic disease, poverty, social isolation, and attitudes of fear and discouragement. The treatment of physical condition as such is a task for the physician, surgeon, nurse, occupational and physio-therapist. The offsetting of her poverty, the breaking down of her isolation, and the modification of her attitudes are primarily tasks for the social worker.

Many other types of social adjustments must be made by and for patients who come to hospitals and dispensaries. It may be an injured workman who needs help in securing compensation, a crippled child who requires special provision for his education, an unmarried mother who does not know what to do with her new born baby, a tuberculous wife whose children must be cared for while she is in the sanitarium, or a syphilitic husband whose family must be told of his condition and advised how to avoid infection. All these and many more are tasks which may come to a hospital social worker.

Basing his classification on a medico-social study of the new patients coming to the Boston Dispensary on three different days, Michael M. Davis, Jr., then Director of the Dispensary, in 1912, classified tentatively under four headings the problems, social as well as medical, which presented themselves as follows:³

Type One.—Patients whose social problems are evident and acute. These problems must be solved promptly if the patient is to be in a position to receive any effective treatment.

EXAMPLES.—A baby of fifteen months, ill-nourished, enlarged tonsils, pharyngitis. Mother a dishwasher in a restaurant, deserted by husband.

Married woman of forty, chronic arthritis of phalanges of right hand, scoliosis, teeth almost gone, severe headaches. Takes bromo-seltzer in large quantities. Cannot understand English. Three children at school, husband a tailor.

Young unmarried woman, illegitimate child. Both syphilitic.

Type Two.—Patients whose social problem is not acute, but whose disease is one dangerous to others. It is a serious matter if a patient suffering from such a disease goes about without continued care and ultimate cure. The interests of the community in such a case are paramount to the needs or wishes of the individual patient.

EXAMPLES.—Woman of twenty-one, recently married. Syphilis. Syphilitic throat lesions.

³ Michael M. Davis: "Social Aspects of a Medical Institution", *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1912*, pp. 365-66.

Married man of thirty-two, second stage tuberculosis; two children of school age and baby under two.

Type Three.—In this type there exists no acute problem of poverty, ignorance, or employment; but examination at the first visit indicates a disease which means that the patient should return several times for treatment. Unless the work of the physician who makes the diagnosis is to be wasted, so far as service to patient and the community is concerned, this return should be brought about. It is the duty of the institution to adapt its methods so that patients are most likely to return, and so that the most economical and efficient means are used for following up patients to such an extent as is necessary without squandering effort upon hopeless or unresponsive cases.

EXAMPLES.—Man of fifty-two, married, no children. Clerk. Rheumatism.

Woman of fifty-three, married, two children, one at school and one working; husband a laborer, work unsteady. Indigestion and bad teeth.

Boy, age four. Father is a helper in a garage.

Three other children, one working. Adenoids, hypertrophied tonsils, operative; dermatitis.

Type Four.—No acute social problem exists and treatment of patient can be completed at the first visit, or if a few additional treatments be required, the disorder is such as to occasion discomfort sufficient to insure patient's return.

EXAMPLES.—Toothache, requiring extraction; supposed need of eyeglasses found on examination not to exist; sty on the eyelid.

On an analysis the relative proportion of these types was found to be as follows:

Type 1 and 2 (acute problems calling for medical-social case work): 25 to 30 per cent of all patients.

Type 3 (problems requiring social work but mainly by clinical methods): 40 to 50 per cent.

Type 4 (patients not requiring any following up or other definite social work): 25 per cent.

That is 75 per cent of the patients were cases to be attended to both by the doctor and the social worker. With the high incidence of disease and poverty, it is likely that if we make a classification of the patients who come to any of our Dispensaries in India, the number of patients who need the aid of a social worker will be much higher in percentage. And yet we have not even begun to think of having social service departments in our hospitals.

The major activities recognised so far, as appropriate functions of the Hospital Social Worker, may be summarised as :⁴

⁴ *The Functions of Hospital Social Service*, Monograph No. I, (Chicago : American Association of Social Workers, 1930), pp. 62-63.

1. Inquiry into the social situation of hospital patients and the reporting of the findings to the responsible physician.

2. Determining, in collaboration with the physician, the factors in the social situation pertinent to the patient's health and stating these as medical-social problems or diagnoses.

3. Setting up, in collaboration with the physician, a possible goal or best estate for patient to aim for, given the medical problems and the social situation of patient, and distinguishing the role the social worker is to play in plan for helping patient achieve the goal.

4. Executing the social worker's part in the plan for helping patient achieve his best estate.

"These activities constitute the essential service of the social worker for the relief of the patient as an individual. In performing these activities the social worker has been obviously following a track parallel to that of the main track of medical practice. Medical practice further accepts as function two other broad phases of service to human life—'prevention of disease' and the 'promotion of health'. The committee is of the opinion that social workers connected with hospitals are advantageously situated for entering into both these phases of service."⁵

In general the tasks of social workers in hospitals are:—(1) direct assistance in the cure and prevention of disease in individual cases; (2) participation in administrative work; and (3) sharing the community relations of the hospital or dispensary. In no way is the function of the hospital social worker to be construed as either superficial or superfluous. She is merely an addition to the regular staff to supplement in the gaining of the major objectives. Neither the physician nor the nurse executes the tasks of the social worker. The physician, the nurse and the social worker in co-operation can bring about better results than any two can in the absence of the third. The social worker carries out *with patient and physician* a medical-social plan for adequate treatment.

TECHNIQUE OF SOCIAL WORK IN HOSPITALS

A very clear analysis of the technique of hospital social service has been prepared by a committee of Associated Out-Patient Clinics of the City of New York. A portion of its report is presented here.⁶

I. Service to patients Through Contributing to Medical Care.

1. Securing the information which enables her to place before the

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 63.

⁶ *Technique of Hospital Social Service*, (New York: Associated Out-Patient Clinics, 1926), pp. 9-13.

physician all the factors in that patient's personality and environment which may affect his diagnosis and treatment. This information is usually obtained through such sources as the patient himself, the physician and medical record, consultation with the social agencies, and home visits. The Social Service Exchange should be consulted to learn what other agencies, if any, are interested. Many cases will indicate need of other special investigation, such as consulting relatives, the employer, previous medical records and schools. The study of the patient's personality and environment should be based on the individual treatment of the individual patient. . . .

2. Analysing all the evidence in the light of all knowledge available on such a problem in order to

3. Make social analysis by defining :

(a) Obstacles to effective medical treatment.

(b) Underlying social causes of physical disability.

(c) The available social and economic resources, such as employer and family.

4. Determining upon a plan of social treatment; this must be related to the conditions found by the physician and what he directs for their relief, and must be worked out in co-operation with the physician and the patient.

5. Following through the case with constant alertness for new evidence which may modify diagnosis or treatment—medical or social. After the initial conference with the physician, this work usually falls under the following headings:

(a) Work with the patient himself : making sure that the patient understands the treatment recommended, that he realises the importance of carrying out such treatment, and that his will to do his share is enlisted. . . . Sometimes it is necessary to persuade the patient to change his whole method of living and the habits of a life-time. . . .

(b) Work with the family and others in immediate environment of patient. It is necessary often to influence relatives, employers, and others to a different attitude, or to seek assistance in carrying out a plan from church, teacher, lodge, insurance agent, club, or landlord. . . .

(c) Work with co-operating agencies in the community. . . .

(d) Regular conferences with physician in charge of the patient. . . .

II. *Services to Patients Through Certain Administrative Duties.*

1. In admissions:

(a) Patients in wards. Ward patients are often emergency or accident cases and require immediate social service work, such

as getting in touch with relatives and friends, and providing for the emergency in the home.

- (b) Making sure that the patient understands the conditions of admission to the institution, such as fees and hours, and is prepared to meet them.
- (c) Securing information which may contribute to the treatment of the case . . . and passing on this information to the workers who will deal with the patient in clinic or ward.
- (d) Fulfilling administrative requirements of the institution in regard to assignment of patients and their eligibility. It is usually the responsibility of the worker, under rules laid down by the institution, to direct rejected patients to the appropriate agency through which the needed care can be obtained instead of merely refusing admission.

2. In clinic management:

- (a) Routing the patient through the clinic and through the various procedures recommended. Routing is here used to mean not only directing the patient through the various parts of the building, but explaining preparation required for tests or special treatments ordered and their cost, and making arrangements to have them done.
- (b) Interviewing each patient to see that he understands the physician's plan of treatment, and going over his plan for following this treatment; if he cannot carry out treatment arranging for some adjustment or for further social service to work out some plan. . . .
- (c) Carrying on the administration of an appointment system to promote regular attendance of patients as directed by the physician.
- (d) Following those patients who break their appointments and helping them to overcome the obstacles which interfered with their continued treatment. . . .
- (e) Supervising the transfer or refer of patients to other departments within the out-patient department or hospitals or to other institutions, and checking up not only to see if the patient has followed the instructions but also to obtain for the physician any necessary reports.
- (f) Keeping record of medical intake and disposition of cases for each clinic.
- (g) Gaining from patients or their parents, the consent necessary

- for surgical and other out-of-routine work, necessary for the progress of the patient. . . .
- (h) In teaching institutions, assisting in collecting material suitable for teaching cases; also persuading the patients who are needed as teaching material to consent to make this contribution to medical knowledge.

Conditions as they are to-day in India, with very little of organized social work in evidence, we may not be able to use the techniques as enumerated above. Yet, there are hospitals which can adapt these techniques to local needs and organize social service departments to much advantage.

BASIS OF TREATMENT

Hospital social work must depend for its justification, not on the gratitude of patients for kindly help, but rather on the effectiveness of the social work that is done. Human kindness is good and is indispensable in the treatment of patients; but that alone cannot solve tangled social problems; nor can it minister unaided to the diseased body or mind. The social worker's function does not lie especially in a sympathy with patients in immediate distress of mind and body. Physician and nurse often have a deep sympathy with the various phases of their condition. Rather does the social worker's function lie in an enlarged understanding of any psychic or social condition which may be causing distress to the patient. Her knowledge of the way in which temperament, financial condition and social environment affect a patient for good or ill, together with the doctor's knowledge of the physical conditions, gives a sound basis for judgment and for action both medical and social. Character, human relationships and community life are the fields of her study. To make her contribution valuable the hospital social worker must bring to her task the best that the profession of social work has to offer. Along with the doctor and nurse, animated by a keen sympathy for the afflicted, she, no less than the others, is in search of truth for the benefit of the patient. But her field is different, and *the value of her contribution depends on the very fact of its being drawn from another field.*

Medical science has recognised long since that the patient's co-operation is essential for his recovery. The insight into his background which the social worker can supply and the influence she can bring to bear may become the main agency in assuring that co-operation. In cases like tuberculosis, heart disease, debility and innumerable digestive diseases, treatment, while directed by the physician, calls also for the co-operation of the patient. He himself must often change his habits of living or his way of thinking, sometimes even definitely change his environment. This makes medical treatment a joint

partnership between doctor and patient. The social worker comes in here as an interpreter, and sometimes as the active agent in making the patient's part possible and effective. To help to establish this co-operative relation the social worker should have all the factors in the case well in hand. In the interplay of the physical, economic and psychological elements, the psychological dominates; hence understanding of the subtle reaction of human nature to circumstances should engage the most thoughtful efforts of the medical social worker. The essential element in the interviews with patients, especially the first interview, is to secure the patient's confidence, to establish a friendly relationship, and to explain to him her own function as related to that of the doctor and the nurse.

After securing the first necessary facts, the social worker should ask few leading questions; rather she should have the patient tell his story fully, guiding him sometimes and selecting from his disclosures those facts which bear particularly on the social aspect of the case. The effort should be to probe those unexpected and hidden sources of anxiety that are the real sources of trouble. This point may be made clear by a passage from Cannon: "A woman sent by a doctor to a hospital social worker to secure her medicine free was found on investigation to be struggling under a burden too heavy for her to bear. Since she and her three children had been deserted three years before, she had supported them by day's work. A son was desperately ill with appendicitis at the city hospital. Another child, concerning whom the mother was greatly worried, had incipient tuberculosis. Had the hospital merely provided the tonic which the doctor ordered for this mother and given no consideration to her anxieties for her children, it would have profited her little."¹ Are there not many similar cases in our hospitals where only tonic is provided, but the other causes of anxieties are unknown and totally ignored?

A visit to the patient's home is often essential to a better understanding of his social status and living conditions. It also serves to illuminate his trouble from his family's point of view, which is sometimes much saner and usually somewhat different from his. To carry out an effectual plan usually requires the family's help, and at times it is greatly modified in the light of a home visit. A person's family is usually more ready to co-operate when the trouble is physical than when it is economic.

Only after seeking for the many-sided truth—whether illness and maladjustment are matters of finance, hygiene, psychology or past conditions—can a sound plan of action be developed. Often the truth when found reveals little promise for effective effort. Many a social worker has spent months or years of fruitless struggle at reconstruction of character, only to find

¹ Cannon : *Social Work in Hospitals*, (New York : Russell Sage Foundation, 1930), p. 26.

that the boy or girl was feeble of mind and consequently incapable of self-control.

ORGANISATION

Hospital social work, in the mind of its initiators, is not an independent enterprise but an essential part of hospital procedure. They believed that medical efficiency was impossible until the influence of social conditions was fully recognised and acted upon by the hospital management and physician. As in the case of any other novel experiments such as kindergartens, organised playgrounds, visiting teachers, school nurses etc., the necessity for hospital social work had to be proved by its initiators before it could get widely accepted. Therefore it has been organized on different basis. Yet one principle has been generally accepted, namely, that *a social service department to be most effective must exist as an integral part of the hospital, not as an affiliated agency.*

Among the various forms of organization the following are some of the distinctive types :

1. Those established and controlled by the hospital board.
2. Those established by hospital authority and affiliated with the training school for nurses.
3. Those initiated by an individual or small group of individuals and supervised by a self-appointed committee recognised by the hospital.
4. Those initiated and supervised by an outside agency.^a

Often there is an advisory committee with representatives from the board of trustees, medical staff, social workers in outside agencies and interested citizens. Such a group may act as a case committee, or it may deal with general problems of policy. Its chief function is often to promote interest and understanding on the part of the public.

As in the case of all case-working agencies, systematic record keeping is held to be exceedingly important both as an aid to serving the individual patients and as a guide to policy making. Detailed case records and statistical summaries are kept in all hospital social work departments.

PERSONNEL

Miss Mary E. Richmond, in dealing with the test of fitness of social case-workers, remarks that social workers should have in their hearts a "conviction of the infinite worth of our common humanity before they can be fit to do any form of social work whatsoever. Life itself achieves significance and value not from the esoteric things shared by a few but from the great common experiences of the race—from the issues of birth and death, of affection

^a *Ibid.* p. 158.

satisfied and affection frustrated, from those chances and hazards of daily living that come to all men. Unless these conditions common to all humanity strongly appeal to us, or until they do, we are not ready to adopt social case work as our major interest."⁹ Such qualities are especially needed in a hospital social worker. It is in the hospital that one observes every type of social distress—a veritable congregation of "assorted miseries". It is here where human life is seen in all its beauty, strength and frailty.

Some of the more evident characteristics which are required in medical social workers are :—interest in people resulting in an understanding of the points of view of patients, physicians and others; tact in dealing with people; a broad educational background; freedom from undue fear of disease and dirt; a sense of values in life; ability to face facts and think clearly; powers of persuasion; a sense of humour, good health and mental balance. In addition to these traits she must have special training. It is believed that an adequate education for hospital social work should offer training and experience in the following :

1. Knowledge of the chief diseases, groups of diseases, and health problems, primarily in their social implications.
2. Understanding of the social, industrial, and economic problems as they affect family life.
3. Knowledge of the purpose and activities of the chief public and private health and social agencies, and of legal and community conditions which affect health.
4. Understanding of the traditions and customs of the medical profession, and of medical institutions.
5. Ability to utilize both knowledge and personal qualities in attaining understanding of people, and the practical results in co-operation and guidance and leadership. . . .¹⁰

Those who are carefully selected for ability in organizing and interpreting the work, and who possess a balance of qualities fit to meet the multitudinous needs of the service with a never-failing spirit of sympathetic interest in the patients, will bring the best promise of success.

"In the absence of even sufficient number of hospitals and dispensaries in our country, why should we go in for these new additional adornments of hospital social work in imitation of the West", some may query. Doing things in the most efficient way possible in such of those institutions which are already in existence is a saner and sounder method of procedure than continuing

⁹ Mary E. Richmond: *What is Social Case Work?* (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1922), p. 249.

¹⁰ American Hospital Association Bulletin, No. 23, (Chicago, November, 1920), pp. 9-10.

to do them on a larger scale less efficiently. We have hospitals which can afford to take the initiative. A recognition of the usefulness of hospital social workers is the one primary thing needed.

Hospitals, in the last analysis, can justify their existence by virtue of their usefulness. Many medical and social workers who are thoughtfully searching for the causes and treatment of human misery ask whether or not the hospital is ready for a broadening of its function; whether or not it should now look with a larger sense of its opportunity and of its responsibility beyond its walls to the community which it more or less consciously serves. While they are doing so, it may be fruitful to consider whether the patients who fill the hospitals are there through the results of accident or their own unfortunate ignorance, or through the careless indifference of society to the promotion of its own healthfulness.

CANCER AND THE MEDICO-SOCIAL PROBLEM

ROY COHN

"The service which the great field of medicine renders," says Dr. Cohn, "depends not only upon the advances made in the scientific aspect of medicine but also upon the advances in the understanding of the new relationship of the individual to his environment which his disease has brought about," and points out how the social worker can be of real service in dealing with the social aspect of the case in the treatment of cancer.

Dr. Cohn is one of the two American cancer specialists in the Tata Memorial Hospital, Bombay.

THE twenty-five years before the beginning of the twentieth century saw the dawn of modern clinical research in medicine. As a result the fields of pathology, bacteriology, physiological chemistry, and roentgenology were added to the older study of anatomy and now form the basis of modern medical education. That these changes have been of great value in the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of disease goes without saying.

But the practice of medicine includes much more than an attempt to control disease by scientific methods. In 1855 James Jackson in his *Letters to a Young Physician* said, "From this day you must realise more and more the difference between the study of the sciences and the application of them to the business of life, to the practice of your art First, because many principles on which we act are not established on certain ground; and therefore, they must be followed with great caution and constant watchfulness. Second, because there are few principles which are universal in their application."

Medicine is not, and never will be, an exact science such as chemistry or physics or mathematics. The reaction, both mental and physical, of the human being to any external or internal factor is an ever present variable which prevents the accurate and unfailing relation between cause and effect which characterizes the work of the exact scientist. Henderson in his interpretation of Pareto's General Sociology points out that there are two classes of subjects: first, history, law, literature, economics, sociology, politics, theology, education and so forth; second, logic, mathematics, physics, biology, and other natural sciences. He states that, when the authorities on the latter group disagree, it is most often at the frontiers of knowledge where growth is taking place; and in the long run a debated question is ordinarily settled by observation, experiment, or some other method which all accept. In other words, the so-called scientific method. This, in general according to Henderson, is not true of the first class of subjects since "all of the subjects of the

first class do involve, and no one of the subjects of the second class does involve, the study of the interrelations of two or more persons.'"

From the public point of view, the service which the great field of medicine renders depends not only upon the advances made in the scientific aspect of medicine but also upon the advances in the understanding of the new relationship of the individual to his environment which his disease has brought about.

As early as 1912 Edsall introduced the teaching of the social aspect of patients to the medical students on the wards of the Massachusetts General Hospital. Shortly thereafter the department of medical social service was founded by Cabot. The department of medical social service soon began to specialize with each medical speciality, so that just as there were orthopedic surgeons, ophthalmological surgeons, dermatologists and so forth, there came to be social workers specializing in corresponding fields. With the founding of special institutes devoted to the surgical and radiation treatment of tumors, there came to be departments of social service specializing in this problem.

When a social worker specializes in medical work, it is of importance that the worker have some technical training in one of the accessory fields of medicines as well as the field of special interest. A great many workers have had dietary or nursing training after their college work and before entering the field of social work.

This education is along broad lines and simply gives them an outline of the size and complications of the problem with which the doctor must contend. Workers likewise should have a brief course in the "language" of the field in which they are working. Before proceeding, I should like to give a few definitions of words commonly used in the cancer field.

The word "tumor" is from the Latin meaning "swelling". If a tumor grows slowly, stays within its capsule or shell, does not break out to grow elsewhere, and produces symptoms only because of its size or location, and does not come back when once removed, it is spoken of as a "benign" or "good" tumor. This sort of tumor can usually be removed and the patient is completely cured. If the tumor grows rapidly, penetrates or "invades" the surrounding tissues, spreads through the blood or lymph systems, or metastasizes, to other organs of the body, and eventually kills the patient by destroying some vital structure, it is spoken of as a "malignant" or "bad" tumor. These qualities vary with each tumor. Some grow slowly and metastasize late. Others grow rapidly and metastasize early. By microscopic examination of a piece of the tumor, the pathologist can tell more certainly than any other method whether a tumor is benign or malignant.

Now at one stage in its career, the human body starts as one cell. This

cell divides and increases in numbers by geometric progression up to a point. Then the cell mass distinguishes itself into three separate layers. The inner and outer of the two layers eventually form the mucous membranes and lining of body cavities as well as the various glands. Malignant tumors which arise from these two layers are known as cancers or carcinoma. If a malignant tumor arises from the middle layer which eventually makes up the supporting structures of the body, it is spoken of as a sarcoma. Sometimes it is impossible to know on microscopic study into which class a malignant tumor falls, but both eventually destroy the host if not treated.

The exact origin of malignant tumors is not known. Modern research suggests that there are probably many causes of malignancy. It has been known for some time that certain types of cancer have been associated with certain occupations such as the bladder cancers of the aniline dye workers, the chimney sweep's cancer, the lung cancers of the Schneeberg miners, the bone sarcomas of the radium workers. In addition, various chemical agents have been found capable of causing malignancies in experimental animals. The chemical compounds related to the hormones, the secretions of the ductless glands, bear some relationship to genital tumors. Further, in some animals sub-microscopic filter passing agents cause malignancies. Heredity also plays a role in human disease as well as the animal disease. Again, there are lesions in the body which are said to be "precancerous" in nature. The thick white areas in the mouth and tongue called leukoplakias and the polyps in the large intestine are common examples.

To complicate the problem even further, we find that the symptoms of cancers vary widely. If a cancer is on the skin, it is seen relatively early as a sore and treatment is sought fairly early. On the other hand, a cancer which develops in the pancreas may grow and metastasize widely before giving any symptoms at all. The early symptoms of cancer of the internal organs are apt to be vague in nature. In fact, Balfour found in a series of 115 doctors with cancer of the stomach that they did not complain of symptoms to their own doctors any sooner than a similar group of laymen. One death in every ten in physicians in the U. S. and Canada from 1935-1939 was due to cancer. Even if the tumor develops on the surface of the body, such as the female breast, the mental habits of the patient may prevent her from complaining either from fear, indifference or ignorance.

And finally when we come to treatment, we add another complicated field. There are only three accepted methods of treatment of tumors. These are surgical removal, X-ray, and radium emanation, or a combination of the three. Surgical extirpation depends upon the complete removal of the growth. The earlier in the course of his disease the patient presents himself for treat-

ment, the more restricted will be the area covered by the disease, and hence the simpler will be the task of removal. Once the growth has metastasized, unless the metastases have been limited to the first barrier of lymph nodes, the surgical removal of the original tumor cannot cure the patient. For some types of cancers X-ray or radium have been found very effective. The exact means by which the rays exert their effect is not known. There is a huge mass of experimental and clinical data on this subject alone.

The radiation treatment is very complicated also, and great technical proficiency is required in its use. Radium can be used as such or, more efficiently, by dissolving it in solution, and collecting the active constituent, radon, which is given off as a gas. This gas is collected in tiny gold capsules called "seeds" or larger platinum capsules.

Obviously all these methods of treatment are very expensive. For instance, radium costs in the neighbourhood of one lakh of rupees per gram. Along with the maintenance of an institute and its machinery and surgery, an enormous sum must be paid. Naturally, after this tremendous outlay, it would simply defeat one important purpose of a hospital, if the much more trivial but very important expense necessary for the follow-up of the treated patients were neglected. It is in this aspect of the treatment of the patient which the medical social worker must play a great part. What is true for all diseases is even more true for cancer work, for here the fight is not between health and chronic illness but life and death.

If the preceding paragraphs seem hopelessly complicated, it is due to the fact that the problem is extremely complicated. Personally, I believe that every school of social service should have hospital affiliations, so that all workers whether they are going to specialize in medical social service or not, should have some hospital training during their schooling. The problem of health is intimately connected with poverty and the other social maladjustments. The contact with disease and the opportunity to learn about medical methods and some of the medical jargon should be most helpful to the general worker.

In the first place, it would give the worker himself the chance to spend some time considering his own feelings with regard to disease, the special disease in this discussion being cancer. As Cockerill has pointed out, the worker must ask himself how he reacts to the information that a client has cancer; is he able to look at the lesion? How does he feel about pain and death? An honest introspective answer to these questions and many relative ones is necessary before the worker can hope to be of service to his clients. Affiliation with a hospital during the schooling period and contact with the medical men caring for the patient will help the intelligent worker to straighten him-

self out in answering these questions as well as give him a better understanding of the difficulties involved.

During this period the worker should avail himself of the excellent non-technical brochures of the British and American Societies for the Control of cancer. Thus equipped the worker can be of invaluable service in disseminating this knowledge. The various lectures and sources of information for the public are not apt to reach the most ignorant group of people who can neither read nor write. And it is perhaps this group who needs this information the most. The social worker can pass on this knowledge by word of mouth.

In addition, the clients, having had previous help from the worker, will consider him a friend who can advise them in this new catastrophe. It behoves the worker then to be well informed about the general symptoms of cancer as well as the various institutions in the locality which can handle this sort of problem. Having persuaded a client to seek medical advice, it is the worker's responsibility to see that the advice is followed.

Many of the operative procedures for the cure of cancer are most radical. For example, cancer of the rectum necessitates complete removal of the rectum with construction of an artificial anus on the abdominal wall. Many people, intelligent as well as ignorant, feel that death is preferable to this situation. A well informed worker will know that this is not true. He will know from direct observation in the period of hospital training that patients in this situation can be taught to control the fecal movements perfectly; that with careful attention to diet and toilet procedures, they can return to society and continue to be useful citizens.

The social worker has the further responsibility to combat the various quack cancer cures of which there are legion. It is always easier and seemingly cheaper for the client to buy one of the many advertised products with their extravagant claims for perfect results than the long difficult course of treatment which is apt to be necessary. The social worker should be aware of the fallacies attached to most of them as well as how to go about finding the sources of information on them. The American Medical Association publishes an annual monograph on the various quack methods. The worker should also attempt to prevent the financial drain which these quack remedies cause. There is perhaps no greater medical tragedy than that of the patient who has noticed a small lump on his body. Succumbing to the lure of some medicine, which is claimed to cure cancer by simply rubbing it on the area, he does so for months. By the time he finally reaches the surgeon, the cancer has then spread to the surrounding tissues and the patient's chance for cure has diminished a thousand-fold.

In all these ways, then, the general social worker may be of service to

his client and his community. For the worker who specializes and becomes attached to the cancer hospital, the details of these problems increase. These workers should have a much longer period of "internship" in the hospital. They should be well acquainted with the "medical jargon".

When the patient presents himself for treatment, social investigation should start along with the medical investigation of the patient. A doctor can make no distinction between patient's care on the basis of financial standing. Every man deserves the best. But the social worker must make this distinction at once, so that those able to pay in all or in part for their treatment should do so. These contributions are of importance in carrying out the work of the hospital. From the medical record and discussions with the surgeon, the worker finds out the diagnosis, what treatment will be undertaken, how long it will take, what the patient's life expectancy may be, what are the possibilities of cure. In addition, he must know what appliances will be needed after operation such as colostomy or feeding sets, crutches, artificial limbs, orthopaedic shoes, and many other prostheses. Further, he must know if any special diets, rest, drugs, or other medicines will be needed. He must know if and when the patient will be able to return to work, or whether the type of work must be changed to a more suitable occupation. The worker must know what the home surroundings are, who will be responsible for the family if the only bread-winner can no longer work.

Perhaps the most important job of the social worker from the long term medical point of view is the follow-up system. The reason that doctors know that the various quack remedies are quack remedies is that by seeing the patient month after month, they know that the cancer, which may disappear on the surface, soon returns after a short period of time. The various recognized treatments have been modified, operations have been changed in various ways, dosages of X-Rays have been increased or decreased because of various follow-up findings. It is the duty of the medical social worker to know the whereabouts of every patient of the hospital until the time of his death. Results of cancer therapy are now judged on the basis of five year cures and ten year cures. It is of utmost importance for the surgeon to know about the health of his patient and it is the worker's job to see that the patient comes back to see the doctor at regular intervals. Even in death, they cannot rest for then the necropsy must be done, so that a complete bit of knowledge may be added to the fight against this disease. And here too, the social worker who has been a tactful friend of the family throughout the illness can once more be of great service to medicine and its fight against disease by showing the family of the patient how study of this end-stage of cancer can benefit other sufferers from this disease.

The follow-up system is not only of importance to the patient for his own benefit and to the surgeon for his interest in the study of cancer, but from the point of view of the hospital administrator, it saves money for the hospital. Bailey and Weiskotten have shown in a statistical study that 91 per cent of the cost of the average hospital care is expended for chronic illness. If treatment is given in the hospital and the patient is discharged with instructions which are not followed, these patients must be taken back into the hospital again. The same authors in a study of 500 cases showed that due to failure of follow-up 3,000 hospital days were lost. This figure multiplied by the calculated cost per patient per hospital day gives the amount of money wasted by the hospital on these patients. The social worker by home visits and interviews would evaluate these conditions beforehand and thus prevent them occurring. For instance, in the Tata Hospital we have found in the short time we have been open that we have "lost" 34 patients. The lack of knowledge concerning the whereabouts of these patients is not only harmful from the point of view of our statistical study of cancer, but also, what is even worse, is sometimes fatal to the patient who may have simply misunderstood his instructions. It would be the duty of the social worker to trace these patients if possible. With regard to the statistical point, it is interesting to note that there are no accurate statistics. Sir John Megaw writing on Public Health in Blunt's Social Service in India mentions cancer in one line only !

In this same book the analogy between Marie Antionette's question as to why the populace did not eat cake if they could not get bread is compared to prescribing of Utopian conditions for the poor. While this is certainly true generally, it would seem that individual institutions could take over the small additional expense as part of the treatment for their patients. Dr. Ackroyd has calculated that an adequate diet in India would cost Rs. 5-8-0 a month whereas the average poorly balanced diet cost Rs. 2-8-0 a month. Surely, this small sum could be supplied to this relatively small group of poor people. The saving in life alone by decreasing the 'mortality' rate of the treatment would serve as a striking demonstration to encourage the public interest along these lines. In the United States, various government agencies supply these funds which are obtained from the tax monies.

An example of a typical problem might make my point clearer. A poor labourer reports to the clinic with a cancer of the tongue. Because of pain and inability to swallow due to the cancer, he has practically stopped eating, but even so has continued his work up to the time of entry. He is the sole support of his family. We decide to treat his cancer with a combination of X-ray therapy and by insertion of gold seeds. Before this is started

due to the lack of care his decaying teeth are extracted. We know that in about two to three weeks after the treatment has been started there will be a reaction in the mouth and tongue. They will become more swollen and painful. It is during this period of reaction that the patient is apt to die. His mouth must be kept clean with medicines and irrigations and his weight must be maintained by an adequate supply of high caloric liquid foods such as milk, butter, eggs and juices.

This treatment could be done in the hospital but it is impractical, because of the frequency of these cases and the cost of nursing care. The next best thing is to have it done at the patient's home. We know from the experience of other hospitals that it can be successfully done at home if the necessities are supplied to the patient. To see that the medicines, apparatus, and food are supplied and that the patient is using them and returns to the clinic at the appointed time is the duty of the social worker.

The money for these supplies might come from several sources. The poor box fund is one such source. Specific bequests to such a fund could be solicited from various benevolent societies. At any rate it is absolutely necessary that the social service department have such a fund under its control.

Although the chiefs of the social service departments are well paid professionals, many of the workers are voluntary. They are of great assistance to the full-time people and after a short period of training are quite capable.

So far I have said nothing of that unfortunate group of individuals whose disease is so widespread, that it is obvious that treatment can do little good. Sometimes these individuals live on and on for months, a trial to themselves and a drag to their families. Personally, I believe that where facilities are so limited as they are everywhere in the world, that one's efforts should be spread as thickly as possible where the chance of cure and rehabilitation or comfortable prolongation of life is present; not spread as thin as possible to give some sort of haphazard treatment to the greatest number of individuals. Every man who deals with disease is impressed with the wisdom of Montaigne's saying, "A wise man liveth as long as he ought, not as long as he can."

I make no apology for what to some may seem an impractical attitude towards the development of social service in India. While it is true that many other widespread and revolutionary economic and social reforms must go hand in hand with the universal adoption of these changes, the numerous examples of the foresight and generosity of some of the wealthy men in India shows without question that a start has been made.

It remains for the workers in the field to continue the fight and to

prove to an ever-widening circle of people that these changes are needed and are of benefit to all the people of India.

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THE PROBLEM OF ADULT ILLITERACY

B. A. HASHMI

Mr. Hashmi treats in this article one of India's greatest problems. In the light of his experience in the Punjab, he maintains that if a country-wide campaign is organized and pushed forward on the lines mentioned herein, India might soon be able to boast of a population very largely, if not entirely, literate.

The author is Inspector of Vernacular Education in the Punjab, and has had much to do with supervising the campaign and writing up the recent report on the success of their organized crusade against illiteracy.

THE problem of mass illiteracy knows no provincial or even continental barriers. It is a world problem and it has been with us ever since man began to live communally and to evolve a civilization. In ancient times the State and the masses were two separate and mutually distinguishable entities and whereas the obligations of the masses to the State were clearly defined and rigidly enforced, the obligations of the State to the masses were extremely vague with no moral or coercive sanction behind them. In feudal times, therefore, culture and enlightenment remained the monopoly of the church and the aristocracy. The common man enjoyed very little share in the cultural life of the community. The task of mass enlightenment and mass education was left to private initiative and to the benevolent zeal of various religious orders and holy men. These messengers of light went forth among the people and did whatever was humanly possible to enlighten and to educate the ignorant masses. But their number and resources were too limited to effect any wholesale intellectual penetration and they succeeded in educating only a very small number of their respective countrymen.

Thus society as a whole remained divided into an educated and cultured minority and an ignorant and completely or partially illiterate majority. In the course of time the wheels of civilization moved forward from feudalism and primitive agriculture to democracy and industrial organization. The State became identified with the common man, and its increased resources enabled it to distribute both physical and intellectual comforts on a more liberal scale. This political emancipation of the common man resulted in a gradual liquidation of his intellectual handicaps until the accumulated illiteracy of generations began to vanish. But there were a number of countries which remained in a sort of historical back-water, and did not keep pace with the advanced countries of the West where feudalism remained as the prevalent form of State and agriculture continued as the main occupation of the people. In these countries the masses inherited illiteracy from their ancestors and it is

only recently that efforts have begun to be made to bring them into line with the more advanced of their brethren.

In India the situation has been slightly different. During the Mughal reign the masses found easy access to the blessings of education through the indigenous institutions of Maktabas and Pathshalas attached to mosques and temples, and subsidised by the State. The education imparted in these homely centres of learning was no doubt rudimentary and stereotyped but it was within the reach of rural as well as urban masses ; it had a definite utilitarian value and, the most important of all, it was free. With the coming of the British this indigenous system of education completely broke down, and while the western countries were awakening to the need of universal education, India lost whatever means of enlightenment the people already possessed. This is unavoidable in all periods of transition. A new Government, particularly when it is a foreign Government with an entirely different system of administration, has to consolidate its power, to solve administrative difficulties, to adjust itself to the new conditions of Statecraft before it can attend to the intellectual needs of the people. After the establishment of the British Raj a new system of education was introduced into the country, but the new centres of education were largely located in urban areas and the State subsidy could not meet their entire expenses. This handicapped the progress of education in two ways. Firstly, the rural masses were cut off from all centres of learning and they had neither time nor money nor interest to forsake even temporarily their agricultural occupation in order to stay for prolonged periods away from their fields. Secondly, the poorer sections of the urban population found the expense on education unremunerative and uneconomical. The result was that in this period of transition mass illiteracy became widespread, and began to be passed on as a legacy to the succeeding generations. The average adult became first apathetic and then hostile to the exercise of his mental faculties. He began to look down upon education as a waste of honest time, as a luxury which suited the pampered rich but which had no use for the over-worked poor.

We have just entered a new era in the historical development of this country. The constitutional reforms have assumed at least a semblance of democracy. With the introduction of provincial autonomy in 1937, the popular Ministries found themselves face to face with the colossal problem of mass illiteracy. These Ministries were responsible to the electorate and were morally committed to the physical and mental uplift of the people who had now become the real masters. The problem of mass illiteracy assumed an urgency and importance which forced most of the provincial governments to launch immediately on various programmes for mass education.

Mass adult education brought its own problems and its own difficulties with it. The first and foremost problem was whether an adult could be educated at all, whether his mental faculties had not become so ossified to accept any novel intellectual activity. A number of people believe that all efforts to educate the illiterate adult population are *prima facie* bound to fail not only because of the apathy of the adult scholar but primarily because of his psychological inability to learn. This pessimistic contention, however, receives no sanction from the science of psychology. Many psychologists have been at pains to prove that when a human being reaches his majority, his mental faculties, the retentivity of his memory, the development of his cognition do not get clogged or permanently impaired. Thus Thorndike and William James, after studying a number of cases, came to the conclusion that the really constructive and creative achievements of the human brain fall within the years 40-50. Their hypothesis is that what retards the education of an adult is not his incapacity to learn but his unwillingness to do so. On account of the continuous disuse of the faculties involved in the process of learning a sort of resistance is set up in the mind of the adult, a kind of emotional hostility.

This is even more noticeable in India where the dead past has not yet given place to any vital mass movement for intellectual or social uplift. Thus the first problem of an adult educator is to overcome this inner resistance or inhibition and to replace it by an inner urge. How can this be done? The easiest way of doing it is to create a new interest—an interest in the psychological sense of a conation, a striving towards an end. This conation can be created by relating education or learning to the primary extrinsic needs of the adult. Thus an adult educator should first of all study the primary needs of the adult pupil, his universe of interests connected with those needs, and try to add an additional interest or additional conation in the form of an urge for learning.

Before this interest can be created the adult has to be convinced that education is likely to satisfy any one or more of his primary needs. The task of an adult educator is thus two-fold :—(i) to study the needs and interests of the adult and find out how education can be attached or appended to any one of them ; and (ii) to convince the adult pupil that the relation between learning and this primary need or interest is not superficial or imaginary but real. Adult education, then, should not be superimposed upon the interests of the adult but added and incorporated within them. The adult educator should make education enter the adult's sense of values. Value again means the capacity to satisfy an appetite or need. At present an average adult's scheme of values is very limited and does not go beyond the barest physical necessi-

ties. To persuade him to enlarge his scheme of values and add a new value, namely, learning or education, to his old scheme requires considerable persuasion, propaganda and "extra-mural instruction".

When an adult has been persuaded to admit adult education into his scheme of values, when an urge or conation for the acquirement of learning has been created in him, when he has been made to accept it as a desirable end, the next problem is to evolve a suitable method of teaching. This problem can be split up into two parts :—(i) the formation of an adult class, and (ii) the method of learning. Adults cannot be dragooned into class-rooms as school children can be. There is no coercive body in the form of parents or school teachers whose orders they are bound to obey. Their co-operation for literacy work has to be solicited and craved for, not to be extorted or obtained by force. Thus the best way of creating a group class is to approach an already existing group like the mosque, the *Gurudwara*, the well, etc. This is necessary because the adult pupil should not get the impression that education is something extraneous or foreign, something divorced from his ordinary day to day life. The aim of the educator should be to integrate education with the rest of an adult's life. Thus he should approach him through familiar channels ; make himself accessible to the illiterate adult instead of waiting for the adult to come to him.

When a group has been formed and the preliminary co-operation of the adult scholar obtained, the next task of the teacher is to create a receptivity towards learning and to make the process of learning as speedily fruitful as possible. This brings us to the second part of the problem. What should be the actual mechanism of teaching adults ? As Gates says, learning is not a passive process but an active process or reaction. In other words, the process of learning becomes consolidated only after the mind of the pupil has been kept in perpetual activity for an adequate period of time. It requires repetition and exercise. In a boys' school, this process is easy and straightforward. A school boy exercises through home-work, through practice lessons, etc., but an adult has neither time nor patience to do home-task. The only way in which his lessons can be repeated over and over again is through their association with his environment.

Thus the reaction which the adult educator aims at producing in him should not be abstract but related to something concrete. For example, you can give to the school boy who is just beginning to read a certain meaningless word in order to make him learn a certain sound or a certain letter of the alphabet. This method will not succeed with an adult. He will get bored, and forget what he is learning. But if we give him a word which is included in the dictionary of his intimate interests, he will probably learn quicker than an

average school boy. We have to create in him an emotional attitude towards what he is learning. For an ordinary teacher clarity of presentation is enough, but an adult educator should also possess sympathy and understanding. He should understand the emotional make up of his pupil to make his lessons get linked with the interests and conations familiar to the adult mind. He should avoid routine-like and mechanistic presentation.

Further, he should review their progress and change his methods occasionally. The best way of doing this is the group discussion method. The ordinary 'lecture' or 'listening to' method does not succeed very well with the adult. The reasons are obvious. When one person is speaking before a group there is a certain distance, a certain unconscious coolness between the two. The listeners feel that the lecturer is somebody who does not "belong", but an outsider. They feel conscious of their own ignorance and in defence become hostile towards the speaker. In the group discussion method, on the other hand, the educator is one of the group itself, slightly more grown up, perhaps slightly wiser, but not a stranger. He does not take too prominent a part in the lesson itself. Group discussion thus stimulates individual thinking, makes the members come out of their shells and pool up their little wisdoms. The business of the educator in this particular type of lesson is to make definite problems to arise, to arrange proper cues so that the discussion does not flag or get diverted into fruitless channels, to lead and encourage but not to dominate. Then he should follow a method which does not require a very long stretch of waiting before any appreciable result can be detected by the pupil.

As we pointed out earlier an adult is different from a child in the sense that whereas you can hitch on the attention of a child to a mere letter of the alphabet or to an entirely meaningless sound, an adult requires something more concrete, something more motivated. Thus it would be a very wrong policy to start with the learning of the letters of the alphabet. Before the adult scholar comes to the end of the list, his interest would be exhausted. It is necessary therefore to begin not with letters but with words—words carefully chosen in order to reflect the mental reflexes of the adult—to make him learn the alphabet through words and not words through the alphabet.

But the work of the educator does not stop with the imparting of mere literacy. Literacy, we should remember, is not an end but a means. When an adult has been made literate, when his interest in learning has been definitely aroused, it is of extreme importance that this interest should not be allowed to lapse and the new conation should not be allowed to fritter itself away when it is just beginning to find expression in practical activity. It is necessary to divert this interest to wider purposes, to direct the stream of learning into various useful channels. The real education of the adult might

be said to begin at this stage. Through the instrument of literacy he begins to gather useful information, to get acquainted with and scrutinise moral and social ideals, to adjust himself more successfully to the life around him. In this task again he has to be chaperoned by his teacher. He has to be supplied with continuation literature keeping in view again the problems and the needs which are intimately connected with his life. He has to be shown how he can apply his newly acquired knowledge to his life, and the nature of his education should be such that this application is useful and profitable to him. Only then can educational activity secure a firm foothold in his permanent scheme of activities.

Keeping these principles in view, the Ministry of Education in the Punjab inaugurated a campaign against mass illiteracy in the summer of 1938. This was not the first step in this direction. As far back as 1921-22 the then Ministry of Education in the province drew the attention of the 'pupils' towards the importance of the problem and prepared a scheme for starting regular schools for adults; there were, however, a number of causes which contributed to its failure. The newly-opened adult schools depended for their maintenance on Government subsidy and no assurance of financial assistance could be given before the year 1924-25. The work of organization was entrusted to district committees which were burdened with far too many duties to concentrate on the task of adult education. Literacy propaganda by means of lectures, lantern slides, etc. was not made sufficiently widespread and intensive to ensure effective results. After 1926 a period of prolonged financial stringency set in and most of the grants enjoyed by the district leagues, adult schools and village libraries had to be withdrawn. The figures of enrolment which had shot up during the first five years after the inauguration of the scheme suddenly dwindled during the next quinquennium.

The Department after a careful analysis of the situation arrived at the following conclusions:—The figures of enrolment were largely fictitious and there was no agency to check up and scrutinise the progress of work. The number of literacy certificates issued compared very unfavourably with the figures of enrolment, thus pointing towards a good deal of wastage. The methods of teaching were unscientific and indiscriminate. Literacy literature was not available in adequate quantities. Thus the new scheme of 1938, besides keeping in view the basic principles of suitable adult education, was also forewarned against these pitfalls.

The new scheme was formally inaugurated on the 20th May, 1938, when the Director of Public Instruction addressed a circular letter to all the Divisional Inspectors and Circle Inspectresses of Schools and Principals of Government and private colleges for men and women in the Punjab requesting

them on behalf of the Hon'ble Minister of Education "to enlist the whole-hearted co-operation of college students, high school students, pupil teachers in normal schools, students of the Central Training College, College Professors and Lecturers, school teachers, inspecting officers, and in fact every one who is in the department in launching a province-wide campaign to eradicate illiteracy". The appeal came at the time when schools and colleges were about to close for summer vacation and quite a large number of them promised to take up the work. The Hon'ble Mian Abdul Haye, Minister of Education, also appealed to the leaders of religious communities and the Maulvis and Pandits of mosques and temples, the managers and owners of industrial concerns, and influential leaders of the public seeking their active co-operation in the campaign. It was felt that the problem was far too big for the resources of any single department and no amount of paid labour could possibly cope with the appalling figures of mass illiteracy. The scheme was, therefore, organised on a very broad basis and efforts were made to tap as many official and non-official resources as possible.

The immediate task was felt to be the carrying out of wide-spread and intensive propaganda to make the illiterate population 'literacy conscious'. It was equally necessary to make the educated members of the public aware of their obligations in the matter of imparting literacy to their less fortunate brethren. Propaganda parties were organised to tour the province; lectures, lantern shows, singing parties, celebration of literacy days and various other methods and instruments of propaganda were pressed into service.

One of the principal causes of the failure of 1921-22 campaign was the lack of proper organisation and planning. It was decided, therefore, to entrust organisational work to locally autonomous literacy leagues and to define the functions of these bodies. A district literacy league was organised at the headquarters of every district and branch leagues were established in every *tehsil*, subdivision and important town. The number of these leagues leapt up prodigiously in the very first year of the inauguration of the campaign. By February, 1939, there were 1,129 literacy leagues functioning in one Division alone.

The question of finding funds for incidental expenditure on the purchase of writing materials, lighting arrangements, award of prizes etc. was largely solved by voluntary contributions made to literacy leagues and the grants sanctioned by local bodies. The Punjab Government also sanctioned a sum of Rs. 22,800/- to be spent on the furtherance of the movement during the year 1939. The Department undertook the responsibility of supplying suitable literacy literature to all the centres free of charge.

As an additional incentive to the acquirement of literacy, various

districts and divisions made provision for the award of cash prizes and Sanads to deserving literacy workers and adult scholars.

Various methods of teaching adults were examined, and it was decided to base literacy teaching on modern and scientific lines. In 1937 Dr. Laubach, the well known expert on adult literacy, arrived in the Punjab and a conference of officials and non-officials was called for the purpose of explaining the method he had very successfully applied to the backward population of the Philippine Islands. The new method was tried in a number of centres with very gratifying results. In other centres the group discussion method proved the most effective.

During the year 1939-40 over 50,000 literacy primers in Urdu and Punjabi were bought by the Department and distributed among the various literacy centres free of cost. The Department also placed at the disposal of various district circulating libraries and continuation literature written in all the three scripts.

The most important task of all was the organisation and establishment of literacy centres. Besides the important quarters in various cities and towns literacy centres were opened in jails, Harijan colonies, village wells and factories. The idea was to bring literacy as near the indifferent adult as possible. The campaign did not ignore the female population of the province as the restriction of literacy to any one sex in a given society leads to various social maladjustments. Women's literacy leagues were formed in every district and women teachers were enrolled for instruction.

The Punjab is predominantly an agricultural province and an average peasant is rather a difficult person to deal with. It is difficult to persuade him to break new ground in any direction; it is difficult to win his confidence and to penetrate the crust of his indifference and apathy. It was essential therefore to find out a suitable method of approach, an adequate cadre of workers who should be capable of winning his confidence, a suitable venue or meeting place where he would be accessible. This work was largely entrusted to the normal schools. It was decided to attack him in his own citadel. Literacy centres were organised at village wells and at other favourite haunts of peasant groups. One normal school—at Ghakhar—was entrusted with the task of making the entire male population of a neighbouring village, Kot Nura, literate within a specified time. By the end of the year 1939 the entire male population of the village had been made literate and these literate adults had in turn pledged themselves to extend literacy to their wives and daughters. All normal schools were instructed to make a survey of the neighbouring villages, of the number of illiterate adults, their conditions of living, their habits and proclivities, the suitable methods of propaganda and the most acceptable system of instruction.

Another notable feature of this campaign was the work done among the convicted and under-trial prisoners of Punjab Jails. It was felt that ignorance was one of the prime movers in criminal activity and before a normal delinquent could be converted into a useful member of the society, it was necessary to subject him to a mental re-orientation. The sense of civic responsibility and healthy social life cannot be imparted through the mere teaching of useful arts and crafts—the usual curriculum for moral offenders. It is essential to make a convict accept normal citizenship as a desirable end, and this can best be done by educating him. Thus anti-illiteracy work among a jail population besides spreading literacy also helps to liquidate the predisposition towards crime by making the jail population more rational in its outlook and more balanced in its social behaviour. The literacy drive in the Punjab jails obtained very encouraging results during the very first year. Out of a total jail population of 17,119, as many as 7,195 convicts and under-trial prisoners were put under instruction. 550 obtained literacy certificates during the year while another 1,000 had either passed literacy tests or were waiting for the award of certificates.

It will be seen from the above that the campaign against illiteracy in the Punjab laid emphasis on the following principal items:—(1) organised and extensive propaganda; (2) the recruitment of wide voluntary support; (3) the evolution of suitable instructional methods and the preparation of suitable literacy literature; (4) the inclusion of all sections of the population, urban and rural, male and female, normal and abnormal, within the province of the campaign; and (5) rigid scrutiny of the progress of work and its strict centrifugal organisation.

Of the results obtained so far the Department can feel justly optimistic. During the year 1939-40, 1,06,437 pupils were enrolled for instruction and 50,779 succeeded in attaining the literacy standard. The ideal-mass-literacy is still far off, but a very hopeful beginning has been made towards its realisation. In all probability the spread of literacy in other provinces has been equally promising and if a country-wide campaign is organised and pushed forward on the lines mentioned above, India might soon be able to boast of a population very largely, if not entirely, literate.

NURSERY SCHOOLS FOR CHILDREN OF THE POOR

J. M. KUMARAPPA

After discussing fully the importance of nursery schools in the physical, mental and social development of the preschool child, Dr. Kumarappa offers practical suggestions for starting them in industrial areas. Further, the fact that the Department of Education is not required to establish such schools, he maintains, calls for a determined weight of public opinion in their favour as the appalling ignorance of parents in regard to child care and training makes the provision of nursery schools even more imperative in India than in the West.

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THE Infant School Movement in the West was brought into existence by the Industrial Revolution which, by taking mothers away from their homes, forced the care of their children upon other agencies. Though Leibnitz, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and others down to Froebel viewed infant education up to the age of six as the training of children within the home, yet the advance of industrialism made it necessary to organise infant schools in the interests of the children of working mothers who, in their struggle for existence, could afford neither the means of education nor the time necessary for the careful training of their children. The early infant schools were, therefore, expressly designed to meet this new demand for a place to take care of children while mothers were at work and to help them to acquire the elements of reading, writing and arithmetic. In England, however, owing to the writings of Robert Owen and the example of his Infant School at New Lanark, the movement for the provision of Infant Schools laid considerable stress from the outset not only on physical well-being but also on the training of affections and the formation of good moral and social habits.

The present trend in nursery school education has, therefore, back of it all the experience and knowledge gained through this fairly long history of kindergarten education and the fifty years of child study. To this fund of knowledge, the intensive scientific research on the problems of the preschool child during the last two decades has also made its notable contribution. Hence this movement has become more vigorous and full of promise in the progressive countries of the West. Since the World War, there has also been an entirely new evaluation of the importance of the preschool years. Studies of the physical and mental growth, and emotional development of children have proved the vital importance of these early years in shaping the later life of the individual. In fact, modern psychologists trace a great many of the personality difficulties that so frequently cause serious problems in later childhood or adolescence, to an unfavourable or improper adjustment of children

during their preschool years. Since at no time is the individual so plastic, so easily moulded and so easily guided into the desirable forms of behaviour as in the preschool period, they maintain that many of such unfortunate complications in later life may be prevented if a system of wholesome and scientific training in the nurseries of the home and the school can be provided. Since the preschool years are now recognized as of greater educational importance than any succeeding period of life, the main function of the nursery school is to furnish an environment in which the child can develop a sound mind in a sound body, and acquire desirable social attitudes.

Recently, the nursery school has come to receive some attention in our country as an aspect of the Child Welfare Movement. The impact of western industrialism on Indian civilization has given rise to social and economic changes which definitely affect the lives of young children and create serious social problems. One of these changes is the increase in the number of wage-earning mothers. Some mothers enter gainful occupations from economic necessity, and others in order to give their time and talents for the promotion of national welfare. Another important change is the different environment for children brought about by modern industry. Tenement housing provides an atmosphere which is by no means conducive to the best development of young children. To these causes must also be added the appalling ignorance of Indian mothers regarding the care and training of children. Is not, for instance, the high rate of infantile mortality, which is now a matter of grave concern, due largely to this lack of knowledge of child welfare? The executive Health Officer of the Bombay Municipality points out that by far the greater number of infant deaths are due to infantile debility; malformation, respiratory diseases, convulsions, diarrhoea and enteritis are next in importance as causes. The custom of early marriage and primitive and insanitary methods of midwifery seriously affect the health and vitality of the mother, and through her that of the child. All these conditions make child welfare activities of paramount importance to our national welfare.

The task of motherhood in India is manifold in complexity, and the Indian mother is ill-qualified to undertake it. Hence, the nursery school can easily become not only a useful institution for the care and training of the preschool child but also a powerful organization for providing parental instruction. Our main purpose in nursery school education must then be to provide proper environment for the growth of the preschool child as well as guidance to parents in child care. Other supplementary purposes may include the preparation of teachers, research in the field of child development, pre-parental education, relief for parents from day-time care of children and instruction in home management.

Childhood is the period of life most abounding in problems for the parent, the physician and the teacher, and yet the Indian mother is unaware of her responsibilities because of her ignorance of the physical, mental and moral needs of the young child. The preschool period has certain outstanding characteristics. During the first year the infant is specially liable to certain nutritional diseases, such as infantile diarrhoea, rickets and digestive disturbances. Between the ages of one and five, the incidence of acute infections and fevers, such as measles, chicken-pox, whooping cough, diphtheria, is heavier than at any other period. Children are on the whole very susceptible to infectious diseases during early childhood, but Indian children are even more so on account of the insufficiency of diet and consequent low vitality. Malnutrition produces mental apathy and muscular inertia; it makes the undernourished child inactive and incapable of maintaining sustained effort of any sort. Further, it causes shortage in normal growth which, in turn, causes failure in appetite. The health needs and food requirements of the young child call for special attention.

In human beings the eyes and ears are the sense organs which are of the highest significance to intellectual development, and these are peculiarly susceptible to injurious influences during early childhood. The normal eye, if over-worked, may suffer from fatigue; such strain is likely to occur even more quickly in children who have an error of refraction. Among the ordinary symptoms of eye strain are headache, frowning, blinking, twitching and rubbing of the eyes. There may be, in addition, some external inflammation, as of the margins of the eyelids or of the delicate lining of the front of the eyeball. These inflammatory conditions may be produced by external infections, malnutrition or uncleanness. Further, in the preschool child, the irregular rates of growth in different parts of the eye often lead to temporary failures of adaptation. When the muscular co-ordination is imperfect, it produces a squint. Though children tend to grow out of this defect, a great number of cases require correction by spectacles, special exercises, or even by operation. Squint in children is a condition which usually yields to early treatment. If, on the other hand, it is neglected, a failure of normal vision usually results as the child uses one eye to the gradual exclusion of the other, the function of which eventually undergoes atrophy through disuse. Most of the physical defects in our children are not inevitable; they are due largely to ignorance and neglect.

Hearing, like vision, varies considerably in young children. Since the delicate mucous membrane of the deep surface of the drum of the middle ear and of the Eustachian tube is continuous with that of the respiratory tract, any inflammation of the latter, whether it be due to irritating gases or to an infection such as an ordinary cold or an acute infectious fever, may extend

to the Eustachian tube and middle ear. Inflammatory conditions of the middle ear are far more frequent in preschool age than at any other period. And at that age they are peculiarly dangerous because the acute pain of earache does not always appear in the very young whenever there is severe inflammation in the middle ear. The preschool age is a highly susceptible age to contagious diseases. Chronic infection lowers the vitality of the body and retards the physical and mental development of the child.

Another aspect, which may be mentioned in this connection, is the spontaneous activity of the preschool child. His tendencies to such activity may be grouped under two heads: (a) those called appetitive, and (b) those described as reactive. Activities such as eating, drinking, excretion, dressing etc., are classified under the first group; they are concerned with physiological needs and arise out of inner feelings. If too much attention is given to these, the emotional development of the child may become warped. The child's reactive tendencies are stimulated by the natural conditions of his environment; he is thus kept in constant touch with the real world outside. But for the urban child there is little in his environment to satisfy his natural impulses. It is important therefore to provide for him an environment which will stimulate him to spontaneous reaction.

Between the ages of two and five, the child is gaining knowledge about the world around him through his senses, and is learning to exercise them. As has already been mentioned, the eye and the ear in human beings are the sense organs of the highest cognitive value. To this we may add what is commonly known as "touch". The child's constant desire to handle things and see how they feel should be restricted as little as possible. The higher senses, particularly the eye and ear, require opportunities for "sense training". The preschool child needs, therefore, an environment with objects well within the range of his natural interests and which will give variety and meaning to his sense perception.

The most outstanding trait, however, of the preschool child is his great capacity for muscular activity. The muscles which are brought under control during this period of the child's development are mostly the larger muscles and mechanism of locomotion. Human life, being essentially dynamic, subsists through a series of movements, and all these movements should be sustained in regular and adequate exercise. Respiration, digestion, the circulation of blood and all the excretory operations involve movements. It is natural, therefore, for the child to toddle, run about, hop and jump, and climb over and around obstacles in order to keep himself physically fit.

The mental life of the preschool child, however, is not wholly absorbed in movements and sensation. Besides moving and perceiving, he also feels

pleasure or pain in his actions and their consequences. His mental processes are mainly concerned with feelings and fancies till he acquires sufficient language to enable him to think conceptually. That is why "make-believe" play and fairy tales appeal to him at this stage. He needs during this period simple conversation about what he sees in order to fix his attention, clarify his thoughts and store his mind with ideas for future use.

Of all the general features that mark the behaviour of the child during the first two or three years of his life, the most obvious and the most significant is the great strength of feelings and impulses as compared with the weakness of understanding and power of control. The reason for this is that most of the powerful impulses develop early while intelligence matures far more slowly. The intensity of the child's emotional life reaches its zenith towards the end of the third year. Hence small children both in their moral judgment and in their notions of just punishment, are far more severe than they are in later years. They need, therefore, proper guidance in their social relationship and careful training in emotional expression and control.

As the preschool child is endlessly active, he is in need of plenty of sleep not only to produce a restorative effect on the functions of life, but also to grant respite from the exhaustion of his physical activities. The amount of sleep required varies greatly according to the state of the organism and habits of the individual child. Children of the age of two sleep for twelve or fourteen hours of the day, and those between the ages of two and seven may sleep from ten to twelve hours a day.

In view of these needs and characteristics of the preschool child, the major objectives of the nursery school education should be :—

(1) To provide healthy external conditions such as light, sunshine, space and fresh air.

(2) To furnish opportunity for outdoor play and indoor activity that will develop and co-ordinate the muscles of his body and movements of his limbs.

(3) To provide facilities for medical care and health supervision.

(4) To assist each child to form for himself wholesome personal habits.

(5) To develop interest-drives in the child and to provide opportunity for the expression of his creative imagination.

(6) To provide experience in group living on a small scale by making the child a responsible member of the group.

The main purpose of the nursery school then is to serve the physical, social and intellectual needs of the preschool child. Its functions are, therefore, physical, social and educational. It is, in fact, the emphasis which the nursery school places on physical well-being that distinguishes it from the

ordinary school. Nevertheless, since the training of the young child for health is a function that involves the handling of every aspect of his life rather than merely the giving of formal instruction, no separation can be made between health education and general care and training. The outstanding problem of the period is the establishment of basic habits of physical care and mental attitudes. Health education, as distinct from training in health habits, may be given by the use of the story or conversation period to interest the children in health activities and the reasons for them, and by the use of songs and rhymes about health practices. A direct explanation may also be given to the child of the reasons why certain things should be done and others not done such as, for instance, why one should cover the mouth and turn the head when about to sneeze. The habits which are to be cultivated are those relating to personal hygiene, to eating, sleeping and his attitudes toward himself and his fellows.

The nursery school children are at an age when susceptibility to infection is very high. It therefore puts a heavy responsibility on those in charge, and necessitates adequate medical supervision and health care. Every institution established for the education and training of young children should have the services of a physician qualified in the medical care of little children. Since the fundamental purpose of the nursery school is to provide an environment in which the health of the child can be safeguarded, there are certain aspects of physical care which should be carefully followed; of these the principal ones are: medical examination by the school doctor not less than once a term and sometimes once a month; frequent visits by the school nurse; the systematic measuring and weighing of children; the exercise of great care in the detection and isolation of cases of infectious illness, and the keeping of a medical record for each child. The throat, teeth, heart, lungs and skin of the preschool child need frequent examination. The importance of preventive and remedial treatment for Indian children below the age of five cannot be overemphasized. One of the great advantages of the nursery school is the opportunity it affords for the early detection and treatment of defects of the respiratory tract, of the sense organs and skin diseases.

The social function of the nursery school is doublefold; it has to train the child in right personal and social behaviour, and so fit him later to be a useful member of the community. And it has also to exert through the child an influence for good on the standards and ideals of the home. In other words, it should influence the mother directly or indirectly and give her better knowledge of her child's needs and training. The nursery school, by bringing together children of the same age under sympathetic and trained leadership, makes it possible for the little boys and girls to learn desirable ways of be-

having. In such surroundings, it is easy for the child to learn to take turns, to share and to differentiate between what is his and what belongs to another ; to stand up for himself without intruding on the rights of others, and to control his emotions and express them in acceptable ways. Training in making such social adjustments is of supreme importance, and will prove to be of incalculable value in later life.

The education of the preschool child is informal rather than formal. In fact, it depends to a large degree upon the character of the contacts between the child and the teacher, and between the children themselves rather than upon the transmission of specific content. A succession of happy and joyous pursuits and activities, in which there is no distinction between work and play, comprise the daily programme of the school. The children work when they think they are playing and play when they think they are working. The educational ideas which influence modern nursery school practice are derived largely from Froebel and Madame Montessori. Where the Froebelian influence is strong, much importance is attached to play, story telling, singing, dancing, nature study and hand-work, in all of which the teacher plays a prominent part. Where Montessorian influence prevails, the emphasis is laid rather on individual effort, sense training, and the use of didactic apparatus ; though the teacher observes and guides the children, the latter are allowed within a prepared environment and within certain limits to follow their own pursuits. In the best nursery schools the method is eclectic, and combines features drawn from various sources. The pursuits include rhythmic movements, speech training, handwork, dancing, singing and reciting. The manual activities are of a simple character, such as digging in sand pits, building with large wooden blocks and drawing with crayons. The activities and pursuits of each day in the nursery school are so designed as to help the senses, to guide the imagination and to form right personal habits and social attitudes in young children.

The modern approach and training of the young child is characterized by an increasing recognition of the importance of play for his development. From infancy onwards the child makes a variety of contacts with his environment, and develops his sensory and motor responses through play. Play is certainly the most natural and effective means of sense training. In play all the senses are used at once ; the child himself learns and grows, not merely a part of him. All that the school needs to do is to provide suitable material and plenty of opportunity.

In the evolution of the nursery school and kindergarten technique, play is therefore coming to be regarded more and more, not as the aimless expenditure of energy, but as the activity which, through the use of appro-

priate materials and opportunities, can be directed to the best development and growth of the child. Hence the nature and extent of the play materials provided in institutions for young children offer a real test of their educational programme and of their provision for the mental health of the child. As so much of the child's development depends on the type of equipment furnished him, special attention must be given to the growth needs of the preschool child in the selection of play apparatus and other materials. The play equipment of the school must be such as :

- (a) To furnish right muscular and sensory-motor development.
- (b) To meet genuine play interests.
- (c) To provide sufficient variety to meet different needs and changes in activity, thus avoiding fatigue and over-strain.
- (d) To furnish opportunities for creative activity.
- (e) To fit the stage of development of the children.

The play material must be durable, hygienic, simple and artistic.

One of the difficult tasks, therefore, of the nursery school is the selection and arrangement of play apparatus and materials in such a way as to bring about the child's best physical and mental development, to effect desirable emotional controls and social adjustments, and to give utmost satisfaction to his genuine play interests. The following is the list of materials and equipment which have been found useful and adaptable to the needs of the nursery school child :

For the Development of the Large Muscles : the jungle gym, together with ladders, slides, boards, steps, boxes and motor vehicles of all kinds.

For the Sensory-Motor Controls and Development : special materials, such as blocks, balls, spools, interlocking as well as other types of toys, beads, pegs, books and puzzles of various kinds, to satisfy the child's tendencies to handle, manipulate, experiment and explore.

For the Imitative Plays of the Home : dolls and their accessories, toy animals, trains, bullock bandies, motor cars as well as art media (clay and paint).

For Plant and Animal Life : garden, pets and other nature materials, and excursions.

This is not a complete list but only a suggestive enumeration of play materials which have been found useful in meeting the needs of the preschool child. The nursery school room may be equipped with musical instruments, radio, wall-clock (cuckoo), round library tables, mats, screens, easels for display of pictures and for the children's painting, pictures for walls, flower bowls and vases, picture books, small boxes and baskets for materials, small brooms and dust pans, and dusters for children's use.

Activities connected with these play materials may seem mere childish play but they are full of significance not only for the present but also for the later development of the child. It is through such natural activities that processes of growth, such as physical development, mental stimulation, social adaptability, emotional controls and behaviour attitudes are promoted and stabilized in the preschool child. Though the natural and best environment for the child up to the age of five is the home and his natural guardian is his mother, yet the home cannot provide all these suitable conditions for his development. Besides, bad housing, over-crowding, unfavourable economic circumstances and the appalling ignorance of the vast majority of Indian mothers, make the home an unsuitable place for the young child.

Though the influence of maternity and child welfare centres in instructing mothers in the care of young children is steadily increasing yet the work is so great and important that it seems imperative to establish nursery schools, particularly in large towns and crowded cities, in order to secure, for part of the day at any rate, a suitable environment for the children of the poor. We must not, however, regard the nursery school as a substitute for the home ; it is a valuable supplement. The nursery school does not look upon the child as a separate unit ; it considers him in his relations to his family, to his friends, to his environment in general, and attempts to determine how he may be helped to a better adjustment in the home, or possibly how his home environment may be better adjusted to fit his needs.

The nursery school in India must therefore work in close co-operation with the home in order not only to give the parent some training in child care but also to safeguard the child's continuous development. Since he is primarily a member of the family, parent participation is of vital importance ; it is essential that the home and the nursery school should proceed along consistent lines of training. To this end, the school may offer the following services to the parents :—

- (1) A parents' class may be arranged once a month at night for informal talks on suitable clothing, properly prepared food, home hygiene, behaviour problems, and the like.
- (2) Visiting days may be arranged in the nursery school for parents to give them an opportunity to see their children in relation to the rest of the group, and learn better techniques of guiding them at home.
- (3) Individual parent conferences may also be held between teachers and parents relating to the progress and problems of their children.
- (4) Home visits may be made by the teacher for investigating home conditions and for informal contacts with parents.

Through such close co-operation with the parents of the children, the

nursery school can carry the training and education of the preschool child into the home. It may then function not only as an institution for part-time care of young children but also as an effective device for the demonstration of modern techniques for the improvement of parental care. The mother, though ignorant, is herself a teacher as well as a parent; she needs therefore instruction, assistance and encouragement in her educational function just as truly as professional workers with children. Hence the nursery school should help her to understand the importance of each aspect of the child's development, and to learn the modern techniques of child guidance.

It should be neither difficult nor expensive to provide a nursery school wherever there is need for one. It may be of interest to the reader to see how easily nursery schools are started and how they function. Here is the story of how the Wyoming Nursery School came into being. It all began some years ago in casual conversation on sunny street corners where neighbourhood mothers met with their baby carriages and small children, and passed to compare notes on the problems that confront all mothers of limited means. To provide recreation for their youngsters, these mothers used to postpone their household work until late afternoon, and take the kiddies out during the bright midday for a little outing. In spite of all the trouble taken, they found that these excursions meant little active play for their children.

As they talked and exchanged ideas, they wondered if they could not find a place where their little children could have some of the privileges that really belong to childhood—an outdoor play space, sunny and safe; companionship; play materials; trees, animals, fields and brooks and responsible supervision with enough sympathy to guide their activities. So thinking, they began to read up on the needs of the preschool child, and the objectives and methods of nursery school education. They found that the number of nursery schools in the United States had increased by leaps and bounds during the decade. Such an increase seemed to them indicative of a changing attitude towards the learning potentialities of young children, and they wanted to offer their youngsters also the benefit of this early foundation for later life and education.

They could not expect, of course, the State to furnish a small school to help the mothers of that neighbourhood. So they made up their mind that it was possible to solve this problem by organizing a nursery school on a co-operative basis, the mothers taking turns in supervising, and fathers building the equipment, and all of them sharing equally the expenses involved. A Church in the neighbourhood offered them the use of its sunny grounds and Sunday School rooms. They thankfully accepted the offer, and gathered up the twelve children immediately and started the nursery. At the beginning it

was little more than "you look after my child and I will look after yours" affair. As agreed, the mothers took turns in supervising and the evolutionary process of the school began. Under the direction of a different mother each time, there was, as might be expected, a noticeable lack of continuity in the programme, and they realized before long that the success of a nursery school depended upon trained leadership. Fortunately, one of their own group had specialized in nursery school education while she was in college. The entire responsibility was now turned over to her, and things went better under her regime.

When the Church built a new parish house the next year, it took the little nursery school under its well-endowed wing and offered sunny, fenced-in space for outdoor play and school rooms for indoor activity. After some four years of evolution, the school attained a high enough standard to conform to recognized requirements of nursery school education. The school now enrolls three groups of fifteen children each ; the junior group is made up of two-year olds, the middle group of three-year olds and the kindergarten of five-year olds. Each class has its own rooms, play space and a teacher professionally trained for the job. From October to June the school is in session five days a week from nine to twelve noon.

The day begins with a medical inspection of each child. One of the mothers, who is a fully qualified medical woman, makes a quick examination of each child to detect and prevent infection. After medical inspection the little ones come together and spend the first part of their morning in vigorous outdoor play. There are balance boards, a gravel pit, kiddie cars and wagons, packing-case play houses, and big outdoor building blocks. The strong swings and see-saws and blocks the fathers built at the beginning of the school are still in use. The rest of the play materials have been acquired gradually, and through their use the children are becoming daily surer on their feet, adept with their hands, more confident and better poised. And as they grow in comprehension of the physical world around them, they teach each other the fundamentals of getting along with people.

Similarly, it should not be very difficult for social workers of a city neighbourhood to organize a nursery school, and collect gifts of money and the necessary housing equipment; if good schemes are formulated, voluntary service too will be forthcoming. It is no use depending on the State to help us in all these matters. Apart from such workers, Women's Clubs and other local societies could take the initiative in organising and running nursery schools. Fathers can supply play materials such as wooden blocks, see-saws, swings, sand pits, smooth boards, and big packing-box play houses and the like, as they are not great feats of carpentry. With these and an array of wagons,

dolls and art materials, which may be contributed by friends and socially-minded citizens, the school is ready for a good start.

A nursery school is a real school with a definite educational programme, and it cannot succeed unless that programme is administered by a properly qualified person. Along with voluntary workers, there must be at least one trained teacher. Details of apparatus, housing and programme may be simple, but the teacher must be equal to her job. It is no use entrusting the work to some dear old lady who loves children. She may be able to mind a baby or two, but a pack of them would hunt her down. It takes youth and proper training to handle a group of preschool children, and give them work and play of an educative character. Even an experienced young woman needs reliable assistance with physical routine if she is to manage a class of fifteen. Mothers can take turns in helping her in such work.

Slightly different from the above cooperative nursery school is the Relief Nursery School started a few years ago in Madras. A Madras Committee launched a scheme to establish a chain of nursery schools in the city areas where they were most needed. As an experiment the first Nursery School was opened on July 15 of the year 1935 in the premises of the Methodist Girls' School in Vepery. The school started with 15 small children ranging from two to four years of age coming from the neighbourhood, and with the definite purpose of giving relief to working mothers. They were selected out of a group of 40, all of whom were eligible and whose parents were anxious to get admission. Every home was visited and careful investigation made into conditions so that only the most needy cases were chosen. A small fee from As. 8 to Rs. 2 is charged for admission, the amount being fixed in accordance with the parent's ability to pay.

• School hours are from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. The first business of the day is health inspection by the health visitor and getting into school garments. This is followed by outdoor play in the sunshine and under the trees, in the sand-pit and on the slide and swings. Small buckets, spades, spoons, and miniature cooking utensils of brass and aluminium provide occupation in the sand-pit even for the smallest child. About 9.30 the kiddies wander in and have their drink of lime or orange juice with a little Indian cake or biscuits. Then they go in to listen to stories or sing in groups. Some rhythmic exercises, such as stretching on toes, are given at the suggestion of the doctor for the correction of flat feet. Free play on the verandah and in the school room with dolls, balls and wheeled toys is followed by washing up and getting ready for the noon meal of rice and curry. After the meal the children lie on their little mats and go to sleep for about an hour.

In the afternoon there is more play followed by a thorough wash with

soap and water. At three o'clock there is a bowl of 'ragi' or wheat 'conjee' with a plentiful supply of good milk. After this meal there is still time for at least half an hour at the swings and slide. One would think that after six or seven hours' separation, these little children would rush back to their mothers when they were released from school. But no, some of these youngsters would rather stay and play than go home at 4 o'clock. At the beginning these children would not be parted from their mothers but soon they learnt to come to school happily, help themselves to whatever toys they wanted from the cupboard, play with them and then put them back in their places. They know their drinking cups, plates, mats, towels and towel-racks by the pictures of birds or animals enamelled on them for identification. They are therefore able to manage their own affairs with comparatively little help from their older folk. They gain so much in self-help and self-control within a brief period of training that mothers themselves are surprised at the rapid transformation of their children. The Madras Nursery School is fortunate in having a good staff consisting of one trained health visitor (part-time), a well trained kindergarten mistress (part-time), a pupil-teacher, and the frequent supervision of two American women teachers. Food is supervised by an Indian member of the Committee. A qualified lady doctor is serving as honorary medical adviser.

Though nursery schools have been started here and there in our country, we have not yet begun to give serious consideration to the importance of nursery school education in nation-building. Not only in crowded cities but also in our country villages, there is need for such an agency to spread knowledge of the essential conditions of healthy childhood. In England, nursery schools are recognized agencies of the Government and receive support from public funds. In other words, they are a part of the educational programme of the State. In many of the countries of Europe, social service is a State activity with the day nursery, creche or similar institution under governmental auspices and financial support. But in India, where the condition of the masses is much worse than in most of the countries of the West, there is absolutely no State provision made for the care and training of these poor children. The fact that the Department of Education is not required to establish such schools calls for a determined weight of public opinion in their favour. Meanwhile, since the housing and economic condition of our masses are very unsatisfactory, and literacy among them is almost absent, we must not only explore the possibilities of extending greatly the existing services but also put forth private efforts to provide little children of the poor with nursery school facilities.

THE KHAKSAR MOVEMENT .

PHILLIPS TALBOT

Mr. Talbot gives an excellent exposition of how the Khaksar Movement, which started as a religious reform and social service association, became a military organization and menaced peace and order in the country.

Mr. Talbot is carrying on a research study of social movements in India at the instance of the Institute of Current World Affairs of New York with which he is affiliated.

MORE than a year has passed since the Khaksars, the "*belcha* brigade" that preaches humility and service to mankind, sprung into public notice by defying with arms for three months and three days the government of the capital of the Punjab and premier city of northern India. Their emergence came on March 19, 1940, when Khaksar soldiers armed with sharpened spades and the symbolic *kafan* (a soldier's shroud which he wraps around his head as a turban) marched through Lahore streets in open challenge to the Punjab government rules forbidding military formations. Details of police, ordered to stop them, were caught unawares when the Khaksars charged instead of yielding. Spades smashed some heads; the police guns replied without delay. When the fight was over, a deputy superintendent of police had been mortally wounded, two policemen had been killed and a number of others injured, and thirty Khaksars lay dead (according to official figures; in a later enquiry Khaksar witnesses charged that upwards of 200 bodies of their fellows had been spirited away).

The revolt never threatened the existence of the government; it never even necessitated action by the military, although army detachments were moved into ready position. Yet it was sufficiently widespread and it lasted long enough so that from that March day until the first of the following December in Lahore alone 901 persons were arrested or prosecuted for participation in illegal activities with the Khaksars. Throughout the Punjab 1,710 persons were arrested, of them 547 were released by the government before the expiry of their terms and 122 more distinguished themselves in prison by assaulting jail guards.¹ In Lahore there were 58 arrested but released without being charged with a crime, 35 discharged by the court for lack of sufficient evidence, 168 acquitted of the crimes charged against them, 412 fined and imprisoned, 19 ordered to furnish security to keep the peace, 25 released when they had rendered apologies that were accepted, and 184 still pending cases. In all the under-trial cases the use of violence is charged; bookings are on

¹ Answer to question in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, February 27, 1941.

accusations of murder, attempted murder, attempt to commit hurt, and membership in an unlawful assembly.

At the end firm action by the government reduced the Khaksars to a state of lethargy from which they have not so far arisen.² But still important are the social causes that gave such smashing impetus to a philosophy that teaches simultaneously the brotherhood of man and the battle tactics of infantry.

The Lahore incident was not the inaugural public conflict of the nine-year-old movement. Though not in the early days considered a menace to law and order, it never shrank from shouting "murder" or naming intended victims. The first blood was spattered at Bulandshahr, United Provinces, in August, 1939. It was Khaksar blood (shed while resisting arrest), and hardly was it dry before it became martyrs' blood. The six martyrs were Punjabis on their way to settle in their own manner a Shia-Sunni dispute that was rending the Muslims of Lucknow, the capital city of the United Provinces. The Khaksars' Supreme Ruler, Allama Innayatullah Khan, called Al Mashriqi ("Sage of the East"), had ordered them there after he had conducted a long war of nerves in his official Khaksar organ, *Al Islah*, that had exceeded all conceivable bounds of diplomatic usage. On June 12, 1939, he had written bluntly about the Shia-Sunni dispute that those who took part in it deserved death according to the Quran, and that if they reached no compromise in a fortnight three from each sect would be executed by the Khaksars. On June 30, after Ahrar Muslims and the Muslim Youth League had offered to protect the leaders against the Khaksars, *Al Islah* announced that three Janbaz Khaksars (Janbazes pledge themselves to give up their lives fighting for the cause) were prepared to go to Lucknow to do the job. On July 21, the periodical predicted an Armageddon in the United Provinces, the reddening of the streets of Lucknow with blood, the extinguishing of the "satanic Government" (the Indian National Congress party ministry), and even the coming of an earthquake. On August 7, Innayatullah sent this telegram to the government of the United Provinces: "Orders 3,000 Khaksars issuing, forcible settlement Lucknow dispute. Ready co-operation Government provided reasonable conditions acceptable Shia-Sunni offered. Please wire intention." Naturally the government did not reply, although to a reminder in gentler tone it answered that it itself was desirous of ending the dispute, and that but for

² Since the writing of this article by the author, the Khaksar Organization again became active. Learning that the Khaksars had decided to embark upon organised defiance of the law, the Government of India took steps early last June to declare the organization to be an unlawful association and advised the Provincial Governments to take all the action that they consider necessary to dispel the menace.—*Editor*,

the interference of Punjabis that would have been done. *Al Islah* replied with a threat to smash the United Provinces government and to use force against the Shia and Sunni leaders. Allama Mashriqi then ordered Khaksars to march to Lucknow. Some were arrested on the way; those six were killed. Others arrived successfully in Lucknow, but government immediately forbade all public assemblies. Wahiduddin Haidar, the local captain, was later publicly flogged by command of Al Mashriqi on the charge of having obeyed these orders of the civil authorities. The leader himself arrived on August 25, and in a speech to his followers told them "to take lives, to beat and kill these men and drive them away." A young hawker was in fact beaten; some Muslims were attacked with spades, and an editor's life was threatened. Said the Leader: "We do believe in violence. Nonviolent people must be stamped out from the face of the world. Nonviolence is unnatural."

The situation worsened, and Inayatullah was arrested on the night of September 1. Argument still goes on as to what happened after that. The government released him the next day on the basis of an agreement, it says, he wrote out and presented in the presence of jail officials, Khan Bahadur Hafiz Ahmad Hussain, a member of the Legislative Council, and others. This is the published text:

"I hereby give an undertaking that for a year after the date of the withdrawal of the notice under section 107, I will neither enter the United Provinces nor permit or order batches of Khaksars from any other province to enter the United Provinces. Khaksars of the United Provinces will be instructed not to interfere in the Lucknow Shia-Sunni dispute. I give this letter to the Chief Secretary to Government for his assurance.

(Sd.) INAYATULLAH."

Inayatullah left the jail and took a train to Delhi. Before reaching Delhi, however, he got off and wanted to start back to Lucknow. But after a transfer he changed his mind again, and finally arrived in Delhi as he had planned. There, according to the government story, he found that his prestige had suffered painfully from his backing down, and that his counsellors felt he had retreated. Inayatullah's own testimony was that the undertaking was a complete forgery, and that not only had he not given it but he had not learned of it until he reached Delhi. Again with great publicity, he started for Lucknow. But on the way he was arrested and eventually sentenced to a month's imprisonment and a fine of fifty rupees or a further week in confinement.

This incident has been recited at some length to bring out several features of Khaksarism. First, there is the incitement to battle and even to death that had been induced within the ranks. Secondly, there is the clear

application of leadership principle. Thirdly, there is the highly developed name-calling, with the choice of horrible names at that. Fourthly, one sees a brutal, regimented internal discipline which (as in the case of Wahiduddin Haidar) tended to cast contumely on the established government. Fifthly, there is the curious weakness evidenced at a crucial moment by the presumably iron leader of iron men.

The same elements show themselves in the Lahore warfare. For weeks before March 19, *Al Islah* played its role of "softening up" the legal government. In Lahore the Khaksars' quarrel was with a Punjab government order of March, 1940, banning private military organizations, activities, processions and demonstrations. The government held that this decree, issued under the Defence of India Act, was not aimed exclusively at the Khaksars but at all the private military bodies, mostly communal, that had sprung up in the Punjab in the days of war tension, and that the order did not interfere with the social and religious activities of the Khaksars. The Khaksars did not agree with the restrictions. *Al Islah* shouted: "If the Punjab government declares war, the provincial leaders of fifteen provinces of India will send 30,000 Khaksar soldiers to Lahore within one week." In case this threat might be construed as too impersonal, the orders became more specific. Again *Al Islah* trumpeted: "In case war is declared they (Khaksars) should reach the bed of Sir Sikandar [Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Muslim premier of the Punjab] from every part of India within five days and surround it with corpses."

Sure enough, the Khaksars came from the Punjab and from other provinces, particularly the Northwest Frontier. They appeared suddenly on March 19, marching through the streets in military formation, each man carrying a spade with sharpened edges, their symbolic *belcha*. The police tried ordinary crowd-dispersal tactics. Almost before they knew it, the face of Mr. Gainsford, the Senior Superintendent of Police, had been smashed out of recognition with a spade. Soon Deputy Superintendent Beatty fell, to die later, of spade and knife wound. Two other policemen were killed. Rifle fire rattled through narrow Tibbi Bazaar until by official count thirty Khaksars lay dead. Khaksars were pulled out of surrounding houses and shops; Khaksars themselves assert that the bodies of at least 170 more of their numbers were secretly carried away by the police that day. Yet even a general roundup of Khaksars after those first hours of battle did not break the defiance. Allama Mashriqi hastily moved from his headquarters in the Lahore suburb of Ichhra to Delhi, outside of the Punjab. Before he was arrested there later, bank accounts in his name totalling Rs. 100,000 were forfeited.

Even without the services of a leader who again had run away, the

Khaksars in Lahore kept fighting. Bands of them installed themselves in mosques in all parts of the city. Sympathisers fed them, and the police refrained from going into the mosques after them. Only on their frequent defiant sorties out into the streets and bazaars did the authorities clash with them. Tear gas was used against a party of Khaksars once, the first time that tear gas had been seen in Lahore. The situation grew still more complicated when woman Khaksars appeared in *burqas*; finally temporary policewomen were appointed to penetrate the *purdah*. So many mosques were held that the police could not organize themselves to guard each one, and rarely were they quick enough to catch a foray from any one of them. Not until June 10 did a senior police official finally take the responsibility of sending his forces inside the mosques (which are no more sanctuaries for criminals than are Protestant churches) to arrest the lot. Raiding parties had their fights, and the Khaksars even then were not all cleared out in one day. On June 22 it was announced that the defiance was broken, and that no more Khaksars remained in open challenge of police authority.

In Lahore again, as in the United Provinces, Khaksars had resorted to public flogging, a favourite form of punishment, for discipline. As we have seen they had also followed their leaders (despite the disappearance of the Supreme Leader); they had fought to death; they had thrown a preliminary barrage of threats. How, what and why are these Khaksars who operate according to their own tenets?

First, as to numbers. At their peak during the Lahore incident, a half million members were claimed for them, although no authoritative figures have been published. Their treasury, subleaders said, contained about Rs. 170,000. An Indian periodical, *The Illustrated Weekly*, estimated that 800 local units were functioning and that one donor alone, Mir Nur Hussain of Tanda-Bago, Sind, had contributed some Rs. 800,000. In addition to cash members have pledged to the treasury supplies of rents, horses and other equipment.

Secondly, as to the leader, Allama Mashriqi. He is a curious man who has had a curious career. Fifty-three years old (on August 25, 1941), he was born in Amritsar in Central Punjab. After a brilliant academic career, he took his degree from Cambridge University when he was 19 years old, having been in Christ College and read the mechanical science tripos as well as Arabic and mathematics. He joined the Indian Educational Service. During the last war he was raised to the Assistant Secretaryship of the Government of India, Education Department. Later he became Director of Public Instruction in the Northwest Frontier Province. But then he began to fall into eclipse; it has been suggested that the Government, with growing reason, considered

him a nuisance. First he was transferred to the Islamic College, Peshawar, where he was made Professor of Mathematics. Finally he was reduced to the headmastership of the Government High School in Peshawar. Dissatisfied, he resigned from the service in 1930.

In the meantime he had been developing ideas about personal discipline and the need for hardness in life. It is a fact that he met and conferred with Adolf Hitler in the days of the German republic. Allama Mashriqi has even claimed to have introduced to Hitler the leadership principle. They both advocate it, at any rate, and both in their respective organizations demand complete, unquestioning obedience. Inayatullah's later foreign connections are still not publicly known. The Punjab premier, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, has, however, declared that "Government are satisfied that there are definite indications of a real connection between the Khaksar movement and the enemies of this country."

Hitler gathered the youth of Germany around him with a message of hope, action and purpose at a time when a weak republic had left them frustrated, confused, and uncertain of the future. Khaksars decry facile, or what they call superficial, comparisons of themselves and the Nazis. Yet in India too there has been a youthful generation, particularly among the educated and the Muslims, who have felt the same despair. A university graduate, if not one of the lucky few to win a government post, may sell his talents for Rs. 35 a month. In Madras, graduates join the police force for even less. In the United Provinces they go into the post office. The bachelor of arts' training teaches the young Indian to be a clerk, and little else. His university cultural stimulations make him dissatisfied with an empty life. Yet he knows India well enough to feel the futility of trying to rise above his father, and no friend appears who seems able to make life satisfying.

Allama Mashriqi saw and recognized this state of affairs. In a call to the people issued sometime later he has listed the "seven principal tribulations" of Mussalmans and the way in which the Khaksars overcome them. They are these :

1. Religious sectarianism. In Khaksars there are no debates, only action.
2. Lack of equality. In Khaksars everyone wears one uniform and stands in one line.
3. Loss of sense of obedience. Obedience is the essence of the Khaksars.
4. Lack of leadership ability. From neighbourhood leaders up, Khaksars give dictatorial power coupled with complete responsibility.
5. Absence of public support for reforms. The Khaksars give this support.
6. Physical unfitness. The Khaksars build fitness.

7. Lack of firmness. The Khaksars are instilling this in a nation that "after many unsuccessful movements now . . . is overtaxed and infirm like an old man after a copulation."

Having left the government service, Inayatullah found these ideas growing within him. Building on the rock of the warrior religion of Islam, he evolved the outlines of an organization that should be compact, perfectly disciplined, humble and offering service to mankind, and yet firm, military, strong, courageous and ambitious only to serve the commands of officers. It would help the weak and the women, it would serve the community, it would right social injustice, it would brook no opposition to its programme and, above all, it would follow the commands of Allama Mashriqi implicitly.

He chose the name Khaksar because that means earth-like, or more freely, humble. He wrote, and he spoke, and he agitated. And he found the people coming to him. More and more, marching men were seen in towns and villages carrying their spades, or *belchas*, at the slope arms position of the British rifle. Each khaki-clad, turban-wearing unit was headed by a flag-bearer carrying the standard whose device is a modification of the Islamic star and crescent. The men behind customarily marched proudly with chins up, chests out, cadence sharp.

Military in their attitude, they also marched under military officers. The Khaksar commander is called a *salar*. For every neighbourhood (*mohalla*) in which the Khaksars were organized a *salar* was appointed. A *salar* of the next grade commanded five *mohallas*, and above him is the town *salar*. Superior commanders are the district *salar*, the divisional *salar*, and the provincial *salar*. The last-named official is an important personage, ranking as "Hakim Allah," or "His Excellency." He merits a salute of 27 guns and is responsible to the Allama Mashriqi for all Khaksar activities within his province. Besides the commanders there are organizing officers for each district and province (the chief organizer of a province ranks a 22-gun salute), special representatives of the central organization in each district and province, and a secret information service of the central executive that operates everywhere as a check on the provincial authorities. Such is the framework of the Khaksar organization.

"It is a movement for men, lions, soldiers and belligerents, and never the movement for women, wives, eunuchs and boys," wrote Al Mashriqi in his influential pamphlet, *The Final Word*, published in 1935. The people believed him.

"When nations are in the throes of death and decline," he argued, "everybody is helpless in finding out the exact source of the mischief, or where the shoe really pinches . . . The one and only way to revivify, to rejuvenate,

to recharge a nation and to set it going is to put action and activity into it . . . If once the individuals of a nation are infused with courage, power, energy, aspiration, will, and if action is instilled in their limbs—action in hands, feet, body, soul and determination—in short, action and only action, then nothing on earth can stop that nation from its onward march. We are inspiring that preliminary lesson of action and glory, power and determination, kingdom and sovereignty—aye ! resistance and war, without which even the slightest progress is impossible in a nation.”

Action and glory ! Those are the true motive forces. But now having found the mainspring, we can go on to the broad outlines of the movement set forth in the creed which Inayatullah published on October 15, 1937. Here it is :

“1. We, Khaksars, stand for the establishment of an order that will be equal, non-communal and tolerant, yet non-subservient, by the crushing of all communal sentiment and religious prejudices of mankind by our good and serviceful conduct ; an order which will afford proper treatment and protection to all communities and will be founded on eternal justice, goodness and goodwill.

“2. The true Islam is the practice of the ‘Qurn-i-Awwal’ (i. e. the earliest period in Islamic history). The Khaksar soldier does not recognize anything as true Islam other than the practice of the prophet.

“3. The creed preached by the Maulvi today is quite wrong. The Khaksar soldier considers it his duty to stamp out this false creed from the surface of this earth and to propagate once again the true Islamic creed of the prophet.

“4. The Maulvi group did not exist in the ‘Qurn-i-Awwal’. Therefore, the Khaksar soldier aims at establishing in its place the order of the Imams who will rule over the nation according to the Islamic Law.

“5. The Khaksar soldier will not interfere with the belief of any section of Muslims, for he considers the freedom of belief as the religious right of every Mussalman ; but he stands for unity among all these sections.

“6. The Khaksar soldier considers it the religious right of every Mussalman to follow every bit of the word of the Holy Quran, whether prevalent or non-prevalent ; and he is prepared for all sacrifices in order to free such practice from the hold of legal and political regulation of the Government.

“7. The Khaksar soldier stands for (a) regard for the religious and social sentiments of all communities, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi, Christian, Jew, Untouchable etc., (b) maintenance of their particular culture and customs, and (c) general tolerance ; and believes this policy to be the secret of Muslim rule in India for a thousand years.

" 8. The Khaksar soldier considers it the first duty of his organization to secure for every community its proper civic rights and to guard its internal and external interests. In order to maintain cordial relations amongst the various communities, the Khaksar soldier is prepared to recognize each community as its ally and comrade, and invites them to be so.

" 9. The aim of the Khaksar soldier is to establish sovereignty over the whole world and to secure social and political supremacy through their fine conduct.

" 10. The aim of the Khaksar soldier is to establish one Treasury, which has already been set up by the Indian High Command, for the whole of India. He will oppose the establishment of separate exchequers, at whatever cost. The object of this Treasury would for several years to come be to collect funds without spending anything.

" 11. The Khaksar soldier believes that he can win over every community and every individual in the world by his goodness and integrity alone. These moral virtues form common property of more or less all religious scriptures.

" 12. To ameliorate the economic condition of the community, every Khaksar thinks it his duty to spare no pains in promoting the business of a fellow Khaksar. He believes that he cannot attain his object except by pursuing this course.

" 13. Henceforth, the definition of a Muavin or subscribing Khaksar will be as follows: that he will directly subscribe to the Treasury of the Indian High Command at the rate of six pice a month or one rupee a year, and that he will obey any general command issued by the High Command irrespective of all sacrifices involved therein. A Khaksar soldier is positive that one who fails to do this cannot help the Movement to its goal of supremacy, and is consequently of no use to the Movement.

" 14. We, Khaksars, are sworn enemies of, and shall take severe revenge even at extreme personal sacrifice upon, treacherous and dishonest leaders who have harmed the national cause and are exploiting the masses, upon the mercenaries of hostile nations, upon anti-national editors and journalists, upon misleading propagandists, upon betrayers of the country's interests, and upon miscreants, to whatever community they may belong, who have stirred up sectarian animosities among the various communities of India or among the various sections or groups of Muslims."

Half the principles relate to religion. In them tolerance is most curiously intermixed with unbending "original orthodoxy" and anti-clericism. Points 8 and 9 declare (a) that the Khaksar considers it his prime duty to help every nation get its just civic rights, and (b) that the ultimate goal of the

Khaksar soldier is world suzerainty and the attainment of political sway over the nation. These are illustrative of many such paradoxes in Khaksar writings. Some of the other credal points also illustrate the loose untidiness of Inayatullah's prose. The Bait-ul-Mal reference seems a point of procedure rather than creed; perhaps it is included because finance is always important.

The creed also touches upon the hierarchy of Khaksars. The *muavin* mentioned in paragraph 13 is the lowest of the order. Above him in the *mujahid*, the ordinary-rank active Khaksar who attends meetings, takes part in Khaksar social and military activities, and pledges himself to obey any order whatsoever. The third rank in the *janbaz*, or life-sacrifice volunteer, who promises to be the first to die at any opportunity, pledges all his possessions to the movement, and signs his vow with his own blood. Some 800 *janbaz*, it is said, formed a sort of "praetorian guard" for the leader. At the top of the pyramid is the *pakbaz* Khaksar. *Pak* means holy, and the *pakbaz* is one who has given up his life and property and has renounced the rest of the world in order to devote himself completely to the Khaksar cause. Broadly the creed shows that the movement is religious, social, and military. Claiming humility, it is ambitious for power. Boasting goodness and integrity, it sets itself up to judge—and execute its judgments by force on—the whole of the rest of the world. Such virtues and such ambitions can be concocted into a heady wine.

Nevertheless, the earlier ideals of physical fitness, social service, inter-communal harmony and the like did attract many. That was the case at the Aligarh Muslim University, which credits itself with preparing India's Muslim leaders of tomorrow. Khaksarism was advancing strongly there in 1939-40, and from December to April the membership doubled from 125 to 250 students. A botany instructor was chief of the unit; several other staff members held provincial posts of leadership. The University Pro-Vice Chancellor demonstrated active sympathy. As the body grew, every new member seemed to feel the urge of a sharper pace of life. Each one picked up the popular round condemnation of the "easy vices" of smoking, the "petty frivolities" of chess and the "lulling cozy comforts" of armchairs. Each one was consciously proud of strengthening himself in neatness, promptness and complete honesty. Indeed, it became a pleasure to deal with students who were Khaksars. Always remembering their new military dignity, they would come up, look me straight in the eye, and say "We'll bring that book to you at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning." And—oh, rare event in India!—their arrival the next day would be neither two minutes late nor minus the desired volume. The half-hour indulgence that one counts in making appointments in India was forgotten. Those lads were straight-forward, confident of themselves, and uninferior. Such

qualities spread through the population would change the face of the country.

That attitude did not develop by chance. With his customary pomposity the Allama wrote in *The Final Word*: "The day the (Khaksar) salute becomes rampant among the Khaksars and the day every Mussalman meets the Britisher upon equal footing, fearless of him and of everything except God, and talks to him frankly and boldly, disregarding traditional awe, and brings him down to the earth from the sky—that very day the imposing edifice of the surface grandeur of the British will be lost to human ken."

So much for the effect of the Khaksar doctrines upon the youths who imbibe them. There remains for consideration the attitudes that are bred among the membership regarding religion and social service, and then the means through which such an emotional pitch is employed, *i.e.*, the substitution of dictatorship for democracy and the reliance upon military methods.

As always, the official attitude toward religion was introduced with a sweeping gesture. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and others were invited to become Khaksars. Tolerance was the rule. But a prerequisite to membership was a belief in God and the Day of Judgment. In practice the whole emphasis was on Islam, and none but a Mussalman would be comfortable in the labyrinth of Khaksar doctrines. Within Islam the Khaksars declared themselves to be nonsectarians (witness their interference in a Shia-Sunni dispute with threats to both sides). They were committed to strip away all accretions to the original religion of Muhammad. They demanded the resurrection of the old crusading Islamic religion of fire and sword. "The Khaksar movement has again after 1350 years reiterated the truth that the true fitting example of the Prophet of the True Islam—the original religion of God—means one and only one thing, *viz.*, a soldierly life!" wrote the Allama.

Modern Muslims have not held to that ideal, he declared. The faith has been perverted, softened, made effeminate, and weakened by the professional holy men, the *maulvis* and *maulanas*. Regarding these Arabic-reading men who live in mosques on the contributions of those who come to pray, he wrote: "These ill-fated, villainous leaders have bartered this Islam of movement, unity, equality and kingship for the Islam of stagnancy, sectarianism and slavery. Therefore why should we be duped by them? It (Islam) is not the property of the broad-pated mugwumps wallowing and fattening in the sweat of others' labour. . . . Whatever else this ignorant, decrepit, oblivious, downtrodden, humiliated, helpless, stagnant and filthy wretch in rags may be, at least and verily he is not the leader of the nation."³

The obvious solution for the present unfortunate situation (and others

³ Allama Mashriqi is not reserved in expressing his opinion of a *maulvi*. These are his words: "A *mulla* or *maulvi* barely subsisting upon crumbs and stored-up soups in filthy

than Inayatullah Khan have deplored the development of an ill-educated priestly caste in Islam) was in the Allama's eyes a purge of the unwanted elements to be conducted by the Khaksars. The Lucknow fracas was to have been the springboard for action in that direction. But it did not come off.

Alongside its programme for religious reform stands the Khaksar platform for social service. Indeed, for some years after the foundation of the Khaksars outsiders considered them primarily a social service group, with the spade as a graphic symbol of their desire to help others. The 1930's were an age of developing social consciousness in India, and Mr. Gopi Nath Srivastava comments in *When Congress Ruled*: "... when the Muslim League deterred the Muslims from joining the Congress and itself failed to canalize their expectations, the Muslims felt inclined to join a movement that promised some social good . . . It must be admitted that in the beginning the Khaksars in the United Provinces did not show themselves as a danger to law and order."

Allama Mashriqi laid emphasis from the start on the voluntary and gratuitous service to the community that every Khaksar is willing to give. ("His first and foremost duty is to serve humanity.") It was in this light, he said, that he made to the government an offer to supply 50,000 Khaksars to be under his command for the defence of India in the present war. On a more local scale Aligarh Muslim University Professors and students who were Khaksars took offence when the municipal board refused to hand over to them the responsibility for maintaining its badly-kept roads.

It is not to be thought that such meritorious social service is beneficial only to the recipient. It was part of the Khaksar program because of its effect on the Khaksar himself. Again quoting *The Final Word*: "The introduction of the programme of humanitarian service in the Khaksars has been designed to make the Khaksar bold and fearless, to wear down his fat soul, to straighten his obstinate and proud self and so to make his self the prize of the world by rendering it obedient. It is to raise the Khaksar to greater heights by imposing upon him the apparently degrading service to humanity—in short, it is to give into the hands of the Khaksar the first and last weapon of kingship, or to make him the leader and the nation his servant."

(Continued from p. 195)

gourds, living precariously in the dirty and filthy anterooms of the mosque, deceiving himself into cleaning his teeth by the age-old germ-infested toothbrush, openly flouting all the established laws of health and decency and yet considering himself 'pure,' polluting the House of God, shameless and disgraceful, nay, a *mulla* who has never read even a page of history throughout his life and at that dishonours the art of which Islam is proud, a *mulla* who is impervious to the meanings of even a single verse of the Quran and who has learnt it merely by rote, a *mulla* who is oblivious of the existence of firearms and even more of their use, who remains ignorant of the vast Muslim empires, Constantinople, Damascus and Tripoli—has such a *mulla* any right to instruct us in our religious affairs?"

Perhaps that explains why the spade was made the symbol. According to Inayatullah, the *belcha* derives its significance from the Battle of the Trenches when the Prophet Muhammad leading weaponless Muslims of Medina took up a spade, struck it on a stone while uttering a mighty prophecy, and defeated the invading infidels of Mecca, who were four times the Medinans' number. In addition the *belcha* has many unsuspected virtues; one poet is said to have found 105 of them. Al Mashriqi lists its uses in such a garbled sequence as: the creation of equality, the ennoblement of labour, a weapon for the soldier on the battlefield, a shield for protection, a pillow in camp, a cushion to sit upon, a cup for drinking water, a kettle for cooking food, an iron plate for baking bread, a staff to walk with, a guide in danger, a friend in travelling, the hope of the poor, the humility of the rich, a guide in darkness, the Islamic symbol by day, etc., etc. The list is long; but in Lahore the spade was employed just to break heads and knock out eyes.

One of the curious features of Khaksarism is the frequent juxtaposition of seemingly unrelated themes. Check by jowl with social service, for example, is the emphasis on military efficiency, military tactics, military discipline. At a Khaksar training camp a visitor might have heard lectures on service to humanity at 9 o'clock and at 10 o'clock have watched perspiring members spread over a square mile of terrain working out a tactical problem of attack upon a concealed enemy position.

"Every principle and every action of the Khaksar movement is based on military patterns," the Allama wrote. "The Khaksar soldier is not a showy and toy soldier. He is a perfect military man. The Khaksar commander is not a nominal commander. He is a military commander. The line of Khaksars is not a row of toys glittering in gay attire; it is the line of undaunted fearless soldiers."

Such a boast was not borne out in Lahore, where Khaksars fought the police vigorously, but hardly with superior tactics. After their first surprise attack they never had the advantage of the police, but used only continued needling tactics, dashing out of mosques when the way looked clear, running back inside when the authorities arrived. Yet the Allama is ambitious for his army: "The Khaksar movement is vitally necessary today because all other Indian movements have failed; their armies and soldiers have dispersed. Now we need a permanent standing army which may be unbreakable and really capable of meeting and solving every issue, and which may be able to withstand the enemy . . . The Khaksar soldier is ready to meet all eventualities and he is ready to protect his nation at any and every moment like the army of the government."

The jumble of the Allama's concepts are shown in a paragraph that

mixes up all the elements together. This is it : "We have made it absolutely clear to the government that we will be a law-abiding people and have no concern with the muddle of politics. We shall not take the initiative against the government. But our religion, our Islam, our belief is to become a soldier. We have to overwhelm the world and to become united and firm like the Siegfried or the Maginot Line!" That was written before the latter proved useless. "The greatest weapons with us in this war are the poison of amiability and the machine gun of humility."

In that one paragraph we have "law-abiding citizens," "overwhelm the world," "united and firm," "poison of amiability," and "machine gun of humility." Mr. Gandhi might have written the last two phrases, Napoleon or Alexander the two before them. These are touches that give Khaksars reason to complain that outsiders do not understand their movement. Perhaps subordinates' talk is a little clearer. Shortly after the Lahore fracas, when in Khaksar circles there was much discussion of martyrs' blood and the time for revenge, a junior *salar* put the position this way: "Before the Khaksars marched in Lahore their last orders were, 'If there is a scuffle, don't give up. Don't obey the authorities, but only your leaders.' Clashes are tests of obedience. We mean to exploit fully the present position which has been caused by the war, then we will get what we can. We flatly reject constitutional means."

Although such open defiance is heard less frequently now that a year has passed and the organisation has somewhat decayed, there are still staunch believers in the Allama's doctrines. Perhaps most popular among the Muslims, who fear the constitutional majority of Hindus in a future Indian government, is his clear stand against democracy. With Nietzsche he believes that whenever in history any nation has achieved greatness it has resulted from the efforts of a single individual. Like Hitler he spits upon the mob that follows him. "Beggars cannot be choosers," he wrote. "To give them that right is to inflame their beastly nature." He finds a parliament a fraud, and the system of democracy lacking responsibility. He has discovered that European peoples are "slowly recognizing" that for general success and ennoblement dictatorship is more suitable than democratic government. "After centuries Europe is once again realising that as God is the Supreme Authority in the sky and upon the earth and that as he does not tolerate any partnership, therefore dictatorship is the law of nature."

"A single individual is bound by the pricks of his conscience," the argument in favour of a dictator continued. "His brain, heart and liver are his constant companions. He is ever restless for the results of his labours; therefore every action of his is a step forward to the goal. But societies and

organizations do not possess conscience, heart, brains, liver and restlessness ; the majority vote and a respect for the majority cast them adrift at the mercy of the storm wheresoever it may lead them." There was no word for the benefits of every man as having a voice in his own destiny or more control over his national executive. Nor, it is needless to add, were such democratic features found in Khaksarism. Each leader was supreme within his sphere, unaccountable in any way to his subordinates. He was responsible for discipline ; how he kept it was his own business.

A favourite disciplinary method, by the way, was public flogging with the *durrah*, a leather whip with a wooden handle. The whipper was the *jallad*, or "executioner." If, as in Aligarh, he occasionally did his work so as to induce more humiliation than real physical pain, still he was called upon to give retribution for seemingly quite ordinary crimes. In a Khaksar camp which I visited men were flogged for smoking without permission, admitting strangers into the camp area, tardiness, and absence without leave. Fasting, rigorous prayers and menial service are other strong arms of discipline.

The Khaksars believed in disciplining not only themselves but others as well. One complaint they had against their nation was that it talks too much. "A silent nation is a powerful nation ; the power of the English nation lies in its silence." The German defeat in 1918 was ascribed to the fact that the German people had gossiped so much, both truly and falsely, that the whole war structure collapsed. The Khaksars' foundation was laid upon silence, and it would impose that standard upon the nation also.

The press, too, was to have its voice controlled. A Khaksar censorial department for Islamic papers was ordered to be established in 1939. The duties were to eradicate articles against the movement, absence of support of the movement, mutual wrangling and recriminations, publication of obscene and sensational news, obscene advertisements, and obscene pictures, publication of "meaningless literature and poetry," and publication of "improper and anti-Islamic articles." When the *salar* of censorship had black-listed a paper or journal, it was to be the duty of all Khaksars "to see that the paper or journal is rooted out from the soil, and not to give themselves any rest so long as even one copy is received in the locality." ⁴

It is undeniable that one of the goals of the Khaksars was to make themselves custodians of the public morality. They felt justified in interfering anywhere where a dispute or weakness was in their opinion worsening the fibre of the Muslim community as a whole. I have seen young Khaksar students walk into a village mosque only to bait a hapless *maulvi* without much mercy. Although a section of the younger reformist *maulvis* and *imams* applauded

⁴ *Al-Islah*, December 16, 1939.

such tactics as a method of cleaning up the profession, many orthodox teachers used to writhe to watch them.

Government, too, got considerably more worried as the Khaksars extended their discipline to outsiders. It has been suggested that at moments the policies of both the United Provinces and the Punjab governments in regard to the Khaksars were dominated more by fear and uncertainty of their opponents than by logic. That is understandable. Ascribing every possible virtue to the Khaksars—and there are a number—they still constituted a private army. If it happened that Allama Mashriqi had no ambitions to use them in greater challenges to legal government, officials could always consider the possibility of a palace revolution that would throw to the top a leader prepared to seek advantage from the conditions existing in India.

India is a divided nation. Her pieces are held together by superior British power. Not even the pressure of an internal war, to which she is officially a party, has united Hindus and Muslims. Should the British control suddenly be withdrawn from the country one of three courses might develop. Parliamentary democracy might take charge under Indian control; but at present even that form of parliamentarianism which operated from 1937 until the outbreak of war is not functioning in the seven provinces where the Indian Congress holds a majority. Conditions would have to be very favourable for parliamentary government to succeed if the change should come during war. The second possibility is that a dictator and his following would seize the reins that drive the Indian bureaucracy, and so repeat the Turkish performance of Kemal Ataturk. The third is internal war. Many people believe that almost inevitably civil war would come between Muslims and Hindus. In this still-not-highly-organized country of four hundred million people, there are many reasons for suspecting that, instead of a clean-cut war between two well-defined opponents, there would be a number of separate, disruptive regional wars. In the Punjab the Sikhs would contest any Muslim attempt at dominance. Tribal forays across the Northwest Frontier might become organized instead of sporadic as at present. In some places socialists and communists might attempt coups. While the authority and existence of smaller native states was challenged, larger states might use their own armies which are now getting campaign training to regain some of the land lost to them during the European conquest of India. Utter confusion similar to that which prevailed during the crumbling of the Mughal regime might ensue, smoothing the path for an eventual strong force from either within the land or across the seas or mountains.

In any such eventuality a fervent, highly-trained private army would be a handy tool for interested parties. At their peak the Khaksars were seen by

some Muslims, I know, as the arm which would some day again raise them to the position of rulers over the whole of India or a part of it. Hindus have feared that that in truth was the real motivation of the Khaksars. That is why Hindu and Sikh private military organizations were also formed. Even government policy towards the Khaksars in different provinces, it has been suggested, has been affected by provincial officials' views as to whether the organization was more a challenge to the government itself or to non-Muslim religious communities.

At any rate after the clash in Lahore a great many interests became vitally concerned about the potentials of Khaksarism. The March nineteenth battle occurred only three days before the important annual session of the Muslim League (at which the Pakistan scheme was formally adopted) that the Unionist government of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan was straining to make a successful show against the Indian National Congress. The influence of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who has pulled the Muslim League up by its anti-Hindu bootstraps since 1937, was extended to the limit to keep the League from splitting over the Khaksar shootings. Delegates shouted "Death to Sir Sikandar," and convinced him it was unwise for him to make a scheduled speech. A break was averted, but the signs had been clear enough so that the Punjab government moved cautiously during the next three months while the Khaksar defiance continued. Finally a European police officer took the responsibility for ordering policemen to go inside mosques to clean out the hiding Khaksars.

Once that step had been taken the government adopted a firmer policy. The Khaksar headquarters in Ichhra were kept from reopening. The leader, Allama Mashriqi, was charged and sentenced, although in another moment of seeming weakness he stated he had not ordered the attack on the police in Lahore. Transferred to a jail in the south of India, he was effectively isolated from the movement. Hundreds of Khaksars were jailed, and all others became suspects. The moves had their desired results. With surprising rapidity the movement disintegrated. Secondary leaders who had stepped in when Al Mashriqi was jailed proved ineffective. Opposing counsels arose as to the future course of action. Enthusiasts within the movement said "The organization has gone to pieces; there is nothing in it any more." The Aligarh membership roll, a fairly good barometer, dropped to half again. Orders were passed that at least skeleton organizations, if nothing more, were to be kept up. Individual Khaksars sometimes retained their enthusiasm, but no longer did they move in large bands. For all practical purposes the movement became dormant in the autumn and winter of 1940-41.

And so it remains, not now a political force. But two factors must be considered. One is that the Khaksars have made a name for themselves in

the Muslim community. If the circumstances should be favourable when Al Mashriqi is released from prison, there is no reason to believe that his spirit of action and glory could not sweep the community again. A professor at the Aligarh Muslim University has said, partly in disgust and partly in despair, that all Muslim movements are short-lived. But with an emotional impetus as strong as religious nationalism, the most virile of the movements may surely be born again and again. In the mosques and the colleges many who have left the leaderless Khaksars would go back at once if they thought they could recapture the spiritual uplift that came to them the first time. Already new national offices are being established in Aligarh, and the work of revivification has begun.

The second factor is that even if the Khaksar era is past and does not rise again, the sturdy youths who were its bulwark are already discovering other outlets for their disciplined energy. Marching Khaksars have found their way into the ranks of the supporters of Pakistan, the big, bold Muslim scheme of dividing the country into a Muslim India and a Hindu India, in order to let each culture grow unthwarted. Little attention has yet been paid to aspects of finance economics, and military defence, but of the people who are "no-compromise" Pakistaners, former Khaksars are not far in the rear. In other Muslim League activities too, ex-Khaksars are introducing an element of steel. The *imam* of one Lahore mosque, for example, left his ardent support of the Khaksars when the leadership collapsed, but has since been training a group of thirty-five religious teachers and missionaries. As part of the discipline of their training he demands complete obedience, promptness, neatness. He flogs those who fall below the standard. And he has found their spirit better and their achievements greater than those of previous groups whom he had trained by less drastic methods.

So Muslim communal bodies get that loyalty, that eagerness for action. Anybody else could capture it if they wanted to badly enough. Even the government has weaned some with the dream of military commissions (and many of these lads can certainly fight). It could gather more to its side if it could provide for them a programme of real action and glory. Those are the essential elements for a man's recuperation from an excess of frustration. But the government has not taken that step. The Khaksar leadership did, and as a result tens of thousands of men drank the stimulant of action without intellect, obedience without thought, sacrifice without reason, and military discipline without an avowed purpose; and marched to action "for God and His Prophet, for the nation and the organization, for sovereignty, for peace and security, for the compliance with commands, for the sacrifice of life and property in the way of God, for the country and for the service of humanity at large."

A NEW DEAL FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

BEHRAM H. MEHTA

"A complete programme of Industrial Welfare," says Dr. Mehta, "constitutes a New Deal to the worker." He discusses this programme in detail and maintains that if such a programme is put through as a measure of post-war reconstruction, India will create for itself an efficient working class similar to that of the more advanced industrial countries.

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SINCE the Industrial Revolution began in 1750, the world has been thrown into periodical occurrences of conflict, leaving traces of injury which take decades to heal up. The conflicts that have followed in the Industrial Era were more economic than political, and the repercussions considerably weakened the social fabric. Out of the many types of conflicts that have been experienced in the industrial countries, not a few are due to discontented labour. Europe is passing through a war the like of which was not known to history, and already it threatens to envelop the entire world in it. This war, at least in some important regions, has driven underground the various conflicts that affected the working classes within their national frontiers. It almost seems that the working classes are silently participating in a war which primarily seeks to overthrow the political frontiers of the world, because they are in conflict with the new economic frontiers that are demanded to suit a Machine Age which is no more an Industrial Revolution but which has established itself as a system of production. But once the war reaches its decisions, the very consequences of the war may again cause to reappear those bitter relations which have darkened the horizon of industrial countries during the last hundred years, unless the world is willing to learn from history and past shortcomings.

A healthy reaction of any war is a thirst for stability, and this desire is likely to dominate all post-war reconstruction. It is but natural that the maximum advantage should be taken of this situation to bring about a state of society which will minimise all conflicts, and ensure peaceful industrial production for general benefits. Many fundamental measures will have to be taken to obtain this industrial peace and stability to build up a world so ruthlessly torn by war wounds, and one of these will be organised and scientific social welfare for the benefit of the masses of industrial workers.

India today can hardly be called an industrial country. Since the American Civil War, when India had her chance to sell her cotton to the United Kingdom, the country has witnessed the steady but insufficient development of our industries. The fillip given to industry by the Swadeshi Move-

ment after 1906, the greater urge for industrial expansion in the boom periods of the war, the later political aspirations of the country that encouraged Swadeshi, and the new opportunities presented by the present war—have all contributed to make the Indian Industrial Revolution a settled fact. This Revolution has produced an ever-increasing working-class which, in spite of its ignorance and inefficiency, has not escaped the disturbances that characterised the history of working classes in Western industrial countries. It is but likely that the Indian workers will also be affected by the repercussions of the present war on the workers of Europe and America. The future should be understood in the light of the present, and undesirable eventuality should be forestalled. India may or may not suffer directly from war, but the backward industrial conditions in India require an enormous programme of social welfare to cater to the increasing industrial population as well as the rural population.

The backwardness, inefficiency and unhappiness of Indian industrial labour is due to four major causes. Firstly, Indian industrial labour is recruited from the poorest and least efficient masses of the agricultural labour population. This labour force lacks a firm social foundation and has been devitalised by chronic poverty for centuries. The chief characteristics of this urban industrial workers are economic and social instability, and these result in the instability of labour—one of the most important barriers to industrial progress and social advancement.

The second reason is the absence of social co-ordination between urban and rural life. The journey from the village to the city, and the consequent problems faced by the migrant population has been dealt with in a previous article.¹ India has never attempted to regulate urban-rural relations with the result that cities which have sprung up so quickly and have grown to enormous size are utter strangers to the life of the villages from where they draw their blood. The life of the Indian workman who comes to the city is linked up to centuries of tradition which gave a stability, however crude, to his life. This stability is suddenly and rudely uprooted, because the cities are founded on plinths of foreign design of the Industrial Revolution era of Britain and other Western countries.

The third major reason is the unhealthy living conditions of the people. The Indian commercial and industrial cities did not learn any lesson from the Industrial Revolution in the West and they have sprung up hastily and chaotically without any consideration of human beings that live in them. One room tenements, slums, absence of breathing lungs and open spaces, narrow roads, and exposure to noise and filth do far greater damage in Indian temperate regions than in the colder regions of the Western world. Human life is

¹ See *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, Dec. 1940, p. 380.

fundamentally linked to the habitat, and physical and mental characteristics are products of the region in which man lives. Labour inefficiency can hardly disappear as long as the worker is deprived of the soothing balm of a happy family life, and the invigorating effects of clean air and sunlight.

The fourth major cause perhaps will not easily be appreciated except by those who have pondered over the fundamental meaning and values of human life. It is not always possible to divorce what may be called philosophical considerations from the more practical demands of life. Man must have a full life to fulfil his three-fold destiny as an individual, as a member of the family, and as a unit of human society. Unless this is done, his life will ever be inadequate and stunted. Perhaps in the whole world the entire struggle of the working class had this subconscious background of striving after becoming the human that man the animal is destined to be. The Industrial Revolution has expanded human life and vaguely it has brought before the human being the realisation of his full stature. Industrial city life and possibilities of education have brought the Indian worker to this new awakening, and raised him up from that dormant and stagnating contentment in which he lived in the limited scope and atmosphere of the Indian village.

There are many who believe that the Indian peasant and worker is far too illiterate and backward to even feel the possibilities of a better and fuller existence. This may be true in the Indian village, but to any one who has moved in the city working-class areas, the error of this hypothesis will be evident as the desire for a better standard of life and the growing discontent with present conditions are quite apparent in the life of the workers. It is true that in comparison with the population of the country their number is small, but it is increasing geometrically every day as labour becomes more settled and as the workman is directly called upon to face and solve the many complicated problems of modern life. If India learns from the history of the West, industrial development should aid, rather than hamper this natural evolution of the human being, by providing through social welfare as many of those opportunities which make life worth living, and which make every individual an asset to civilization.

Labour welfare should form a vital plank in any plan of post-war reconstruction in every country, and this plan should be more broadly conceived and more boldly executed than the palliatives that have been attempted in the past, and which have failed to secure industrial efficiency, or the elimination of conflicts. The realisation of an abundant and purposeful life may be considered an abstraction and beyond the reach of the Indian worker at the present day, but the necessity of fulfilling as many as possible of the following needs of the human being can hardly be disputed by those who realise the possibility of

human happiness. These cardinal needs which arise out of the social and psychological life of the human being are : (1) stability and permanency of employment in order to provide the wherewithals of existence to the family ; (2) a healthy fulfilment of sex life ; (3) the full enjoyment of family life and the happiness which is the product of intimate human relations ; (4) social participation of the individual in the life of the community, and (5) opportunities available to the individual for his maximum self-expression.

It is evident that the world of today affords few examples where man is able to live such a full life, and modern industrial organisation affords lesser opportunity for the masses for such living than perhaps any previous stage of economic production. Though it is only possible to strive to reach the boundaries of practical realisation of these ideals, it is, nevertheless, necessary to keep them in view.

Coming to immediate and practical considerations, there are two sets of demands, one coming from the industry proper and the other from the employee, which taken together can bring about a substantial improvement in the efficiency and success of the Indian industrial enterprise.

From the point of view of the efficient prosecution of Industries :—

1. Every industrial worker ought to receive a minimum of general education and develop a minimum level of intelligence which can help the skilful execution of his work, and make him understand problems that relate to his work-life.

2. He must have at least minimum technical efficiency which can help him not merely to work his machine, but to understand the complicated operations and processes that are a part of modern industrial production.

3. He must possess that amount of physical energy and psychological interest in his work which can bring about the two-fold result which is the dream of every employer—maximum efficiency and maximum out-put.

4. The labourer must achieve settled habits and become a permanent asset of the industry to which he belongs, working conscientiously for its success.

Managers and administrators of industrial enterprise will readily agree that Indian industrial development will acquire a new meaning if the four above factors could be realised, or there could be any programme for the gradual attainment of the above objects.

Labour throughout the world has always resisted any demand made upon it without reciprocal advantages. The factory worker anywhere will become a new human being if by any miracle the impressions, that he is always the victim of exploitation and that the demands made upon him are always one-sided, are removed from his mind. The bridging of the *distance* that exists between conflicting interests in modern industry is a problem yet unsolved

which even most advanced or idealistic industrial countries, including Soviet Russia, have failed to solve.

If labour is to respond to industry, then the following five demands of labour should receive the serious consideration of all those who wish to promote the prosperity of Indian industry :—

1. Promotion of physical health and energy to meet the demands of industrial efficiency.—The problem especially involves four major considerations: (a) chronic malnutrition ; (b) bad and unhealthy housing ; (c) insanitary working conditions, and (d) excessive hours of strenuous work under advance climatic conditions.

2. Provision of security in employment. The psychological and other consequences of instability and insecurity of economic life cannot, unfortunately, be measured. They undermine efficiency and affect family happiness.

3. The demand for a minimum wage; a just wage-share in the fruits of industry has been perhaps the most important cause of industrial conflict. There have been fundamental difficulties in adjusting the real demand of each individual worker and the actual economic conditions governing each industry. That a minimum wage should include the seven major necessities of human life—(a) adequate and healthy nourishment ; (b) housing that will not undermine health, efficiency and happiness ; (c) clothing to meet the demands of society and the exigencies of climate ; (d) education to provide capacity to carry on the struggle for existence ; (e) medical relief to maintain correct health ; (f) transport expenses to cover distances to save time and conserve human energy to more productive and economic pursuits, and (g) personal and social recreations to maintain psychological balance—will hardly be disputed. Arguments against the minimum wage centre round the impracticability of the proposal in the light of international governing markets. It is futile to blame mere Capitalism for its failure to give the minimum life to every human being, for the answer lies in the general failure of humanity to secure an efficient organisation of human life. A study of wage rates in Soviet Russia ought to bring important revelations to those who believe that the millenium is to be achieved by an overnight execution of mere political theories.

4. The demand for a reduction of the working day. The problem of hours of work should be judged more dispassionately than it has been done so far. The worker's point of view that he should do the minimum work and secure the maximum wage, and some employers' point of view that they should extort as heavy work as possible paying least are both erroneous. The fundamental consideration ought to be to obtain maximum efficiency in work, and leave enough time to the individual for non-occupational imperatives. India, like many other countries, has neglected the problem of leisure. America now

regards "education for leisure" as an important factor in early education. If this is neglected, the possibility of leisure doing considerable damage are ever present. Nor is it possible to overlook the genuine conditions of a particular industry where less work will involve waste and reduced output. But any work done against the consideration of efficiency is a loss to the industry itself and does severe injury to the human being.

5. The last factor to be considered is labour's participation in the political life of the country. Though this is not a demand of labour, every individual must have the opportunity to participate in healthy social life and play a legitimate part in the political and national life of the country. The problem of the workers' share in the rulership of the country within a democracy is not yet solved, and in India it is a part of the larger political problem. It is certain however that industrial life has stimulated political thought and action in the masses more than anything else all over the world, and India has not proved an exception. Trade Unionism, however backward, ill-organized, and often misled, has created some unrest in the few and most important industrial centres of the country. The healthy growth of Trade Unionism is necessary, not merely for the benefit of the worker but for the benefit of the nation as a whole, not excluding the real interest of every industry.

The speedy achievement of industrial peace, progress and efficiency is related to important considerations. Firstly, the practice of class warfare should be abandoned, even if the theory may be found sound in important historical cases. It is a sad commentary on human intelligence that problems that arise out of the economic evolution of society cannot be solved except by resorting to strife, strikes, lockouts, revolutions and war. By co-operation, understanding and acceptance of basic principles of honesty and justice, a slower but more durable and effective progress can be achieved. The futility of destructive methods is likely to dawn rather forcibly upon the world when victors, vanquished and neutrals alike see, when the conflict is over, the devastation wrought by the present war. There must be an awakening of the human conscience at the end of such a terrible human catastrophe, and even if India remains away from the actual theatre and experience of war, there ought to come this moral awakening that will pave the way for political and social peace and industrial progress.

Social welfare will be most effective in bringing about peacefully desired changes in human society. But it cannot by itself possibly achieve the aims set before the reader in the previous pages; nevertheless, social welfare can aid to some extent human reconstruction—including physical, mental, moral and social regeneration which will make it possible for all to prosecute industrial achievements with greater possibility of success.

The following suggestions are put forward for a programme to improve the health, education, efficiency and social organisation of workers which will create more favourable conditions for the success of industry, and which will greatly improve the moral tone of our Industrial Society.

Health.—The problem of health is a vast one. The problem is rendered acute because of the chaotic growth of modern cities, and the unplanned organisation of modern industry. Housing is perhaps the most important problem from the point of view of health, and the problem does not merely include a mere decent tenement with adequate space, air, light, comfort and sanitary arrangements ; but it includes the vaster problem of the slum, the destruction of uninhabitable dwellings, the remodelling of reclaimable areas, and the building of new quarters on the most advanced principles of housing. A mere repetition of the needs and cares, with the usual excuse of want of finance to shelve the problem does not help ; for, now it is very evident that peace time reconstruction on a radical basis should be as much as it is possible and imperative to reconstruct cities devastated by war and bombs.

No less important than the human dwelling is the workplace. The reconstruction of factories on sanitary and hygienic lines may be costly and difficult, but everything possible should be done to prevent any further chaotic growth of industries. We have the advantage of learning from the terrible follies of the West which created modern London and the slums of Europe and America. The demand for more space, more free movement of cool air, more ventilation and less noise and pollution of air should even outgrow the present provisions of the Indian Factories Act.

Curative measures may be taken by the State and the Municipality, and the workers may take advantage of public hospitals and dispensaries ; even some employers feel the presence of the factory dispensary useful to their employees. Industrial Welfare, however, demands more preventive and recreational activities to preserve good health and vitality. A well equipped Health Clinic may be expensive, but evening play-centres for organised games are an imperative necessity in every factory. If Factory Health Clubs are attached to the playcentres, they will organise holiday excursions and camps and do health propaganda for cleanliness and sanitation, and prevent the use of liquor, tobacco and other drugs.

Food is an important consideration for health, and the problem is vitally linked up with the wage received by the worker. Malnutrition promotes chronic sub-health, and is a handicap to industry itself. But there are ways in which employers can and do help workers to take better food. Grainshops, co-operative eating places and cheap canteens within the factory can help the worker to take wholesome food at minimum cost. Unfortunately the emphasis

is always put on the economy of these measures, and they are hardly ever planned to promote proper diet and protect the worker from the adulterated and stale food that is usually sold in working-class areas, often in violation of the Municipal and State Food Regulations.

If Indian labour could become stable and regular in attendance, it will not be difficult to allow compulsory holiday for workers to recuperate and return to work with better health and greater vitality. Workers' Sanatoria too will help such workers who render efficient and long service to employers, but suddenly succumb to ill health and disease. Active measures of a far reaching character are also necessary against diseases like T. B. that spread their ravage in hundreds of working-class homes in industrial and slum areas.

Compared to what is required not enough has been done for maternity and child welfare. There are hardly any maternity clinics which provide full care, treatment and help to mothers from about four months before delivery to some months after delivery. There are no special meal-kitchens for mothers, not adequate treatment for anaemic mothers, and no provision for milk and ultra-violet treatment. Women's recreation and education of mothers is also absent, and Women's Clubs need to be organised in factories and working-class areas. Over and above the Infant Welfare Society and Baby Week Organisation, there is an urgent need of a Women's Welfare Society with a planned programme with branches in every industrial area.

A division of labour in dealing with the above measures could be secured if employers are called upon to provide all amenities and activities that directly concern their employees, whilst public organisations, the Municipality and the State should look after the homes and families of the workers.

Education.—Education is an indispensable asset for the industrial worker. The foundation of the worker is laid in the earliest years, and fundamental causes of inefficiency and devitalisation are chronic malnutrition, inadequate development, growth and training in early years. The child is also a victim of neglect at home and school, and by the State. The establishment of nurseries will prove a wise investment for posterity. Early treatment of diseases like rickets, accompanied by a training which will provide play, activity and training, and at the same time feed the child on wholesome, balanced diet will create generations of physically able and active workers, not lacking in efficiency, character and discipline.

That Primary Education should be universal, free and compulsory is recognised by all ; but not many have realised the need of completely overhauling the Primary Education Structure. The present curricula, practices and methods contribute but little towards the physical and mental development of the child. There is a crying need in India for schools of the type of

Labour Schools in Europe with training given on the basis of the Activity Principle, and the Principle of Accustomed Environment. Modern industrial production is a complex manipulation of ever multiplying substances, and the indefinite use of complicated processes. Children, if allowed to handle substances and practise elementary processes, will develop skills which may enable them to become efficient workers later. The complete absence of the work-element in education is a drawback that should be corrected at the earliest opportune moment.

Need of Vocational and Technical Training.—Modern industrial development envisages training for every workman if efficiency is to be obtained. The present provisions for technical training are meagre and provide merely for technical leadership. The sudden increase of matriculates with no preparation for organisation, management and skilled work has created rather than solved problems. These thousands of matriculates include sons of workers and untouchables who could have profited immensely by bifurecations provided at the age of fourteen, or at the Vth Standard. A beginning has been made in the Bombay Presidency—a measure which has been considerably aided by the War—and it is hoped that India will soon have an organised educational drive to provide skilled workmen.

The need of well thought out apprenticeship schemes under the leadership of employers of the various industries has already been realised in some of the major industries. In this connection, in certain cases, the objects of apprenticeship schemes have been found to be frustrated by the attempt of employers to take advantage of the cheap labour provided by apprentices. Thus actual turn-out of output is emphasised more than the actual training of labour in the various departments and on various operations.

•Industrial countries have realised the value of taking labour into the confidence of management. Workers, jobbers and technicians should be given an elementary insight into the various economic aspects of the industry to which they belong. The problems of finance, markets, competitions, costs, etc., will not fail to interest even the ordinary worker, and greater interest in work will result from knowledge which is beyond the more mechanical operations of machines. This knowledge of general industrial background can be given in pamphlets which can simultaneously help literacy and efficiency drives.

The lack of Industrial Exhibitions in industrial centres should be greatly deplored. Exhibitions showing the substances used in manufacture, and machines performing various industrial operations, demonstrating also the correct use of machines and the execution of processes need to be organized. The workman who has a genius for small inventions needs to be encouraged. Factories, over and above having their Recreation Clubs, Reading Circles, etc.,

should establish small recreational laboratories provided with tools and accessories to encourage industrial self-expression of working men.

A vicious circle confronts the well-wisher of Indian industries when he asks for labour efficiency. The Indian worker lacks ambition, enthusiasm, interest, skill and speed in his work. His methods are crude and his output is small. Climate, food, religious beliefs, standard of life and ignorance are all responsible for making ours perhaps the least efficient industrial labour in the world. The Indian worker lives a very low standard of life and is paid the lowest wage with the exception of some Asiatic countries. Industry, they say, must thrive, and profits must increase before labour is paid more. No doubt Co-operative and Credit Societies will help the worker, but this and similar measures are mere palliatives. The real solution lies in good housing, good health, intelligence and higher wages.

An improvement in the situation can be brought about by increasing the size of our industries and providing them with better machinery, organisation and management. These factors have been found to increase wage share and create a stable and somewhat efficient labour supply. If this is done and the labourer is educated and protected from drink and the money-lender, an amazing increase in efficiency will take place, and it will be found possible to pay higher wages. A real desire, followed by active measures, to improve the efficiency of labour on the part of industrial leadership and management is needed.

Perhaps the Managing Agency system which prevails so extensively in many of our most important industries has been made to share an unduly heavy burden of responsibility and blame for the present condition of labour. The real cause lies in the fact that in India, industries are not considered national assets, but mere venues of industrial enterprise for the sake of securing profits for the proprietor and the share-holders. This system is not different from those of some Western Countries, but many proprietors have realised that labour alone is the most fundamental asset of industry whose welfare is demanded not from any humanitarian point of view, but from the point of view of the first need of any industry.

If this is not done, the State has to intervene. The duty of the State is not merely to interfere on behalf of labour, but to intervene and secure the stability and efficiency of every industry which is a national asset. A further intervention than heretofore will be required in the near future to assure a New Deal of industrial welfare to labour. However, more necessary than intervention is genuine co-operation between the government and the employers to secure a solution of this vicious circle of miserable living conditions and standard of life, and low efficiency and low wages.

In an intelligent and well-to-do society the duty of providing care,

health, and education and other elementary needs of life fall upon the family. But where the twin factors of ignorance and poverty exist, this duty should fall upon other shoulders. The agency can well be the State, the Municipality, the employer, the individual philanthropist, or a community-group as a whole can find means to provide a well-thought out plan of human rehabilitation of its individual members.

The solution of some of our major industrial problems lies in the creation of a new, better and more efficient working class. This can be done gradually by a programme of social welfare based on a sociological and psychological understanding of problems. So far, activities of industrial welfare have been taken half-hazardly and there has been a clear absence of planning and co-ordination of the social welfare programme.

The programme should include a tripple approach to every member of a given society which should be treated as a regional unit irrespective of religion, caste and creed. The three approaches are : (1) the direct and personal approach, (2) the family approach, and (3) the social or community approach. This programme means a concerted and intensive drive for the rehabilitation of human work groups. This intensive drive will take the help of three fundamental methods of social work : (a) Case Work, (b) Group Work and (c) Mass programmes and activities.

The programme suggested will simultaneously attack the problems of housing, health, education, and social and economic reconstruction of well defined regional or economic groups. The size of each group and the intensity of a programme depends upon three fundamental factors : (1) Finance, (2) Leadership, and (3) Organization. A detailed explanation of this programme is difficult to give within the brief space of an article like this, but the plan is included in the form of a Chart given herein.

Social welfare needs experimentation as much as any other scientific effort, and experimentation is especially needed to make social welfare programmes applicable to given conditions, regions, and peoples. Experiments, however, imply a good deal of waste and result in failure when they lack leadership and when they are conceived half-heartedly in order to secure false economy and quick results. A complete programme of Industrial Welfare constitutes a New Deal to the worker, the benefits of which will not be reaped by him alone but also by the industry; in addition it will create for India an efficient working-class which can well compare with the working-classes of the more advanced industrial countries.

A PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL CASE RECORD FROM THE CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC OF THE SIR DORABJI TATA GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

K. R. MASANI & Mrs. I. RENU

Dr. Masani and Mrs. Renu present here an interesting case study of a delinquent boy. The social case study of the offender has for its primary purpose the understanding of his problems and behaviour patterns in relation to his total social situation. On the basis of the findings of the social study, a diagnosis of the case is made and a course of treatment is outlined according to the needs of the offender.

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*A 14 year old boy referred to the Clinic by
the Juvenile Court Magistrate for stealing*

NARRATIVE RECORD, CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC

7th February, 1940.—The probation officer from the Children's Aid Society who had investigated the boy's case called at the Child Guidance Clinic with the boy and his father. The boy is small-made with a pale face slightly pitted with smallpox marks. He has a very mild and innocent look, and on the whole has a pleasant appearance. He was very neatly dressed. He seemed scared as he sat beside his father, and timidly followed the Social Worker into the playroom.

Account of Complaint from Probation Officer.—The boy appeared before the Juvenile Court on the charge of stealing a wrist watch. The owner, missing his watch while watching a tennis match, lodged a complaint with the police. The boy, finding it in the field had taken it home. His parents advised him to put it back where he had found it; while doing so, he was caught by the police. The father had been advised by the Juvenile Court Magistrate to take the boy to the Child Guidance Clinic as the father had reported that the boy was uncontrollable.

SOCIAL SITUATION

<i>Family Make-up</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
X (Father)	42 years	Upcountry	Clerk in Bank earning Rs. 125.
Y (Mother)	35 "	"	Housewife.
R (Patient)	14 "	Bombay	Schooling: IV Standard English.
L (Sister)	12½ "	"	" II Standard English.
B (Brother)	11 "	"	" IV Standard Vernacular.
V (Sister)	9 "	"	" III Standard Vernacular.
M (Sister)	6 "	"	" Infant Class.
N (Sister)	1½ "	"	"

Informants.—Social worker interviewed father who called at the clinic. He appears to be about 40 years of age, fairly well educated and of good intelligence. He has a respectable appearance though not an impressive personality. He seemed disturbed and hesitated to speak about the boy's delinquency. Social worker explained to him the nature of service the clinic rendered and the type of cases treated. Father then gave worker all the information that he could give about the present problem and promised to send the mother to the clinic for more detailed information, especially about the boy's infancy.

Problem.—Father told the social worker why the boy had been taken to the Juvenile Court. He felt that the boy had unwittingly got into trouble by just not using his sense and had brought disgrace on himself and the family. He feels that there is something wrong with R's brain. He does not think it is mental backwardness because the boy is quite intelligent. He feels that there is some peculiarity which makes the boy incapable of thinking for himself and using his intelligence in the proper way. The father said the boy's behaviour was very peculiar; for instance, he would stand on the balcony of the house and bother passersby by calling them and shouting abusive terms. He would do the same to neighbours and get beaten quite often. Father feels that the boy is very reckless in whatever he does. In October 1933, at the age of seven, he had met with a car accident. He was not actually run over by the car but was thrown towards the footpath and was injured in the head. The injury was slight and healed quickly without having to have any stitches put in. His skull was X-rayed and the doctor said that there was no injury to it. But father suspects that the injury to the head must have affected the brain somehow, as a result of which the boy behaves so abnormally.

It is nearly 3 or 4 years since R's behaviour has been of great concern to the father. At the age of 8, however, soon after he started regular schooling, he was a truant from school. The teachers constantly complained about his mischief and restlessness in school, and at home also he was quite mischievous. But father believed that his mischief would pass away as he grew older, and he did not take much notice of it. During the last 3 or 4 years, R has taken a very bad turn. He has started telling too many lies and has developed an ingenious method of inventing lies. He would in a very innocent manner make up a story when he brought home some article which he really had stolen. He would even change marks and remarks on the progress card of the school and forge the signature of the teacher.

The first stealing that came to the notice of the parents was about 4 years back when he stole from home some of his father's books and sold them for a nominal price, using the money for entertaining friends. The father had beaten him severely on that occasion as the books were very valuable ones

Since then there have been a number of petty thefts even outside home, very often in the company of other boys. Once R had gone with a group of boys and, while the others kept the shopman engaged in talk, he ran away with some packets of chocolates and biscuits which the boys later divided between themselves. On many such occasions he was caught and beaten.

The father is very pessimistic ; he has very little hope of R's improvement, and thinks that the boy is too far gone in his delinquency.

Family Background.—Father came to Bombay from upcountry 25 years back. He was educated in his native place, and came to the city at an early age in search of employment. He was anxious to study and hoped to pass his matriculation examination, if not a higher one. But financial stress forced him to give up studies earlier. He comes from an old-fashioned orthodox family with a strict father who dominated the household. In Bombay, after a few years' struggle, he got a job as a clerk in a bank with very good future prospects. At the time of his marriage his prospects were bright, but a few years later, after the birth of the second child, he lost his job through ill luck as he calls it. (Later it was discovered that he lost it on account of being in debt). For 6 to 7 years he worked here and there on temporary jobs. Finally he got a permanent employment as a clerk in another bank but still thinks it a great misfortune that he lost his first job. He earns about Rs. 125 a month at present, but considers it too meagre for supporting a family of 6 children.

The mother also comes from upcountry. She is also fairly well educated, and knows a little of English as well. She lost her father in early life and she is quite attached to her mother who had brought up the family after the father's death, and she seems to be influenced by her even today. She was rather silent about her marital relationship, but gave the impression that there was only slight disagreement between husband and wife, and that mainly in the treatment of children.

The family has been living at the present address for nearly 6 to 7 years. The tenement consists of 2 rooms one of which serves as a kitchen and dining room, and the other as sitting and bed room. There is a common bathroom for all tenants living on the same floor. The members of the family sleep in one room. There is a broken cot which the father uses. Children and mother sleep on the floor. The youngest child sleeps with the mother. Boy sleeps on a single mattress by himself towards one end of the room.

Siblings.—R, the patient, is the eldest. He is 14 years old. L, a girl, 12½ years old, is dark with smallpox marks and is very plain looking. She does all the house work but both parents are very indifferent towards her. She feels that R is the favourite of the mother while father is indifferent to all. Her manner makes her look much older than R. B, a boy, 11 years old, is a very

quiet child. He also has very deep smallpox marks and has very poor looks. He is made to spy on the elder brother by the father, but the brothers are quite friendly and R very often induces B to join him in his mischief. The fourth, V, a girl of 9, resembles R a great deal. She is very active and smart. She is also one of the favourites of the mother, and father also seems to like her. She is somewhat of a spoilt child and always carries tales about R to the father. R beats her the most. The fifth child is again a girl, 7 years old. She is a quiet child, generally busy with her school work and her play. The youngest child, a girl of 1½ years of age, is everybody's favourite. Father pets her the most. He says he likes her because she is innocent and loving. R beats and bosses over all the siblings except the youngest.

Patient.—R is the eldest, and parents were glad that it was a boy. Nothing unusual was reported concerning the mother's condition during her pregnancy. The mother had a normal delivery, and the boy was quite a healthy child. He was breast-fed till the age of one year. His appetite was good. He was fed whenever he cried, no regular routine was followed. At the age of 8 months he exhibited a tendency to bite the mother's breast, and mother generally admonished him by taking him away from the breast and showing her disapproval by scolding. She does not remember when exactly the biting stopped. He had no serious illness in early infancy and had smallpox at 1½ years of age. He acquired control over bladder and bowel functions at the age of about 1½ or two. He walked and talked at the age of one.

Mother does not remember his reaction towards the birth of the second child, but she thinks that he had no reason to feel jealous as he got both the parents' continued attention.

At the age of 6, he was sent to a Municipal Marathi School which he attended for 2 years. As he showed no interest in his school work and his progress poor, he was withdrawn from the school and put under a private tutor. After a year's tuition at home, the boy was sent to a Convent School, where he got on fairly well, but the teachers always complained about his mischief. He was in the Convent School for 3 years after which he was sent to another private school where his progress was better, but the teachers kept on complaining about his behaviour in class. His mother says that he is regular at school and quite good at studies but once or twice he altered his marks on the progress card when he had obtained low marks. His teacher had questioned him and found that he had done so just to avoid the father's beatings. The father had been advised by the headmaster not to give the boy corporal punishment. The father is inclined to think that fear was not the reason for altering the marks but that it was just his habit of misusing his intelligence. The father used to help him in his lessons sometime back but he

is generally impatient and scolds the boy too much, so that the boy does not now ask for his father's help. The mother helped him when he was in lower classes but now she cannot be of much help to him. She feels that he needs encouragement rather than actual help to stimulate interest in his studies.

R generally mixes with boys bigger than himself. His mother says that is so because there are grown up boys in his class, and many of them take his help in their studies. They also find him useful because he is so suggestible and does whatever they ask him to do. Mother blames his companions but she does not seem to object to his mixing with them or accepting favours from them. The father does not like his companions but he does not blame them entirely as the mother does. R does not as a rule entertain his friends at home, though the mother does not object to it; on the whole he prefers to meet his friends outside the home.

The parents do not know what games he usually plays, but he is not interested in group games and hardly takes part in outdoor games. His mother says he is fond of cycling and one of his friends lends him his cycle. Father is ignorant of the boy's interests, but the mother says that he is greatly interested in all animals and is anxious to have pets at home. When they had a dog sometime back, R used to look after it with great care, but his father had given it away as it was a nuisance in the neighbourhood. Mother says that the boy has been telling lies at times but mostly out of fear. To her he always comes out with the truth sooner or later. When he stole the books he denied having done so, but when persuaded by the mother and promised by the father that he would not be punished, he came out with the true story. Father, however, does not generally keep his promise; in this particular instance also he beat him after promising not to punish him.

Mother says that the boy sleeps well and has a good appetite. He only refuses to eat food when he is severely punished and sometimes when he is refused anything. Mother thinks that he does not depend on her much. He does all his work himself; he is not very dependent in thinking for himself.

Both parents say that he is very particular about his clothes, and always washes them and irons them himself. Father thinks that he should not be so particular about his appearance at this young age as it distracts him from his studies. Mother cannot say whether he has any curiosity about sex. He has not asked her any questions on the subject. Father says that he does not need to discipline any of his other children and does not need to beat them as they are very obedient and well-behaved. R's behaviour has forced father to take to caning him.

PSYCHOLOGICAL REPORT

Drever and Collins Battery of Performance Tests ;—Chronological age;

14 years and 4 months; Mental Age: 16 years and 6 months; I. Q. : 115.

Psychologist's Observations :—"The child is calm and persistent ; he is methodical in trial and error. He has great span of apprehension ; a child of superior intelligence."

SOCIAL WORKER'S INTERVIEWS AND PLAYROOM REPORTS

9th February, 1940.—R attended clinic. He had the same scared look as on the first day and showed no inclination to play. Playroom worker reported that he was non-cooperative and talked very little. Parents did not keep up appointment.

(R did not attend clinic on the 14th and 16th February, 1940, nor did his parents call at the clinic as promised.)

17th February, 1940.—Social worker visited the home. The mother and children were at home. The mother appears to be quite young and has a childish look. She is short and fat and rather thick set in appearance. She was dressed very shabbily, and in poor clothes ; she gives the impression that she is lazy and unconcerned about the home which was all in disorder. She asked worker whether the boy was attending clinic and said that she would see to his regularity of attendance. She was anxious that the boy should improve and was glad that the clinic had undertaken to do something for him. She does not seem to feel so despondent and pessimistic about the boy as the father does. She has no complaints in particular about him. She feels that he is very suggestible and is easily influenced by his companions and that with the help of the clinic he would improve easily. She said she would try to come to the clinic and ask the father also to do so.

18th February, 1940.—Boy attended clinic. Playroom worker reports that he again showed no inclination to play. He preferred to stand aside and watch others play. He left clinic very early saying that he had to go home. He was very silent and hardly spoke to worker.

21st February, 1940.—R did not attend clinic.

23rd February, 1940.—R attended clinic. He came at closing time and reported about his presence; parents did not call at the clinic.

24th February, 1940.—Social worker visited home. Both the parents were at home. Mother says that R has improved ever since he was sent to the clinic. She believes that the fear of the clinic has done him a great deal of good. Both parents had told him that if he misbehaved in any way he would be reported to the clinic and the clinic would send him to the Juvenile Court. Worker advised mother not to frighten the boy and explained to her the clinic method of treatment. Mother appreciated the fact. She said she always felt the same way, and believed the boy would improve only if dealt with sym-

pathetically. She said that the father had been rather hard on him and that was mainly because of complaints from neighbours.

The father, however, was pessimistic about R's progress. He felt that he could not rely on the boy. There were numerous complaints from neighbours every day. He then proudly showed worker the cane with which he beat R when he did mischief. The boy, he felt, had gone too far in his delinquency and even the cane had only a temporary effect on him. He added that he liked R a lot when he was young because he was so innocent, but now he cannot tolerate him because he has become a pervert. He thinks the boy is a disgrace to the family. Father says that he could tolerate mischief sometimes but that it is degrading to think that one's own son is a thief. Worker tried to explain to the father about the futility and undesirability of corporal punishment and suggested to him possible ways of helping R to solve his problem. Father says that he has neither the time nor the interest for learning modern methods of treating children. He says that the mother can do it if she is interested, and he feels that it is her duty to bring up children as she is with them most of the time. He also feels that children will lose respect for him if he becomes friendly with them. He had tried to be friendly with some children in the neighbourhood and they were taking undue advantage of it.

Worker informed father about the result of the mental test given to R at the clinic, the I.Q. being 115. Father did not seem to be impressed by it. He thinks that having intelligence is not so important as using one's intelligence. He says that R does not show his intelligence in his studies, and asks, "What is the use of his intelligence, if it is used only in a perverted form?"

Mother was present during the early part of the interview, and she now and then put in a word or two to defend R when father was bitter in his complaints. She seemed to feel that worker was taking the boy's side against the father. Father resented her interruption and turned against her saying, "See, this is how she spoils the boy." He complained that the mother encourages the boy in his delinquency by siding with him.

28th February, 1940.—R attended clinic. Playroom worker reports that she could not get him interested in any play. He stood in a corner watching other children. He was quite uneasy and seemed anxious to get away.

5th March, 1940.—R came to the clinic. With some hesitation he asked social worker whether he could leave early.

12th March, 1940.—Worker visited home. Mother reports improvement in the father's attitude towards R. She says that ever since the last interview he has not used the cane. A few days back R had brought home a small pup, and father had allowed him to keep it. R was feeling very happy about it and the pup was keeping him at home most of the time. R, she says, looks

after the pup himself at night; if the pup cries, he gets up from sleep to pacify it from fear that father, if disturbed, may give it away. He was giving his own share of milk to it to avoid extra expense. She says that complaints from the neighbours are fewer, and he has not stolen anything recently.

Mother says that she does not frighten him about the clinic now, but she is anxious that he should be regular in attending it. Worker advised her not to keep on reminding him too much about it, and not to force him to attend it.

Mother feels quite hopeful about his progress; she says he is generally very co-operative and likes it if people take interest in him. She showed worker some of the things that he had made at home just by seeing his sisters or next door neighbours making them. He had made photograph frames and some needlework too. Mother says that the father generally finds fault with him and tells him that he is only interested in things in which girls ought to be interested. He wants R to devote more time to study, but the latter is more interested in hand-works and in play, and evades study. She does not worry about his studies too much because he has been getting on fairly well at school. She says she is worried about him only because he is so easily influenced by other boys. She wants him to be guided properly. She said with some satisfaction that he does whatever she tells him as long as he is at home. Mother seems to derive great satisfaction from R's dependency on her, and she seems over-anxious about him to some extent. Worker talked on the situation to relieve mother of her over-anxiety. Worker also advised mother to refrain from openly taking the boy's side when father punished him.

Later. Worker met R on the way as he was returning home. He seemed quite shy and timid when he met the worker but, when the topic about the pup was opened, he got over his reserve and talked about the pup enthusiastically. When the topic turned to the subject of play, he again became restrained, and gave short to-the-point answers. When workers told him that if he cared he could go with her and have a look at the Neighbourhood House games-room and library where he could take his friends also, he promised to accompany worker after informing his mother, and went home. While on the way to the Neighbourhood House, he spoke very little and even then only when the worker started the conversation. But when worker made any reference to his home during the course of the conversation, he remained silent and showed disinclination to express his opinion.

10th March, 1940.—Worker visited home. R did not attend clinic on the 10th, 12th, 17th and 19th instant. Mother says that she did not insist on his going and so he must have gone to play with his friends. He told her once or twice that he had forgotten to attend the clinic. Mother says that he takes the pup out in the evenings, and he is busy looking after it these days.

Mother had nothing in particular to report about R. Father has not beaten him of late, but does not talk to him much. She thinks he is indifferent because he has been disappointed about the boy. Father had started beating him ever since R first stole the books 4 years back, and since then he has also become indifferent towards the boy. Mother admits that she is inclined to side with the boy because his father is too hard on him. She says she intervenes when he punishes him as he goes beyond the limit when in temper. Worker suggested that mother should deal with some of the complaints instead of reserving them all for the father, and placing them before him just when he returns home tired after office work. Worker also explained the harmful effect on the child if parents openly showed in his presence their difference of opinion regarding treatment.

24th March, 1940.—R attended clinic. He came with his friends two boys just a bit older than himself, and played Carrom with them in the Neighbourhood House playroom. He did not enter the clinic playroom, and just informed worker before he left for home.

26th March, 1940.—R attended clinic. He came with one of his friends. The Neighbourhood House games-room being closed, he came to the clinic playroom. He showed the toys to his friend and asked worker whether he could go away early. He was not allotted to any playroom worker as no one was available and it was felt that it was best to let him get used to the clinic.

30th March, 1940.—Father interviewed at home. He asked worker if R was attending clinic regularly. He said that R cannot be relied upon and so he wondered often whether the boy really went to the clinic. He complained mildly that R did not study as he was wholly absorbed in looking after the pup. Father wanted to know what exactly is done in the clinic playroom. Worker took opportunity to discuss some of R's problems, and gave illustrations of similar cases which had benefited by the treatment at the clinic.

3rd April, 1940.—R attended clinic.

9th April, 1940.—Home visited. Mother had nothing in particular to say about R. She thinks that he has improved a good deal in that he has not been stealing, and has stopped troubling and teasing the sibs, and he has to a certain extent decreased his habit of passing remarks on passersby and neighbours. She says that he attends school regularly and if and when he stays away he tells her. He says that he stays away only when father delays to give the fees and the school clerk keeps on reminding him. R does not grumble about anything and generally does not say why he has been doing a thing unless mother persuades him to tell her the reason.

No contacts were made with the family in the month of May when worker was on leave. R attended clinic on the 3rd, 15th, 17th and 24th May.

10th June, 1940.—Social worker visited home ; only the children were at

home except R. L. (sister) reported after a great deal of hesitation that the mother was not living with them. Father and mother had quarrelled and mother had left home, and was living at the grandmother's house. Neighbours informed worker about the trouble between husband and wife, and gave worker the address at which mother could be interviewed.

Mother interviewed. Mother says she left home as her husband asked her to get out on account of some quarrel. She says that there had never been peace in the home since many years. Father had been beating her ever since their marriage but matters came to a head after the birth of the second child when there was a serious quarrel. Since then father has been taunting her quite a lot. She had borne everything so far for the sake of the children! But she could bear it no longer. She was determined to file a suit against her husband. She says that he is very indifferent towards all the children, and did not bother about providing for them properly. He stinted in giving her money for the maintenance of the home. She did not expect him to change; so she was determined to leave him. She wants worker to keep in touch with the family and help R as the clinic had done a great deal of good to him. She says she does not know how R is getting on, but she was told that when she went to see the youngest child on the sly, R had reported the matter to the father and that father had beaten L (the elder sister) for letting the mother in. She thinks that he must have done it just to divert the father's attention from the complaints against him.

12th June, 1940.—R attended clinic. When worker enquired about the family he just replied that everybody was well. He did not say anything about the mother having left home. Worker did not find any change in him; he had the usual expression of insecurity. He played for a while with the carpentry tools, then started swinging on the curtain poles. Playroom worker reports that he was very restless and went home without informing her.

19th June, 1940.—Home visited. House was locked. Neighbours reported that father had taken children for some shopping, and complained a great deal about R, saying that he bosses over the sibs and beats them but is very quiet when father is at home as he is afraid of being caned. Father has been caning him frequently of late.

24th June, 1940.—Home visited but only children were at home, the father having gone out. L (sister) said she would tell father to call at the clinic sometime. V came to worker with numerous complaints about R, just as the father used to do. R was not at home. L says that R does not stay at home much and on clinic days he would return home late at night saying that he was in the clinic till late. L says that R goes to see mother just because mother gives him things to eat and sometimes money. Worker did not encourage the

children to speak on the topic.

26th June, 1940.—R came to clinic at closing time.

10th July, 1940.—Worker interviewed father at home. R was also at home. Father was loud with complaints against R on seeing worker. He said he was sure that R would end in jail. R was a disgrace to him as he took after the mother's family. Worker ignored father's complaints and told him that she had some work with him. The children were asked to leave the room and father spoke to worker alone. Recently, he said, R's stealing had been on the increase. He had brought home a parrot saying that somebody had given it to him. The owner had later complained that R had stolen it and threatened to report him to the police. He had also stolen something from a shop along with other boys. Father had given away the pup because the boy did not study and spent all his time on it, and also because it was a nuisance to everybody. Father did not approve of the suggestion from worker to keep a parrot. He said that it would also divert the boy from his studies. Whereupon worker pointed out to father his overanxiety about R's studies and interpreted to him the reason for his feeling so. Father said that he had too many worries at present and he wanted to tell worker about his wife. He said she had left him and put him into a sad plight. He had to look after the children and go for work also. He is very much disturbed by the fact that she has filed a suit against him. He is afraid that he may have to give her maintenance if she were to leave him. He also feels that by going to court things will be made public. Father had a number of complaints against the mother. He says she was responsible for his losing his first job. She had got him into debt and so he had lost his job. Father's main complaint against mother is that she is very lazy, careless and a very bad housekeeper. They had not been able to live decently because of her incompetence to manage the household. He thinks that the boy has taken after the mother and so nothing would improve him. He wants worker to remove R from home and admit him into a reformatory. He says that there are always numerous complaints from neighbours about R. Worker suggested a boarding school instead of a reformatory. Father wants worker to do the needful as he is too busy. Worker observed an interesting reaction on the part of R. When father left home and worker was talking to the paternal aunt who had just come, R disappeared and the siblings asked worker to peep into the deal wood box in the corner. R had got into the box and was sitting inside it with knees folded and arms encircling the knees, resembling the pose of the fetus in the mother's womb. He came out quietly when worker called out to him. He had a very indifferent and calm look on his face, and told worker that he was looking for his books which he keeps inside the box. L says that he very often sits like that of late.

Case was discussed with the psychiatrist in the clinic. It was felt that as the father's attitude could not be altered in spite of repeated efforts and as the mother and father had separated, the boy might be removed from home to a more healthy environment if proper arrangements could be made.

11th July, 1940.—Worker approached the Superintendent of the Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Home. He promised to take the boy and send him to the clinic for treatment provided the father paid for boarding and school fees.

12th July, 1940.—Father interviewed. He is unwilling to pay for the boarding. He says he cannot afford it. Father feels that a reformatory is the best place for his boy. Worker did not agree; so father wanted the matter to drop. Father then complained to worker that R had brought home a table knife which he said he found on the roadside. Father suspects he must have stolen it from a restaurant. Father says that R has failed in the recent class test. He says it is just because R does not study at home. Father was asked to leave the matter to worker who would give R tuition, if necessary.

Later.—Worker met R as he was returning home from the bazaar. He promised to come to the clinic.

R came to the clinic. Worker talked to him about his school and his studies. He said he was weak in mathematics and so he had failed in the test paper. He says he has failed in English because he had no text-book. Worker asked R if he would like to have tuition in mathematics. He asked rather indifferently where he should come for tuition. The time and the days for the tuition were fixed. R is very unwilling to go to a boarding school. He says he likes his present school.

20th July, 1940.—Worker visited home. R was at home. Father asked worker in R's presence if R had told her about having stolen the knife. Worker changed the topic by talking about R's studies. Father said that R had told him about the tuition. Worker told father about the text-book which R should get as early as possible. Father said R had not told him anything about it. He gave R money to get the book.

Worker accompanied R up to the book shop on her way. She asked R where he had found the knife. He said he had found it in the playground. Mawalis, he says, put knives there to stab people, and such an incident had recently occurred. Worker asked R in a joking manner whom he wanted to kill. R seemed scared and immediately replied that he would put it back where it was.

21th July, 1940.—R came for his tuition. He spoke to worker rather freely about his school and his friends. He says that he does not generally play, and none of the boys in his group are interested in it. They generally get together, criticize others and make fun of them. R seems to have great admiration for one boy who is the monitor of their class. He says that boy is

very good at his studies, but he does not take part in games. R and he and some other boys form a group. Worker found R quite quick in grasping things. He, however, is rather restless and so worker did not press him to remain long. R attended clinic in the evening.

26th July, 1940.—R attended clinic.

27th July, 1940.—R came for his tuition. Worker spent most of the time talking to R and only gave R some home-work. R seems quite inclined to talk about his friends and his own activities, but not about home.

31st July, 1940.—R attended clinic.

10th August, 1940.—Home visited; father was not at home.

21st August, 1940.—Home visited. Father and children were at home. Father says that he had met the headmaster from R's school who complained to him about R's behaviour in school and also told him that R sometimes misses classes. Father feels that he is wasting money on R's education. He says that R ought to have been in a much higher class for his age. When worker remarked that he was not backward, father said that the boy looks much younger than his real age because of his short stature which he inherits from the mother. He said with contempt that R's qualities are all from his mother's side.

Father says that there are still complaints from neighbours about R, and he may have got many more had he been at home longer. He says he is busy consulting lawyers about the impending case brought against him by his wife.

Father believes that the best way to improve the boy is to constantly remind him of his faults. An experienced lady had told him about it as she had tried it and found it very successful. His own parents had often called him a blockhead and that had only spurred him to study more. Worker pointed out to him how his ideas clashed with those of the clinic and suggested that if he had no belief in the clinic's method he could stop the treatment. Father did not want the worker to discontinue taking interest in the boy. He had no time for it, so he required the clinic's help. He said he would carry out all the clinic's instructions but he could not take much interest in the boy. Worker asked father to call at the clinic to interview the psychiatrist.

24th August, 1940.—R came for his tuition.

27th August, 1940.—Worker visited R's school. The headmaster reports that R had not been attending school regularly for some time, and a few days back he had stolen some books from another boy, and that he fears R would be a bad influence on other boys. The class teacher reports that R's progress in class is good but that he is too restless and mischievous. The home situation was explained to the teacher and the need for a sympathetic and understanding attitude towards the boy was stressed. It was suggested that R be encouraged from time to time to take part in games and other school

activities. It was also suggested that as far as possible it would be best to avoid sending complaints to father, but that complaints should be referred directly to the clinic.

30th August, 1940.—R attended clinic. Worker asked R why he had not been attending school. He says that father has not yet given him last month's school fees and the clerk goes on pestering him all the time. Asked R whether he had told father about it; he said, he had, but father had not so far given him the money and R had not reminded him.

1st September, 1940.—Worker visited home. Told father about the school situation, and urged father to take more interest in the boy. Father says he was too busy with other matters and too much worried also.

6th September, 1940.—Worker met mother accidentally. She did not seem so determined about legal separation from the husband as she did at first. Worker expressed that it would be better in the interests of the children if both of them could make up their differences and live together. Mother agreed with worker on that point, but she said she had found it very difficult to get on with the father. Worker gave hints about the household management whereby she could try her best to avoid constant disagreement and quarrels as it appeared that most of the quarrels were caused by her bad household management. Worker left mother to think over the matter.

R attended clinic in the evening.

7th September, 1940.—R came for tuition. He informed worker that father had given him school fees and now he is attending school very regularly. He says that he finds French rather difficult. Father used to help him last year but no one does so now. Worker asked R whether he would like the clinic to arrange for his tuition. He says that he has no time to come so often to the clinic.

10th September, 1940.—Father was interviewed at home. Father says he has no time to teach R French just at present. He will be very busy till the case is over, and even if he gets time he does not like to instruct R, because he had tried it before and found R very restless and disinterested. He does not think it worthwhile to waste his time on R. He thinks that if R is really interested in studies he can study by himself.

11th September, 1940.—R attended clinic.

13th September, 1940.—R attended clinic. He informed worker that they would be shifting to another locality.

21st September, 1940.—Home visited. House was locked. Neighbours report that the family have moved into another locality and gave the new address.

23rd September, 1940.—Worker visited new house. The new quarters are very decent but the things were all in a confusion. Mother did not seem to mind the state of things when worker entered. Father was not at home,

Mother says that she had joined her husband as the Magistrate had asked her to give her husband another chance to improve his ways with her.

She thinks it is too early to say anything about matters at home. Worker again drew the mother's attention to the fact that she could avoid much of the taunting on the husband's part if she could keep the home in better order and make it a more cheerful place. She said she would try. About R she had no complaints as usual. She says that ever since her return father has not beaten them.

25th September, 1940.—R attended clinic. He did not say anything about his mother's return home, but just informed worker about the change of address when worker spoke to him. He played with the carpentry tools for a while. Worker suggested whether he would like to join the Scout Troop in the Neighbourhood House. He seemed rather reluctant and said that he would ask his parents about it.

28th September, 1940.—R came for his tuition. He did not attend clinic on the 27th. He did not open the topic about scouting.

2nd October, 1940.—R attended clinic.

4th October, 1940.—R attended clinic.

11th October, 1940.—Home visited. Father seemed quite happy because of the mother's return home. He showed worker round the house and asked her opinion on his selection of it. There was better order in the house than what used to be the case previously. When the conversation turned on to R, father did not have any complaints ready but he reflected for sometime and said that a few days back R had stood on the balcony and called out to some of the girls by all sorts of names. When worker asked what exactly he had done, the father said that R had linked up the girls' names with names of young men living there. Father was dissatisfied with R's study again. When worker remarked that she found R quite good at his studies, he said that he expected a boy of R's age to read many more books apart from his text-books, and R is not interested in reading at all. Worker suggested that the father should get the boy interested in reading by getting him some attractive books from the library which the father attended, or better still to take the boy along with him at times. Worker, however, advised father not to force the boy to read, and explained the adverse effect of such a step.

18th October, 1940.—R was introduced to playroom worker according to the decision of the case conference.

19th October, 1940.—The case was discussed at the case conference. The psychiatrist recommended play therapy for R, and he was entrusted to a playroom worker for continued observation. It was felt that the father should be occasionally interviewed by the psychiatrist and treated for his deep rooted

antagonism toward the boy in addition to the attempts to alter parental attitudes by the social worker. The need for individual psychiatric treatment for the child was also felt.

22nd October, 1940.—Worker visited home. Asked father to call at the clinic on the 23rd or 25th.

23rd October, 1940.—R attended clinic. Father did not come.

25th October, 1940.—R attended clinic. Father did not come. Playroom worker reports that R was very silent, timid and rather ill at ease. He did not mix with other children and after a great deal of encouragement he only played Carrom for a while. He was very good at the game but was rather restless and did not show any inclination to play.

6th November, 1940.—R attended clinic.

8th November, 1940.—R attended clinic. Playroom worker reports that R is getting quite friendly with her. She had taken him to the Victoria Gardens along with his sister V, brother B, and another boy; he had thoroughly enjoyed the outing, and spoke quite freely with her asking her questions about the animals. He had, however, not talked to her about his home.

10th November, 1940.—R came for his tuition.

11th November, 1940.—Home visited. Both parents were at home. R had gone out. Mother reports that there is a distinct improvement in R. There were no incidents of stealing ever since her return home and during the month his mischief had also considerably decreased. Mother feels that the change of locality has done him a great deal of good. He had stopped wandering about in the streets and remained at home. She approved of the boys in the neighbourhood with whom R now plays. He is not considered to be the mischief-maker by all their present neighbours whereas in their former tenement neighbours had branded him as the trouble-maker and would often hold him responsible even when it was no fault of his. Mother realises that the clinic has been doing him a lot of good. She says that he constantly talks of the playroom worker and anxiously waits for clinic days.

The father was not very optimistic about R's progress. He reluctantly admitted that R had not stolen anything from home during the last 3 months and there were no complaints from neighbours about his mischief. But father feels that it is just temporary improvement, and R could not be relied upon. Worker interpreted to father the reason for his pessimistic attitude toward R as revealed by the history of the case and explained how such an attitude would stand in the way of R's improvement.

29th November, 1940.—R attended clinic regularly on the 16th, 20th and 22nd.

29th November, 1940.—Playroom worker reports that there is a distinct

change in R. He is no longer timid and silent as he used to be but he is very active and bright and full of mischief. He takes a great delight in playing pranks on everybody ; for instance, he would throw water or mud at the passerby from the window, and then pretend that he was innocent and shift the blame wholly to other children. He also enjoys bringing constantly to the notice of the worker the mischief of other children. He feels confident he will not be scolded without reason. He is quite restless and is not interested in any play in particular. He tells the worker that he is interested in bicycling.

30th November, 1940.—Home visited. Both parents report improvement in R. Worker, however, did not find much improvement in father's attitude towards R. Mother feels that father tries to take an interest in R. Worker again asked father to call at the clinic, but he says that he has too much work in the office and does not find time.

4th December, 1940.—R attended clinic.

6th December, 1940.—R attended clinic playroom. Worker reports that R has been allowed by the father to bring up a monkey which R promised to bring to the clinic. When playroom worker offered him a cinema ticket, R said he would take it home and give it to his father. R, she says, is very cheerful, but his mischief in the clinic is increasing. He had played some pranks on the boys outside the clinic and they had threatened to beat him. R got scared and did not dare to move out of the clinic from fear that he might be beaten. Playroom worker had introduced T to the Scout Organiser, but R did not show any inclination to join the activity. The Scout Organiser was asked to befriend R and later get him interested in Scouting.

11th December, 1940.—R attended clinic.

13th December, 1940.—R attended clinic.

14th December, 1940.—R came for tuition. R wanted worker to teach him history as he finds history very difficult.

18th December, 1940.—R attended clinic.

20th December, 1940.—R did not attend clinic.

27th December, 1940.—Home visited. Mother reports that R had been taking part in the boy's club in the Neighbourhood. Though he has not yet participated in all the outdoor games, he sometimes plays badminton. He generally goes there for Carrom and he has made some new friends. The father has given away the monkey as it was a nuisance but mother says R did not mind it.

R came to the clinic in the evening.

3rd January, 1941.—R did not attend clinic.

8th January, 1941.—R attended clinic. Playroom worker reports that he was rather depressed as the monkey was given away, but seemed to understand

when she explained the reason for it.

18th January, 1941.—(R attended clinic on the 10th, 15th and 17th January.) Case was discussed at the case conference. It was felt that the case could be closed, that contact with the family should be continued and that R should be encouraged to join in more outside activities and helped in making the new adjustments.

NOTES

This case record summary will have given the reader some understanding of the type of service rendered at a Child Guidance Clinic particularly by the Social Worker and the philosophy underlying Child Guidance procedures. It will aid the reader in such understanding however if some of the main points of the case are summarised, and commented on.

In the first place, what is attempted at the clinic is not merely the removal of the particular problem for which the child is referred but to treat the child as a whole. Thus R, during several visits to the clinic, in the beginning possessed, apart from a scared look, a general pattern of fright and timidity, reserve and asociableness. The clinic was concerned as much with an improvement in this problem of the child's personality as it was in removing his stealing; and for this reason kindness and friendliness, coupled with treating the child as a comrade whose personality is respected, invariably form part of the clinic technique, and they succeed as in this case in not only making the inhibited, timid and shy child a more free, happy and sociable personality but in winning him over and in freeing him from the problem for which he is referred.

In this connection, the need for a sufficient number of trained playroom workers becomes apparent. In this case, as in many others, the frank and friendly attitudes of the social worker, the psychiatrist and psychologist are not sufficient to bring about a fundamental improvement in the situation unless quantitatively there is sufficient contact with one or two individuals. R's case took a turn for the better soon after being assigned to a playroom worker who devoted all her energies and attention to him. Similarly, if more individual and concentrated work could be done by the psychiatrist with the child and the parents, it would bring about an improvement in the situation in a shorter time. In R's case, individual interviews with the psychiatrist were very few and far between, and the need for an adequate number of psychiatrists attached to such clinics becomes apparent.

Another point will have struck the reader. In this case, as in practically all other cases, some modification of the parental attitudes is invariably called for and without individual work by the social worker with the parents, the chances of bringing about any real improvement are greatly reduced if not

entirely negligible in the majority of cases. It is not to be inferred, however, that the necessity of altering attitudes of parents and those of others forming the child's environment—on account of their great importance—acts mainly in rendering child psychiatry particularly difficult. Indeed, the cause and effect relationships of deviations in children are usually so much more direct and transparent and the causes are so frequently in the nature of faulty parental attitudes or remediable situations that attitude therapy alone, when it is successful with comparatively very little work with the individual child, produces excellent results. It must be added, however, that attitude therapy is not successful always in which case more intensive work with the child is necessary. In this case it must have been noticed that attitude therapy of the parents, and particularly that of the father, was the main focus of treatment, and on account of shortage of facilities individual work with the child in the playroom by a psychiatrist or playroom worker was not possible until later. Until that period the improvement that took place could be looked upon as due mainly to the social worker's attempts to alter the parental attitudes, and to the fact that the child came and played in a general sort of way at the clinic where he found an atmosphere of cordial friendliness and frankness. However, in view of the difficulty of satisfactorily altering the parental attitudes, in this case the paternal attitude particularly, a cure did not result, and it was after the child was entrusted to one of the best playroom workers of the clinic and redoubled efforts were made to alter the parental attitudes that very marked improvement became noticeable. The value of the case conference method in this connection becomes obvious in drawing attention to the special obstacles in a case and in providing for appropriate further measures where the progress is held up.

The case illustrates well some of the common faulty attitudes that have to be altered in treating children in a Child Guidance Clinic. In brief the main ones in regard to the father were as follows :—In general his attitude was one of frank hostility towards the son for having brought disgrace to himself and the family name rather than one of trying to understand why the child might have indulged occasionally in acts of stealing. Such an attitude is very commonly found in parents, on the whole more frequently in fathers than in mothers. It can be easily seen that such an attitude has to be altered if good results are to be expected and much depends on the ease and rapidity with which this fundamental alteration takes place. In this case this attitude-change was both slow and difficult.

Some of the reasons for the father's antagonism towards the boy can be gathered from a history of the case and the father's background. The father's desire to be educated had been frustrated by circumstances. His anxiety about the boy's education and his hostility at the boy not measuring up to his

standards can therefore be understood. The boy's first school years were a disappointment as he showed very little progress. At the same time came the loss of his job which was a blow to the father, and there was a long period of anxiety and insecurity when he had to take up temporary jobs. Added to the disappointment about the boy's disinterest in studies was the first discovery of the boy's stealing, when R stole books that the father valued highly and sold them at a nominal price. The fact that the boy had taken to stealing as well as the loss of valued books seem to have made him bitter against the boy. After this incident the father had taken to beating the boy severely, and the first stealing was followed by petty ones later; the father became confirmed that his son was a thief and could not be changed.

Such an attitude on the part of the father is often responsible for the feelings of rejection and insecurity in the child and resentment towards the father which in its turn leads to deviation or further deviation of behaviour. Moreover, even at times when the father was not feeling conscious hostility towards the child and felt well disposed towards him, he would not mix with the child or be friendly with him on the mistaken belief that the child would lose respect for the father if the latter talked to him in a friendly way. This would tend to make the child feel still more unaccepted and increase his sense of insecurity. Another attitude found in this father, as in many other parents, was the belief that children's behaviour deviations are due to some organic changes. In this case the father thought that there was something wrong with R's brain. One of the motives behind this would be that the parent gets rid of the painful reflection that he may otherwise feel that he had failed to bring up the child in the right way. The supposed organic change could be blamed for the behaviour deviation and the parent could feel that he had done his duties as a good upbringer. It would also remove any painful blow to the family pride of the parents that a child coming from their family could do such a 'disgraceful' thing by again shifting the blame to a brain disease. Equally, such an attitude would absolve the parents to a certain extent of the responsibility of the failure of their attempts to cure the trouble. In this way various injuries to the head are held by parents to be responsible for mental peculiarity or behaviour deviations or mental defectiveness. Then again where there is inter-parental disharmony, as in this case, the family honour is saved by throwing the blame of inheritance of the delinquency to the other parent's side of the family. R's father had frequently stated that R had inherited all R's delinquencies and undesirable traits from his mother's side.

Then again a paternal attitude, which was almost constantly found, is the one that the best way to cure a deviation in behaviour is to inflict corporal punishment. In this case also, the reader must have noticed how on the occasion

of the very first stealing the father had beaten him severely, and subsequently on each occasion that he was caught. The futility of expecting a radical cure by such methods only comes home on frequently encountering cases where such treatment has invariably failed and when cure has resulted subsequently by child guidance methods. Quite apart from the stealings he was also beaten by the father for obtaining low marks in the class which further encouraged him to alter the marks in order to avoid the beatings, but the father used to be blind to this and could not see the connection.

Another attitude in the father was one of pessimism and disbelief in the clinic's methods of treatment. It took quite a long time even to modify this prejudice. He stated outright that he had no time for learning modern methods of treating children and had no interest in it suggesting that the mother could devote some time absorbing the concepts of child guidance. He was sceptical for a much longer time than the mother about the possibility of the clinic treatment doing R good; even when distinct improvement had taken place he would suggest that it would only last for a short time and, when even more definite improvement had taken place and the misbehaviour had ceased, he "reluctantly admitted" that the child had not done anything wrong. He would talk in front of the child that he did not expect the delinquency to end and that he was sure he would end up in jail. This is a very common parental attitude and does not help the child at all in getting over his troubles. Indeed, it makes a very large number of children indulge all the more in their misbehaviour, as if to vindicate or justify the parent's attitude. The father would not cooperate in any real way. He never attended the clinic for interpretative types of attitude therapy even after he found some improvement in the child. Such then was the type of father the clinic had to deal with in this case as in many others and this considerably delays the marked improvement which follows often when there is a desire to understand the reasons for the child's delinquency and when the attitude is one of genuine cooperation.

Turning now to the mother, the maternal attitude to some degree was of the "over-protecting" type so frequently found in the mothers of the children brought to the clinic. The mother in this case seemed to derive much satisfaction in keeping the child dependent on her. Marital discord and lack of emotional satisfaction in the marital relationship frequently makes the mother turn to her son for a close emotional bond wherein she derives satisfaction in an over-protecting and over-solicitous attachment to him keeping him dependent on her the while. Often such an over-protective attitude makes the child unduly dependent on her and he turns to her for help in facing situations which other boys of the same age are able to face themselves. Such a passive suggestible type of child often takes to delinquency or misbehaviour. In this

case it was noticed that R was an unduly suggestible type, and his behaviour appeared to be partly dependent on this increased suggestibility; he seemed to be particularly susceptible to the bad influence of older boys and gangs.

Apart from the over-protecting aspect of the mother's relationship with R, there is also the factor of maternal favouritism and spoiling. Work with the mother carried out by the social worker in the beginning was mainly in the nature of attempting to alter her attitude of over-protection, favouritism and spoiling pointing out to her the ill effects on the child of making him too dependent on her and how it would make for trouble in future as he would not be able to stand on his own legs. Her co-operative attitude coupled with her faith in the ability of the clinic ultimately to effect a cure were very helpful points and mitigated the difficulties usually encountered with over-protective mothers. The type of therapy utilised with the mother was largely in the nature of suggestion and education rather than of an interpretative type, as the causes of her over-protection had not been explored fully and the marital disharmony which played an important part in her over-protection was not admitted or discovered until later on in the treatment. Then again work with her included educational work on child-upbringing with special reference to her child as also on how to manage the house-hold and keep the home in better order so as diminish the parental disharmony, as much of this was due to the father's feeling that the mother did not know how to run the house, keep it tidy, and was too disinterested and lazy in general house work.

It must be admitted however that help in this direction and the absence of opportunity for systematic and concentrated efforts to bring about more harmonious relations between the parents was not able to bring about a very distinct improvement as regards the disharmony, and the mother actually invoked the law, applied for a separation and came back to the husband on the advice of the Magistrate to give the marriage a further trial. It is likely however that the attempts of the social worker did play some part in making her decide this and in the subsequent better relations between the husband and wife.

Finally apart from work with the child and parents, efforts were made to explain the situation to the teachers of the school as well. The home situation was explained to the teacher and the need for a sympathetic and understanding attitude towards the child was stressed. It was suggested also that as far as possible it would be best to avoid sending complaints to the father and instead the complaints should be sent to the clinic. It was also suggested that R should be encouraged to take part in games and other school activities.

In this way while working with the child, with the parents and with the school, and exercising patience and perseverance over temporary relapses, it was

noticed that R gradually gave up his stealing for which he was referred to the clinic and in addition a change for the better in the personality was brought about in the direction of making him less anti-social, removing his reactions of withdrawal and making him interested in recreational activities outside the school. It does not, of course, follow for certain that such a happy outcome might not have followed without the child guidance approach but it does appear likely that the child receiving such treatment with the rehabilitation of his personality, the building up of his interests, and the modification of the undesirable parental attitude is less likely to relapse and become a confirmed delinquent or criminal than if he had been left where he was at the time of his referral to the clinic.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

RABINDRANATH TAGORE (1861-1941)

A TENDER 'gardener' of the spirit's finest flowers, a great 'fruitgatherer' of all peoples' cultures, a 'great sentinel' of human rights and values, passed away on August seventh. Like the Sun, after which he was named, during the eighty years of his sojourn here, he shed light and warmth on his age, vitalized the mental and moral soil of his land, revealed unknown horizons of thought, and spanned the arch that divides the East from the West. Like a 'crescent moon' he embraced in the arch all humanity.

He wove garlands of musical poetry. His music was each a gem of melody set in exquisite verse; his paintings revealed the original artist in him; his stories were permeated with that human touch of sympathy, understanding and kindness. His essays, speeches and books on religion and other philosophical subjects vibrated with a grand passion for justice, equity and world brotherhood. His philosophy of life and ideals were concretised in the institution he founded—Santiniketan. His zeal for social service, especially in favour of the poor villagers, was expressed in the activities at Sriniketan. There was nothing that he touched which did not bear the imprint of his genius.

Versatility, vitality, unceasing creation of new modes of expression, "as old and new at once as nature's self"—this was the outstanding quality of Rabindranath's genius. These qualities by themselves are sufficient to place him in the rank of the world's greatest masters of creative expression. But he was more than a mere creator of beautiful forms. He was a great teacher, a great lover of humanity, an untiring crusader on the side of truth and justice. He protested against anything, anywhere, that disrupted the harmony of the human family. His nationalism was not in terms of local patriotism, but borne out of a desire to set right the discordant note in the great symphony of a family of nations. Like Plato, he had brought heaven and earth nearer each other but, unlike Plato, the earth he loved was the habitation of all mankind and not of one particular race or tribe to which he happened to belong. The religion he preached was the religion of man; the renunciation he extolled was not of this world, but of those base passions of **e**gripidity and hatred which distorted man's life on this planet; the freedom for which he fought was not the freedom of one people, or race or caste to exploit another, but the freedom of the human personality from all that stifles it,

whether it be the tyranny of an external organization or the worse tyranny of man's own blind passion for power. All his life he had pleaded and striven for social justice, for the right of the poor for material well-being, of the citizen to self-government, of the ignorant to knowledge, of the child to natural development, of the woman to equal dignity with man. He was indeed a genius, and he dedicated himself to the good of all humanity. India claims him and the world owns him.

BOMBAY LOSES A PIONEER

DR. CLIFFORD Manshardt arrived in Bombay some 16 years ago as a missionary of the American Board of Foreign Missions. He assumed charge of the directorship of Nagpada Neighbourhood House in Byculla, a novel institution in India. Social Settlements, Neighbourhood Houses and Community Centers are popular in America and England. Unlike many other social service agencies, which are by and large eleemosynary in their activities, Settlements and Neighbourhood Houses are community-building agencies. They are the concrete expressions of the desire to interpret democracy in social terms and are indications of the Christian Movement toward humanitarianism. True to the genius of the Christian Denomination—the Congregational Mission to which he belonged, and in line with the traditionally liberal education he has had at his University—Chicago University—Dr. Manshardt started out in India at the Nagpada Neighbourhood House to “pioneer on social frontiers.” He came and lived in Byculla as a ‘good neighbour’ to all alike—Hindus, Mohamedans, Jews, Christians, Parsees and others. The type of work he was doing and the efficiency behind it made him a reputed social worker in Bombay. Other agencies and committees engaged in social work sought his advice and guidance. The number of Committees on which he served were many. He was appointed as the Director of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust. It was he who inspired the Trustees of the above Fund to establish the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work in Bombay of which he was the Director. Professional education for social work was not available in India before the school was started. Patience, hard work, efficiency, progressiveness, open-mindedness, non-communalism and other like qualities were the marked features of his personality.

How much the Bombay public appreciated his services, admired and loved him, can be measured by the number of addresses, presents and farewell parties he was given by various organizations. At the farewell party given by his friends and admirers, Sir Sorabji Saklatwala well expressed in his speech what the Bombay Public thought of him. We take the liberty of quoting the speech in full below:—

We have met here this evening to bid farewell to our old and valued friends, Dr. Clifford Manshardt and Mrs. Manshardt who have rendered conspicuous social service to our City.

Social service is a type of work which calls for many outstanding and unusual qualities. It demands, firstly, a sensitivity to the misery and sufferings of our less fortunate fellow-beings. Secondly, it requires a live civic consciousness which regards the relief of such distress among the primary duties of a good citizen ; and lastly, it needs a capacity to translate goodwill into positive action, so that the greatest good might be rendered to the greatest number.

It is Bombay's fortune that Dr. Manshardt possesses these qualities in a great measure. I have had the pleasure of being associated with Dr. Manshardt in some of his activities, notably in connection with the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust. As Director of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Dr. Manshardt has rendered services to Bombay, whose value and extent only those who have watched him at work can genuinely appreciate.

I have always been struck by the thoroughness of his methods. To every task, large or small he has brought not only a rare spirit of service but an infinite capacity for taking pains. Attention to details is the mark of a good administrator, and Dr. Manshardt during his sixteen years at the Nagpada Neighbourhood House has shown himself a very able organiser. I do not know if he entertains any preferences in regard to the institutions with which his social work in Bombay has brought him in contact, but I am sure the Nagpada Neighbourhood House with the Tata School of Social Work are very near his heart.

To both these institutions Dr. Manshardt has dedicated some of the best years of his life in India, and I am only stating a widely acknowledged fact when I say that their popularity today is due primarily to his enthusiasm and hard work. With the Nagpada Neighbourhood House his associations go back to 1925 ; the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work was opened in June, 1936, and Dr. Manshardt has worked there as Director since its inception. Both institutions in their varied ways, offered large scope for Dr. Manshardt's unusual talents. He gave to them of his best, and Bombay today has reason to be proud of these institutions and of the man who did so much to establish their reputation.

At the Nagpada Neighbourhood House Dr. Manshardt gave practical proof of his ability as a social worker. What started as an experiment is now an institution, generally recognised by welfare workers as a model of its kind. I like to think that in many ways it expresses what I can only call the Manshardt spirit. Walk into the Nagpada Neighbourhood House any evening, and what a bee-hive of activity the place is. Young men of the district crowd its rooms. You see some of them animatedly playing games ; others listening to a lecture in the hall below ; yet others holding a musical 'soiree' while some are to be found in the fine reading room on the premises, which I think houses one of the best sociological libraries in Bombay. Why do I say it expresses the Manshardt spirit ? Because I think, in its happiness, contentment and activity, the place faithfully reflects the spirit of useful work, humbly rendered, which is so typical of Dr. Manshardt.

Of this spirit I personally have had practical proof in Dr. Manshardt's work at the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work. Briefly, the Tata Graduate School aims at establishing Indian social work on a scientific basis. Its object is to stimulate social research and to provide both theoretical and practical training to students anxious to render service as welfare workers. If the institution today has amply justified its existence it is due primarily to the pioneer work of its Director, Dr. Manshardt. He largely inspired the undertaking, and to instil in students a living sense of service was to him a labour of love. How many anxious hours, days, weeks and months he devoted to the preliminary work which preceded the establishment of this institution only those associated with its founding know. I will say this : that nobody laboured more faithfully to bring this school to fruition than Dr. Manshardt, and having helped to establish it, nobody worked harder to make it a really worthwhile institution.

Dr. Manshardt's spirit of humanity, of service for his fellowmen could not but be infectious. To me, as to many people in Bombay who have watched his work over many years, Dr. Manshardt has taught one useful lesson. It is this : that an idealist need not necessarily be unpractical and that a practical idealist is worth his weight in gold. Dr. Manshardt has worked for over fifteen years to bring to the poor and afflicted of our city a little more happiness, a little more human kindness, warmth and good feeling.

Indeed, Dr. Manshardt has touched nothing which he has not humanised. There is certainly no aspect of social welfare which he has not at one time or another attempted to illumine and improve. Education has benefited from his knowing and kindly touch. Three years ago as Chairman of the Bombay Government Committee on Adult Education, Dr. Manshardt produced a report which bears the impress of his wise and informed sympathy, and which has largely inspired the province's adult education policy. His many books and pamphlets bear eloquent testimony to his varied interests. He has made authoritative contributions to problems so varied as juvenile delinquency, municipal administration, sociological services, the treatment of prisoners and the Hindu-Muslim problem.

No doubt Bombay loses in Dr. Manshardt a very useful citizen. We have no such thing in Bombay as the conferment of the City's Freedom, but Dr. Manshardt in fact needs from us no civic embellishment. His example of service, quietly and selflessly rendered, will remain as our inspiration. He leaves behind him something more precious than mere grandiose achievement.

On behalf of those gathered at this meeting I offer you, Dr. Manshardt, our gratitude for all you have done and our good wishes for the many, many years of useful service which we are confident still lie before you and, may I hope on behalf of all here present, that wherever the future may find you, you will sometimes remember Bombay as a city still dear and near to you.

It is only to a person of rare abilities and vision that such unstinted praise is generally given.

Among his multifarious activities he also wrote articles and pamphlets, edited and wrote books and did research work on Indian problems. Through these fifteen years at the Nagpada Neighbourhood House and in his other activities in India, Dr. Manshardt had maintained and tried to apply a faith as essential alike to all religions and to any political or social democratic order. The faith of this spirit found expression not in creed but in deed, not in ritual but in the sacraments of daily life ; not in the propaganda of any sect that must necessarily be divisive, but in the promotion of sentiments and interests held in common by all real faiths; not in exclusive communions whose fellowships are to be cherished by individual adherents, but by the all-inclusive community-consciousness to be extended to all mankind. All his efforts were to promote good-will to understand one another, to interpret misunderstood attitudes and situations, to reconcile and be reconciled to differences of taste and temperament, race and religion, heritage and aspirations, and through service and sacrifice find meaning for life.

He left India because family reasons made it necessary for him to return to America. We are glad to note that he has been appointed as Professor of Social Ethics in the Pacific School of Religion in California. He is also

offered the rare privilege of giving the 'Earl Lectures' there this autumn. In all his manifold activities, Mrs. Manshardt stood by him and gave him her best support. Her hospitality and genuine interest in people have been greatly appreciated. Their numerous friends, one and all, wish Dr. Manshardt and his family, happiness and prosperity and a long life of equally useful service wherever they may happen to be. Bombay owes a lot to him and now that he is gone, Bombay has lost a good social worker and we miss our smiling Director.

HINDU LAW REFORM

THE Hindu Law Committee, which was appointed to examine certain recent acts and bills pertaining to Hindu Women's Right to Property Law, has recently submitted their report in accordance with their terms of reference. This report has just been published. In concurrence with the bulk of answers received by the Committee in reply to their questionnaires and according to their own judgment, they had recommended *inter alia* that no satisfactory basis for legislation could be found without a comprehensive survey of the whole field of Hindu Law. It therefore has been decided that the Committee should continue to sit in order that they might undertake a complete survey commencing with the review of the Law of Succession. Thereafter the Committee intend to take up for consideration the Law of Marriage.

"The Rau Committee was appointed in January this year to examine the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act of 1937, (as amended by Act XI of 1938), with particular reference to five private Bills, and to suggest such amendments to the Act as would, first, resolve the doubts felt as to the construction of the Act; secondly, clarify the nature of the right conferred by the Act upon the widow; and thirdly, remove any injustice that may have been done by the Act to the daughter; and to examine and advise on Mr. K. Santanam's Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment) Bill and Dr. G. V. Deshmukh's Hindu Women's Rights to Separate Residence and Maintenance Bill.

"The report sets out the defects in the Acts of 1937 and 1938 which the Committee themselves detected, or which were brought to their notice. "Defects of this kind," the Committee state, "are inevitable in piecemeal legislation effecting fundamental changes in Hindu Law. The only safe course is not to make any fundamental changes by brief, isolated acts; if fundamental changes have to be made, it is wisest to survey the whole field and enact a code, if not of the whole of Hindu Law, at least of those branches of it which are necessarily affected by the contemplated legislation."

"We do not suggest," the Committee continue, "that all parts of the law should be taken in hand at once. The most urgent part, namely, the law

of succession, (including, of course, women's rights in that connection), may be taken up first; then the law of marriage and so on. After the law relating to each part has thus been reduced to statutory form, the various Acts may be consolidated into a single code. We suggest this as a reasonable compromise between piecemeal legislation and wholesale codification."

The Committee next discuss what should be done with the Acts now in force until a comprehensive law of succession can be prepared. Suggestions in the answers to the questionnaire that the Acts should be repealed are dismissed as "unthinkable," primarily on the ground that these Acts have established an important principle laid down 2,500 years ago, but also because they have conferred rights on the faith of which important transactions have already been entered into.

On the question of amending the two Acts, the Committee express their doubts as to the urgency or wisdom of amending legislation in the present circumstances, as this is not the time for controversial legislation. "If there are obscurities and anomalies in the Acts, let the courts remove them as and when occasion arises, so that the shock of each decision has time to die down before the next one comes."

After examining Bills promoted by Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta, Dr. Deshmukh and others, the Committee express the opinion that these may well await the codification suggested. Discussing what should be done with the Acts of 1937 and 1938 pending codification, the Committee express the view that, as there is no question of repeal, they must either be amended or left unamended. They hold that amendment is inadvisable at present but they have drawn up the rough draft of an amending Bill (given as an appendix to the report), in case it is considered that the Acts ought not to be left unamended for the time being.

In conclusion "the recommendation which we should like to stress most strongly," they declare, "is that relating to the preparation, in gradual stages, of a complete code of Hindu law . . . The aim should be, as far as possible, to arrive at agreed solutions and to avoid anything likely to arouse acrimonious controversy. This need not mean any real slowing down of the pace of reform, for true reform proceeds by persuasion rather than coercion. Our own experience leads us to believe that a substantial measure of agreement will be possible, provided reformer and conservative resolve to appeal to the best in each other."

There is no doubt that Hindu Law is at present in a state of confusion on account of piecemeal legislation in the past and various rulings given by the courts in India and London. Its immemorial antiquity, its sanctity, its various schools and, above all, the conflicting rulings of a multitude of

judicial tribunals, all make for uncertainty and bewilderment. Many of its doctrines were found to be obsolete and unsuited to modern concepts and conditions, with the result that it is now nearly a century since Hindu Law has been subjected to a continuous process of legislative tinkering in order to bring it into line with contemporary social opinion.

The most important point to consider is the basis of authority on which the reforms are to be effected. Are they to be justified by new interpretations of Hindu Shastras or on the basis of justice, equality and modern concepts of society? Hinduism, with all its differentiation of castes and sects, has in its tradition many points of unequal treatment of its devotees. Privileges for members of higher castes and absolute denial of even elementary rights to the low castes, double standard of marriage laws for men and women, and other discriminatory laws are too antiquated for modern days. It is not the sacred scriptures but a new social consciousness that should be the basis of codification of law. No longer could we deny human rights to any member of Indian Society on grounds of either tradition or scriptural authority. We have observed the difficulties arising out of a reliance on scriptural passages while attempting a social reform long overdue as, for instance, in the removal of untouchability. Both in the economic and social sphere the privileged classes are seldom willing to give up their privileges howsoever undeserving they may be.

We are glad to note that the All-India Women's Conference has emphasized the need for a radical change and a complete overhaul of the Hindu Law. A demand for the enactment of a universal equitable law to replace the different personal laws was made by them recently in the course of a statement. "In appraising the values of all personal laws, sex equality, consistent with social well-being, is one guiding principle," says the statement. "Women in all estates should have equal rights with men in the matter of acquisition, holding and disposal of property. We realize that the most important of all economic rights is to work and to have facilities therefor. The main idea, however, behind this demand is not so much the economic relief it will afford as the lost dignity for womanhood as well as equal status with man that will be regained by it."

While they do not want a lowering of the moral standard in regard to marriage, they point out: "One-sided obligations have reduced our high ideals of marriage to a mockery. Desertion of wives is a common occurrence. We want polygamy abolished; we want the consent of both the parties made obligatory for marriage and we advocate that the dissolution of marriage be permitted on specific grounds."

These demands by women themselves reveal the disabilities. There is

no better way of self recovery other than through some vital upheaval from within and this we notice among the women of India. Any reform that would come as gifts and grants and concessions from without will not be worth so much as that gained by concerted action and legitimate demands. We hope that the Hindu Law Reform Committee will rise to the occasion and respond to the legitimate demands of all who are suffering under the antiquated laws.

THE LIGHTHOUSE FOR THE BLIND

A NEW Institution, The Lighthouse for the Blind, has been founded in Calcutta to ameliorate the conditions of the adult blind through education and employment. Its aims parallel those of the American Foundation for the Blind, New York, and the National Institute for the Blind, London. The features, which distinguish it from the existing Schools for the Blind, are that (a) it aspires to be a clearing house throughout the country, answering and advising on questions relative to the welfare of the blind, and (b) it attempts to cater to the needs of the adult blind. The objects of the Institution, as announced are :

- (i) To educate the Adult Blind.
- (ii) To Braille-print books for the Blind.
- (iii) To educate the Blind-Deaf-Mute persons.
- (iv) To establish a Department of General Welfare, Publicity and Placement.

The attempt is highly laudable, and the Institute deserves every encouragement in the shape of moral and financial support. To realise its goals, it will need not only an enormous amount of money but also capable, qualified and experienced workers. It is gratifying to note that some financial assistance has been promised though much more would be needed to put its elaborate programme into effect. The Lighthouse has been started at the initiative of the visually handicapped scholar of the Calcutta University, Mr. Subodh Chandra Roy, who is Professor of Education of the Blind at the same University. Many philanthropists, public men and educationists of Calcutta have promised to give their generous support to the scheme. We hope that, with the Rt. Hon. Lord Sinha as its President, the Institute will in due course achieve its objectives.

INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY

THE Annual Report for the year 1940 of the Indian Red Cross Society opens with the following statement: "The close of the year 1940 marks the coming of age of the Indian Red Cross Society in its record of useful service rendered in the course of human welfare." By its Act of Constitution

one of the primary duties of the Society is the relief of sickness, suffering or distress caused by the operation of war. But the Society is interested in other activities as well. The objects to which the funds of the Indian Red Cross Society may be applied under its Act of Constitution are :—

(1) The care of the sick and wounded men of His Majesty's Forces, whether still on the active list or demobilised.

(2) The care of those suffering from tuberculosis having regard in the first place to soldiers and sailors whether they have contracted the disease on active service or not.

(3) Child welfare.

(4) Work parties to provide the necessary garments, etc., for hospitals and health institutions in need of them.

(5) Assistance required in all branches of nursing, health and welfare work, ancillary to any organizations which have or may come into being in India and which are recognised by the Society.

(6) Home Service Ambulance Work.

(7) Provision of comforts and assistance to members of His Majesty's Forces, whether on the active list or demobilised.

(8) Such other cognate objects as may, from time to time, be approved by the Society.

(9) The expenses of management of the Society and its Branches and affiliated Societies and Bodies.

(10) The representation of the Society on or at International or other Committees formed for furthering objects similar to those of the Society.

Among its activities, apart from the wartime work, there are many other useful social welfare activities carried on by the Society which, the report says, have not been curtailed.

In the field of international relief alone, a total sum of Rs. 381,000 was contributed to the Turkish Red Crescent for relief work in the devastated areas of Anatolia in Turkey after the earthquake. To meet the needs of refugees from the invaded countries of Europe a total sum of Rs. 60,000 was sent. A sum of Rs. 100,000 transferred to the Indian Red Cross from H. E. the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund for relief work among French refugees was also remitted to the India Office for the same purpose.

In India, help has been rendered in the famine-stricken district of Hassar in the Punjab. Propaganda on the prevention of blindness and education of the people through the medium of cinema films on various health subjects have been carried on. The Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau of the Society has been doing good work for the last 10 years. The three Health Schools at Delhi, Calcutta and Poona, maintained and aided by the Red Cross, are producing

trained personnel to undertake maternity and child welfare work on a wide scale.

The story of the origin and growth of the Red Cross Society is interesting. Of the wide flung humanitarian movements which have arisen during the past century the Red Cross is the most extensive in its reach and probably the most popular in its appeal. To its founders its present scope would have seemed an impossible ideal.

The battle, in which the French defeated the Austrians at Solferino on June 24, 1859, furnished the necessary conditions for the origin of the Red Cross. The suffering of the men on that day made a deep impression on Henri Dunant of Geneva who was helping to care for the wounded. Three years later he published a book *Un Souvenir de Solferino* in which he called for official recognition of the neutrality of wounded soldiers and advocated the formation of international organizations retained in times of peace for the relief of men wounded in battle. Dunant's book aroused considerable interest, and impressed particularly the *Société Genevoise d'Utilité Publique*. As a result of the efforts of the Society, a conference was held in Geneva in 1863 which was attended by representatives of 16 European States. The following year a diplomatic conference, convoked by the Swiss Federal Council, signed a convention in which the governments represented agreed to sanction the formation of relief societies, to acknowledge the neutrality of wounded men and of all persons and services engaged in their relief and to recognize the emblem of Red Cross on a white back ground, to be used by those services engaged in relief work. By the end of 1864 nearly all the great European Powers had signed the Geneva Convention. In 1930, there were 57 officially recognized societies, covering practically the entire world, with a total membership of 20 million persons. In Turkey, Egypt and part of Russia, a Red Crescent has been substituted for the Red Cross, and the emblem of the Red Lion and Sun is recognised as equivalent in Persia.

The organization of the Red Cross is extremely decentralized. The International Red Cross Committee is the official central body, but it has no governing functions. The work of the Red Cross during the World War brought it dramatically to the focus of public attention. Both during and after the War its services were much in need. In 1919 the League of Red Cross Societies was set up in Paris. The purpose of the League is to afford a central organization for the humanitarian activities, both national and international, of the Red Cross in times of peace, and one of its fundamental principles is absolute freedom from political and religious discrimination. In times of famine, epidemics, cyclones, earthquakes and floods, the Red Cross has proved such a reliable instrument for prompt and effective assistance that its service in disaster relief has developed into one of its most important functions.

In the field of public health the League of Red Cross Societies co-operate with existing institutions and serve as a centre for information and propaganda. There is also a Junior Division. The Junior Red Cross teaches school children the elements of healthful living and attempts to inculcate in them a sense of civic responsibility.

WAR AGAINST CANCER IN INDIA

Tata Memorial Hospital

IN PAREL, a semi-suburban region in the City of Bombay, stands a new ultra-modern building—the Tata Memorial Hospital which was opened recently. Dedicated to the treatment of Cancer and allied diseases, the Tata Memorial Hospital is equipped with the most modern scientific means to wage war against cancer in India where, it is estimated, every twelfth man and every eighth woman is a victim to this scourge. The hospital is a model institution of its type in the entire East and is the latest link in the munificent chain of useful and humanitarian Tata benefactions and endowments.

As to how the Hospital will fight cancer in India, Dr. V. R. Khanolkar, M. D. (London), its Director of Laboratories, writes:—

“The establishment of a hospital devoted to cancer research in Bombay on the lines of the Memorial Hospital in New York is a departure which takes into account the shortcomings of purely experimental institutions in other parts of the world.

“The Tata Memorial Hospital is particularly fortunate inasmuch as the Trustees have been far-sighted enough to organize a place where, bedside study, treatment and laboratory research would be intimately co-ordinated and the clinician will be a research worker, and a laboratory investigator will have an opportunity of extending the experience gained from the laboratory to the hospital patient.

“The institution is unique in its conception inasmuch as most of the clinicians and the whole of the laboratory staff will be devoting their whole time to the work at the institution.

“Under the able guidance of an experienced administrator, the staff will be relieved from the worries related to administration and will be saved from the rush and anxiety attendant on private practice outside the hospital. Frequent conferences will tend to formulate a unified programme of work and it is hoped that the institution will develop into a training place for medical practitioners from all over the country who will be called upon to treat malignant diseases.

“The institution has received much valuable advice from similar institutions in England and has had the good fortune to receive encouragement and

unstinted technical assistance from directors of cancer foundations in the United States of America. To mention only a few names the guidance from persons like Drs. Ewing and Rhoads at the Memorial Hospital, New York, Dr. Murphy at the Rockefeller Institute, Dr. Little at Bar Harbour is sure to encourage the workers to live up to the high standards set before them by the leaders in cancer research today.

“As has been mentioned before, cancer research is no longer a simple procedure; it needs the co-operation of skilled pathologists, chemists, physicists, as well as clinicians, who would be required to handle very expensive and elaborate equipment. It is not generally recognised that cancer research requires years of training and experience by different men in specialised fields of study.

“All this implies large endowments and considerable expense and it is hoped that, when the institution has established its value to the community, philanthropists in this country would not be lagging behind in supporting an institution conceived on such progressive lines and would vie with men whose financial assistance enables similar institutions to undertake important researches in other countries.”

The Tata Memorial Hospital is one of the latest additions to the philanthropic monuments of the House of Tata. Unlike many other philanthropic and charitable funds here and in foreign countries, Tata Trusts are unique. They were not created as social luxuries out of abundance. They are not “social-climbing” ladders for the benefit of the members of the Tata House. They are not “tainted money” offered for charitable purposes as atonement for the dubious ways in which such money is generally accumulated. On the other hand, The Tata Charities are the expressions of a basic philosophy of life and vision of the members of the House.

In one way or another, almost every rupee of the Tata fortunes has gone back to the people of India without any distinction of caste or creed. The flow of the Tata fortunes has thus been productive in the highest sense. Capital accumulated from trade has been employed in pioneering and building up industries, and the surplus has been poured back to its source—the people of India—through the Tata Charities.

It is estimated that the House of Tata controls today trusts for philanthropic purposes started by members of the House amounting to Rs. 40 000,000 (\$ 12,000,000). It has spent in charity, since the foundation of its trusts, no less than Rs. 15,000,000. These trusts own over three-fourths of the capital of Tata Sons Limited, and over three-fourths of the profits of Tata Sons Limited, consequently go to swell the Trust Funds.

Unrivalled in cosmopolitanism, unsurpassed in resources, inimitable in

varieties of interests, Tata Trusts stand unique in the philanthropic horizon in India. Among many others, the Indian Institute of Science, the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work and the Tata Memorial Hospital reveal the broad basis on which the trust funds are expended.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT NOT TO ACT NOW ON RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BOMBAY TEXTILE LABOUR ENQUIRY COMMITTEE REPORT

THE Textile Labour Inquiry Committee was appointed by the Congress Government in Bombay in October 1937 to investigate into the question of the adequacy of wages and other allied matters in connection with the textile industry in the Bombay Province.

The terms of reference of the Committee were :

(1) To examine the wages paid to workers having regard to the hours, efficiency and conditions of work in the various centres of the textile industry in the Province, to enquire, in this regard, into the adequacy or inadequacy of the wages earned in relation to a living wage standard and, if they are found in any occupation, centre or unit of industry to be inadequate, to enquire into and report upon the reasons therefor, and to make recommendations regarding (a) the establishment of a minimum wage, (b) measures which the employers, the employees and the Government should take to improve the wage level, (c) the remuneration of workers engaged on night-shift, and the regulation of night-shift work, (d) standardisation of wages and musters, and (e) the methods of automatic adjustment of wages in future.

(2) To report whether in view of the present condition of the industry an immediate increase in wages can be given in any occupation, centre or unit of the industry, pending the conclusion of the Committee's work and the preparation of its Report and to make recommendations in this behalf.

(3) To report on any matters germane to the above.

The Committee submitted an interim report in February 1938 recommending an increase in wages. This recommendation was accepted by Government (Congress) and was carried out by Millowners. Roughly these entailed an addition to the wages bill of 9 per cent. for Ahmedabad, 11·9 per cent. for Bombay and 14·3 per cent. for Sholapur.

The Committee submitted its final unanimous report in July 1940. By then the Congress Government had resigned and the Governor was carrying on with the assistance of an advisory council. The report was released for publication in June 1941, *i.e.* ten months after it was submitted. The following is a brief summary of the main conclusions and recommendations of the Committee :

“Living Wage Standard.—For a typical family of a husband, wife and two children, the range of total expenditure for maintaining a living wage

standard we calculate at between Rs. 50 and Rs. 55 for Bombay and at Rs. 45 and Rs. 50 for Ahmedabad. For Sholapur the range would be about Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 less than for Ahmedabad, and the range for the other centres could be approximately determined by making similar appropriate allowances.

“Barring the higher grades of occupation such as those of sizers and warpers, and a section of the best paid weavers in the bigger centres of the industry, earnings in all other occupations fail to come up to the living wage standard. For the large bulk of the workers, indeed, earnings fall far short of the standard.

“*Minimum Wage.*—We recommend that a Trade Board should be set up for the cotton textile industry of this Province and that its powers and constitution should be similar to those of the Trade Boards established under the British Trade Boards Acts of 1909 and 1918. It should be composed of an equal number of representatives of employers and workers and should also contain some independent persons. The main duty of the Trade Board shall be to fix minimum time and/or piece rates for as large a body of workers included in the industry as possible.

“*Standardisation of Wages.*—In response to a request from the Mill-owners’ Association, Bombay, and after consulting Government in the matter, we have drawn up a scheme of standardization of wages for mills in Bombay. We recommend that Government should appoint, as early as possible, after the scheme of standardisation of wages is brought into operation, a Standardisation Committee for Bombay for the purpose of attending to the working out of details of the scheme, watching its operation and making suitable adjustments in it.

“*Automatic Adjustment of Wages.*—We do not recommend that any attempt be made to set up arrangements for the automatic adjustment of wages in the cotton textile industry.

“*Working of Shifts.*—We recommend that textile mills cease work for a period of at least six consecutive hours between the hours of 12 midnight and 7 a.m. except when a three-shift system is permitted and that a two-shift system should be allowed only on the basis of two shifts of 8½ hours each, exclusive of half an hour’s interval for rest for each shift. This recommendation will not only adequately meet the objection to night-shift without involving its entire abolition, but will also secure to the employers all the advantages of two-shift work.

“We recommend that whenever night-shift in a factory is stopped, workers should be retained in employment according to the length of their service. This safeguard will meet the main objection of the workers to a change-over, and we, therefore, recommend that a monthly change should be made

compulsory by law. We recommend that once any type of night work is started, it should be continued for a minimum period of three months. We do not favour the working of three shifts, as it involves work after midnight.

“We suggest that the All-India Industrial Council, the early establishment of which is urged by us, should examine the question of regulating night-shift for the whole country.

“*Rationalization.*—We recommend the setting up of a Rationalization Committee to be appointed by Government consisting of three representatives of employers and three representatives of workers, with two expert assessor members, presided over by an independent Chairman not connected with the textile industry. The function of the Committee should be to examine schemes of rationalization submitted to it by employers and also to hear complaints and disputes arising out of such schemes already introduced. The Committee should enquire whether working conditions of the nature we have set forth have been established to its satisfaction.

“The essence of the success of any efficiency scheme is that it should be launched with the co-operation of those who have to work it.

“We recommend that the workers to be retrenched should be those with the shortest length of service and that an employer dismissing workers on account of the introduction of efficiency measures should pay out-of-work gratuity to the retrenched worker with service of one year or more at the rate of one week's pay for every six months' service exceeding a period of one year subject to a maximum of six weeks' pay. Workers with twelve months' service should receive two weeks' pay.

“*Financial and Industrial Reorganisation.*—We recommend that an All-India Industrial Council should be established in the immediate future to deal with the problems relating to the cotton textile industry in the various Provinces and Indian States. While we do not favour the imposition of any restriction on the payment of dividends, we recommend that, when questions of the capacity of the industry to pay are under examination, a standard should be kept in view for a fair return to the shareholder and that this return cannot be placed at a figure which is much in excess of the average return on long-term gilt-edged securities in the period under examination.

“*Social Legislation.*—We recommend that a compulsory and contributory sickness insurance scheme in which the employers, the workers and the State will all contribute, should be started in Bombay and Ahmedabad in the first instance and extended subsequently to the other cotton textile centres in the Province. We recommend that the Government of Bombay should devise a scheme of unemployment insurance to be brought into operation, in the first instance, in Bombay and Ahmedabad.

“Labour Management and Organization.—We recommend that employment exchanges should be organized by Government in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur.

Government should consider the advisability and feasibility of the early establishment of Labour Courts to secure speedy and definite disposal of complaints from workers as well as employers.

We recommend that the contract system of engaging labour should be abolished as soon as possible.

The safeguarding of the workers' right to organize, without intimidation and discrimination, in order to protect and improve their standards of life is the essence of trade unionism, and employers who wish to see the growth of a sound trade union movement in this Province should refrain from doing anything that would deter workers from exercising their right of organization.”

The reforms proposed by the committee are far-reaching, as they stand, in view of the present condition of labour in India. But they were long overdue. Compared with other countries, we lag far behind in labour legislation. Yet the Bombay Government has decided to lay aside the report. The Government recognise the report as “a monumental work of 500 pages. It covers the whole organization of the textile industry and some of its recommendations affect labour in other industries, and its recommendations and discussions cover matters of vital interest to industry and labour not only in this Province but in the whole of India.” But they have arguments for consigning the report to cold storage.

“Certain of the Committee's findings, such as those on the living wage standard and unemployment insurance, must, under the present economic conditions in the country,” Government tells us, “be considered as of purely theoretical value and academic interest.” Are they of academic interest to the poor labourer who is getting a sub-subsistence level of wages and the unemployed who has no resources to fall back upon?

The Government go on to add: “Some of the committee's recommendations, e. g., those on sickness insurance, holidays with pay, etc., are of an All-India rather than of a provincial character. The recommendations relating to such subjects as the establishment of Committees for Rationalisation and Standardisation of Wages, the formation of Trade Boards and Labour Courts and the establishment of Employment Exchanges will have to be subjected to close and careful consideration before any action can be taken on them. Some of the Committee's recommendations are not of great importance at the moment although they may become so at the conclusion of the war. As a whole the proposals aim at providing standards for workers at a considerable cost both

to the Government and to the textile industry. Before they can be adopted in whole or in part, it is necessary to achieve some agreement with other industrial Provinces and States, since the adoption of higher standards in one Province only is likely to be a handicap to industry and employment in that Province."

The Committee apparently does not agree with the above views; for anticipating the Government's objections, it remarks: "It has also been maintained that the evaluation of a living wage standard by the Committee would penalise, in a special manner, the textile industry of this Province, and, further, that such evaluation must necessarily be preceded by an All-India inquiry covering all industries. We do not accept these contentions. We do not consider that our work is materially hampered by the absence of data on an All-India scale." We must accept the desirability of having uniformity of labour legislation; but we do not think it is indispensable to start with. Moreover, Bombay can take the lead because it has the largest number of textile mills. Bombay Province has no less than 219 textile mills, more than 66 per cent. of the total number of spindles and 74 per cent. of total number of power-driven looms in India are in operation in the Bombay Province. Progressive social legislations are always, by dint of their own merit, potent enough to spread to other provinces. Not to act, on the *alibi* that unless agreement is reached with other centres, is sheer folly and must be reactionary in spirit.

The present economic condition in the country makes the findings on living wage standard and unemployment insurance as only of academic interest in the eyes of the Government! Are the low-paid wage-earners to wait till the economic condition improves to the satisfaction of the Government? In fact, no time could be more suitable than the present when the textile industry is passing through an exceptionally prosperous period, and is, therefore, capable of meeting the cost of the reforms. Are the employers so short-sighted in their policy as not to see the dangers inherent in the refusal to grant labour their rightful share?

Spokesmen of the workers have expressed their keen disappointment at the attitude taken by the Government towards the Committee's report. How unwise and dangerous that attitude is, is emphasized by Mr. N. M. Joshi who said that "the need for co-ordinated action is obvious but we must realize that reforms like legislation for a living wage etc., have become overdue and if there is further delay because of the necessity for common action, the workers will begin to lose faith in the efficiency of constitutional and evolutionary methods of securing reforms." Let us hope that something will be done before that happens.

AN AMERICAN CHILDREN'S COURT JUDGE'S INDICTMENT

JUDGE Justin Wise Polier, the thirtyeight-year-old daughter of Rabbi Stephen Wise, has been serving as a judge in the Children's Court in New York. Through these years she has sat in the court watching the pitiful procession of broken, bewildered kids, many of whom have committed no offence greater than to have been cruelly let down by their parents: A fourteen-year-old Negro girl, child of a drunken father and a wanton mother, who has become pregnant by her own brother and can scarcely grasp what has happened to her . . . three young shop-lifters whose mothers never wanted them and ask only that the Court send them away to an institution . . . a little boy who had gone truant only because he overheard his mother say that she was going to die soon and wanted him to be near her . . .

For six years, Judge Polier was using her limited juridical powers trying to salvage some of these young lives. New York City has some 1,000,000 school children. According to Judge Polier, at the present rate 10 per cent. of them will eventually pass through mental hospitals or prisons. Child welfare has certainly made vast strides since the days of the almshouse with its indifference, cruelty and regimentation. But why has it failed to reduce the number of problem children in New York? Judge Polier's analysis and indictment are as follows:

"Almost every child brought before the Children's Court reveals the failure of parents, schools, churches and the State to provide security and opportunities that enable a child to start life well.

"Children once admitted to institutions are frequently forgotten. Even close parental ties become loosened through prolonged separation. The referring agency too often assumes that, having placed the child, its job is done. The institutions themselves rarely have enough staff or funds to correct the situation which made placement necessary. And so the child who fits in well with institutional life, who causes little trouble, remains year after year through childhood and even into adulthood.

"Children are brought into court charged with 'delinquency,' when their real trouble is physical ailments which prevent school-work or class adjustment. Physical examinations on entrance are often superficial and are not followed by timely re-examination and proper treatment.

"Special schools for truants are based on the theory of segregation and may do grave injury by labeling kids and separating them further from the normal group.

"Even worse than inaction by private and public agencies is action in spurts, assistance and withdrawal of assistance, intervention, then a return to a passive approach—particularly when there is no meaningful plan or purpose.

"Worse problem is Negro children. From 1927 to 1939 the number of of Negro kids brought into Children's Court has increased 147 per cent., while white kids have decreased 31 per cent. Negroes everywhere contribute the largest crime and disease statistics. Not because Negroes are inherently inferior, but because, among many factors, (1) the community has failed to provide Negro social agencies comparable to those for whites; (2) with few exceptions, institutions and foster-home agencies have persistently segregated Negro kids or refused to accept them at all; (3) simply because there is no other place for them; many "delinquent" Negro children are tossed into the State Institution at Wiltwyck, when actually their problems call for entirely different treatment."

Of the correctives which Judge Polier suggests, the most important is a move away from institutionalism towards foster-homes. She points out that "contrary to general theories, staunchly maintained though unsupported by proof, children guilty of every type of offence were found amenable to rehabilitation in foster-homes."

If such are the indictments against the system in New York where the treatment of juvenile delinquents is supposed to be comparatively much advanced than here, one may well ask: If it is as bad as that there, what are the conditions here? Not all the Provinces have Children's Acts nor Children's Courts. Foster-homes are not even talked about. Can we not benefit ourselves by the mistakes of others while attempting to tackle our own social problems?

BOOK REVIEWS

The History of Torture Throughout the Ages. By GEORGE RYLER SCOTT.
London : T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., 1940. Pages. xvi + 328. 15s.

"The liking for and the ability to inflict torture is, as I have attempted to show in this work, restricted neither to race nor class : it is universal and timeless." This in short is the theme of the book. It is an illustrated, fully documented book in four parts. The first part deals with the psychological aspects of torture. Like William Stekel¹, the author analyses the psychological drives and concludes that sadistic and masochistic tendencies are mainly responsible for making people indulge in such gruesome activities. Very often torture is used as a means of exacting vengeance as an expression of power or of hate. Submission to torture, as in the case of martyrdom, is based on the pleasure principle in masochism. While dealing with the causes of wholesale torture, the author says, "in an ideological sense there is little distinction between religion and patriotism. The patriot, in any extreme sense, and in time of war or conditions which threaten war, is in much the same position as the religious fanatic. His obsessional interest in the cause of his own country or race engenders blind hatred for a rival or an enemy country or race. It is at such times that the danger of torture or persecution is particularly likely. It is in such circumstances that the most Christian-like individuals will be transformed into fiends clamouring for the blood of their opponents" (p. 26). The dangers of narrow loyalties are certainly too great to be ignored.

The second and third parts of the book deal with the history of torture and the technique of torture. Stunning blood-curdling stories, they are. To call them inhuman, barbarious or beastly is too euphemistic. The author cites examples from all periods and climes.

In the last part, which deals with the case against torture, the author pleads for reformatory rather than deterrent punishment. The limitations of fear as deterrent are many ; there is no criminal class as such ; there are relatively few *professional* murderers ; and such other statements characterize this last section. He says, "There is no criminal class *per se*. Every member of society is a potential criminal the respectable citizen of today may be the criminal of tomorrow ; and, not inconceivably, the criminal of today, if

¹ William Stekel : *Sadism and Masochism*, 2 Vols.

William Stekel : *Peculiarities of Behaviour*, 2 Vols.

given the opportunity, might become the respectable man of tomorrow." (pp. 290-91). The author argues that the incidence of criminality is more due to accident than to anything else and says that "in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases the murderer, before the crime occurs, has not any intention of committing murder." It would appear that the heinousness of the crime is related more to the heat of passion at the moment the crime is committed rather than the depravity of man. In such circumstances, the *fear of punishment* cannot enter into the matter. And yet, capital punishment is still upheld by the State as a deterrent. The end result, according to the author, of all forms of severe punishment is that it has a brutalizing effect upon all concerned. The paradox is that the more brutal the crime, the more brutal the punishment meted out by the State.

The last two chapters are devoted for the treatment of the psychopathological element in torture and means for the abolition of torture. No form of punishment can prove of any avail in the treatment of sadism and masochism. "Any method of dealing with these anomalies must concern itself with prophylactic or preventive treatment. That is to say the perversion must be prevented from showing itself, or it must be aborted long before it reaches any form of active expression" (p. 304). After dealing with the varied and difficult obstacles in the way of abolition of torture, the author says that it is not a fantastic theory nor an impossible dream. The real solution "lies mainly in the cultivation of humanitarianism, not humanitarianism in any parochial sense or circumscribed *bravura*, but universally." Education of society along humanitarian lines is bound up with a wholesale reform in the methods of treating crime. The methods followed now are still motivated by the old feeling of vengeance and are concerned far too little with the reformation of the criminal. "The punishment decreed and the treatment given are based upon the crime and not upon the individual. Until this method is to some extent reversed, any reformative action will be prevented or aborted" (p. 314). As the publishers write on the cover page, "This book is something more than a mere historical exegesis; something more than a literary chamber of horrors. In its pages, the author analyses the causes of torture; he deals with the sadism and masochism which are, unhappily growing features of modern civilization; he shows clearly how an incipient psychopathological state may at any moment burst forth into an epidemic of horrifying cruelty and barbarity. The book constitutes a terrible indictment. It presents a grim, staggering record of man's monstrous cruelty and inhumanity. It gives instances of torture existing today, under various euphemised names, and in all civilized countries." Its terror lies in its truth.

P. M. TITUS

Children in the Family. By F. POWDERMAKER, M.D., and L. I. GRIMES. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1940. Pp. 403. \$ 2.00.

The volume under review is the joint-product of a psychiatrist of wide experience and a mother of several children. It has developed out of their observation in a nursery school-room, where children's difficulties of adjustment can often be traced back to the attitudes and actions of well-meaning but unwitting parents. Finding themselves in agreement of the basic principles, the authors have attempted to provide for every parent a non-technical manual of information on the emotional, social and intellectual growth in children from birth through adolescence to enable the parent to apply this modern knowledge to everyday situations and to the prevention of the little one's behaviour problems.

The book is divided into four parts: the first half of the volume deals largely with the first four years of the child's life. Here one finds innumerable suggestions and valuable advice on such common problems as feeding habits, sleeping routine, bathroom problems, sex problems, companionship and attention, ways of preventing spoiling, fears of childhood and how to deal with them, sources of parental worries and their solutions. There is no great mystery in child training. In its basic principles it is simple, even though life, and therefore the application of these principles, is manifold and complicated. To bring up a child fairly happily and without undue tension is not an impossible task; it can be accomplished with pleasure and satisfaction if we only give a little time to the study of child nature.

The authors view life from the moment of birth as a steady process of education, during which every experience teaches the child something and leaves an impression which either helps or hinders him. These impressions, good or bad, are not necessarily indelible or unchangeable. Children as well as many adults are susceptible to change if understandingly approached. Like the first half of the book, the second half is devoted to the purpose of giving parents a view of the possible development of their child's potentialities, to indicate what they may expect him to go through in the various years and stages of his life. This portion covers the early school years, puberty and adolescence, the growth of self-confidence, the problems of dull children and precocious children, fear of failure, control of the sex drive, the change from dependence upon parents to friendship among equals and so forth. In all these matters, as the authors point out, advice or any pattern of treatment should not be followed blindly but their suggestions should be considered only when they apply to a particular child and his own individual problems.

There is much in the pattern of child development that is still quite unknown to science. Particularly in social, intellectual and emotional growth

we know less in comparison with our more exact knowledge of physical growth. Nevertheless, we have far more information on these subjects than was available a generation ago. The authors have drawn on the body of established facts in modern psychology and have translated them into application to the every-day behaviour problems of children. Therefore, *Children in the Family* is a book which will help parents in meeting these problems successfully and guide them in their efforts to foster the fullest development of their child's endowments and capacities.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

The Sociology of Childhood. By FRANCIS J. BROWN. New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. 498. Rs. 13/8.

Here is an excellent textbook for courses in educational sociology pulsing with an all-pervading prophetic vision of the child of tomorrow, and yet, by no means lacking in substantial data gathered through painstaking research.

The book deals primarily with the sociology of the normal child and attempts to analyse the various social processes in the typical social interaction of the life of the child in such specific situations as the family, the school, the community, the play group, non-commercial and commercial reaction, the Church and the State. An understanding of these social processes and their subtle influence on child life, the author feels, will go a long way toward bringing about a wholesome social adjustment of the child to the complexities of modern life and environment. "A careful analysis of these processes during the early years," says the author, "is basic to our understanding of much of the behaviour of adolescent and adult life. If we can unravel the threads of social organization in childhood, we shall formulate, at least in broad outline, a basis for social control." Such a hope may seem far from realization in this sordidly commercial and highly industrialized age of ours, but one has only to look into the activities of the Community Councils in more than a hundred American cities and villages to realize that it can be done and that such a hope is not altogether futile.

To every chapter is appended a number of stimulating questions for discussion and a list of well prepared desirable and supplementary reading. Over and above this handsome amount of bibliographical material, the appendix at the end of the book gives lists of selected magazines for parents and for children, and of representative organizations conducting research in child development as well as representative organizations serving children and young people.

Particularly interesting is Chapter XVI on "Spending and Saving Leisure." It gives quite valuable and illuminating statistics on leisure time

activities, recreational preferences, desires and activities of children, and shows us only too plainly that today the home, the church and the school are no longer the only influencing factors on the behaviour of children, but that many other social and recreational agencies go to mould the attitudes, ideals and character of our young people. The radio, the movie, the camp, the theatre, the dance hall and the periodical literature, each comes in for a sound investigation and reveals the modern social trend in the development of the child.

The role of the State with regard to such weighty problems as child labour, child welfare, recreation, education and health through state legislation and the formation of youth organizations are also discussed in the light of substantial statistical data up to date, and the social process in their bearing upon these momentous problems are soundly analysed.

Thus far we have a good many publications on the psychological, physical and educational development of the child, but far too few on the sociological factors in child growth. The present volume breaks new grounds in that it studies the social processes, social agencies and social controls that play or should play an important role in the wholesome adjustment of the child to his none too benign and complex modern environment.

This book is a distinct contribution to the field of educational sociology and should prove indispensable not only to sociologists but to teachers, parents, guidance and social workers and governmental authorities as well. It is altogether a stimulating document not only in the freshness of its approach but also in its vast extremely interesting and authentic statistical data.

K. H. CAMA

Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence. BY CAROLINE B. ZACHRY. New York : D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1940. Pages 563. 15s.

This book is the outcome of the Study of Adolescents conducted by the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum of the Progressive Education Association from 1934 to 1939, and as such, offers a thoroughly reliable and authentic source of information regarding the process of growth from childhood to adulthood in contemporary American culture groups. Backed by the best efforts of a Study staff consisting of educators, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers and physicians it attacks the problem of adolescence from every possible angle and presents a broader, more comprehensive and fuller study than those made by various psychologists in the same field up to date.

Accordingly, the volume does not deal merely with the change in body, the development in sex differentiation and the consequent emotional storm and stress as might be expected from the title of the book, but also with such

important and far reaching factors as influence the ethical development, standards of conduct, attitudes and ideals, changing relationships with adults, peers, citizenship, marriage, and changing attitudes to basic social institutions.

As the Study was motivated in the light of experience in secondary education, in teacher training, and in guidance, and as it was carried out with the co-operation of a large number of teachers and guidance workers through study conferences, summer workshops and seminars held by the various Commissions of the Progressive Education Association, it has succeeded in fulfilling the double purpose of making the Study staff understand the practical requirements of the educational institution on the one hand, and of giving the faculty members of the various co-operating institutions a better appreciation of the demands of adolescent development upon secondary education on the other.

However, in spite of the highly trained and experienced Study staff and the scientific technique of observation and methods employed by them, their findings seem rather obvious and commonplace. "From this close observation of developing boys and girls," says the author, "emerged the recognition on the part of the study staff that the process of growth from childhood to adulthood in contemporary American culture requires of young persons certain major adjustments in emotion and conduct which are basic to later adult adaptations. These tasks confront adolescents generally, although no two individuals experience them in quite the same way. It was held to be a chief function of the school to help adolescents in these basic adjustments in order that in adulthood they might function in personally satisfying and socially constructive ways; it was felt that secondary education had not taken these developmental processes sufficiently into account." This is only to be expected, and is, more or less, a foregone conclusion.

. The main contribution of the Study, however, seems to lie in the sound analysis of life-adjustment tasks confronting adolescents, and in the enlightening discussion of their efforts to work these out. The book deals not merely with the narrowly psychological aspects of the problem of adolescence but with the potential educational and sociological significance in fostering the development of boys and girls, and hence takes in a much wider scope. Those high school and college teachers, guidance and social workers and other specialists who are ever reaching out towards the broader horizons will find in this book an invaluable guide. Most of the chapters are enriched with life histories, excerpts or episodes, and the interpretation and suggestions arising out of them yield a good deal of thought provoking material. This volume should be of interest not only to psychologists and secondary school teachers but to sociologists, social workers and guidance workers as well.

Introduction to Community Recreation. By GEORGE D. BUTLER. Prepared for the National Recreation Association of America. New York and London : McGraw Hill Book Company, 1940. Pages 546. Rs. 21/-.

This is a unique and comprehensive book written by an expert who has both theoretical and practical knowledge of the subjects he has dealt with so exhaustively. That the book is written for an Association of international fame adds to the utility of the book to guide Recreational Movements not only in America, but throughout the world. Many books have been written on various phases of this movement, but the book under review is strikingly comprehensive in its treatment of the subject in all its essentials. As stated in its Preface, this is a comprehensive volume "interpreting community recreation, its significance, functions, objections, programme content, methods of operation, and relationships." The book is written in seven distinct parts, each part dealing with a vital phase of the Recreational Movement. Parts IV and VI should prove of interest to Indian leaders, as they contain very useful practical hints on activities and programmes. Part VII deals with the important role of Municipalities in the Recreation Movement.

Theoretical discussion deals with all the known theories of recreation and play and gives a comparative statement of the theories of "surplus energy," the catharsis theory explaining play as the release of suppressed emotions, and the self-expression theory which the author seems to favour. The Recreation Movement in America is admirably described in the words of its founder—Joseph Lee. According to him the Movement is "to liberate the power of expression of people and communities—to help the men and women and children to find their voice—to set forth in drama, art, and music and in the hundred other forms of play what it is they have all along been trying to say which could not get itself expressed within the confines of their daily work." Said in many words, the ideas express G. B. Shaw's oft repeated plea for "the release of human impulses" which alone can enrich civilization.

Recreation, the fifth fundamental function of the human being, is described in the book as a vital factor of human welfare. Over and above directly contributing to human happiness, recreation is described as related to the huge size of modern cities, the changing home conditions, the spread of modern living, the increase of leisure, unemployment, nature of specialization in modern industries, physical and mental health, character development, crime prevention, and community unity and cooperation. The agencies for human recreation include the home, the state, the municipality, the school, youth organisations, neighbourhood settlements, work organisations, and private agencies like industries, churches, sports organisations, clubs, and commercial agencies.

In 1937, 47 American States had 1,700,000 acres reserved for recreation purposes. The National Park Service Agency has recommended a total park area of 10 million acres for America. In spite of the State's concern for recreation, it is the Municipalities which provide the best recreation near the homes of the people. Many cities have created Recreational Departments as a measure of public welfare. Schools mainly provide children's playgrounds, athletic fields, and indoor recreation centres. "The play-interest" motive is being introduced widely into the school curriculum. Schools are increasingly providing recesses and after-school programmes.

India has yet hardly realised the value of Neighbourhood Settlements for discovering and developing resources which may lead "toward higher standards of living, broader cultural interests, social justice, and education for a better day." The Settlement should prove a unique weapon for achieving permanent and real inter-communal harmony in India. Youth organisations in India, perhaps due to national circumstances, are too political to realise the creative functions of such organisations described in this book. The Hi-Y organisation provide recreational activities and camping to high school boys and young industrial workers. Employers provide most extensive programmes for their employees, over and above the facilities provided by the State and the Municipalities.

The history of Municipal Recreation in the U.S.A. dates back to 1840 when outdoor gymnasias were attached to schools. The year 1903 is another landmark when Chicago voted five million dollars for small parks. The first Play Congress of the world met in 1907, and in 1924 the President of the U.S.A. summoned the Conference on Outdoor Recreation. The first International Recreation Congress met in Los Angeles in 1932. The Playground Movement of America started in Boston in 1885.

Play leadership rightly finds an important place in the scheme of the whole book. The advantages of play with right leadership are clearly set forth against the disadvantages of spontaneous play. The problem of leisure for children is "so to organise a kind of play life for children that out of it the skills will be developed, the capacity of co-operation developed which will make them function more intelligently and more effectively as individuals and as members of social groups as they move into maturity." Such a play leadership is not suggested for children alone but for adults also, as leadership is necessary to provide recreation opportunities. Types, qualifications and methods of leadership described in the book are not particularly different from the contents of other similar books, but the details will prove very useful for practical organisation of recreational work.

Play leadership is usually voluntary, and yet emphasis has been laid on

training for it and a useful curriculum is given in the book. The undergraduate four years' course will be found rather exacting for Indian conditions, but a proper training alone can provide efficient and successful organisation. The vital requirements and problems of a Recreation Movement are exhaustively dealt with including the problem of space, equipment and finance and practical hints are given on methods of planning and developing programmes. More than half the book is devoted to the actual organisation and programmes of an exhaustive list of indoor and outdoor physical, artistic and cultural activities.

A book of this type should prove valuable to pioneers in India who desire to create a Recreation Movement, both in the village and in the city. It is true that a poor country cannot afford very ambitious schemes and programmes, and yet this ought to show the way to the recent growing Municipal and State enterprises to organise recreation for the poor. Indian schools, too, will find a wealth of useful information in order to help them to provide the right type of "Education for Leisure" which ought to find a place in any useful curriculum. The book will prove invaluable even to public and private recreation organisations, like gymkhanas, clubs and gymnasia, as the wealth of details contained in the book makes it a kind of encyclopædia on Physical Education and Recreation.

B. H. MEHTA

The Year Book of Education. By Dr. F. H. SPENCER, General Editor. Published in Association with the University of London Institute of Education by Evans Brothers Ltd., London, 1940. Pages 632. Rs. 26/4.

The Year Book of Education appeared first in 1932. The first three volumes contained a survey of Education in England, the British Empire and some foreign countries. Since 1935, the Year Book has been devoted to results of educational research. In the midst of a devastating war, it is not surprising that the present volume opens with a chapter on Evacuation, with its unfortunate consequences on the education of evacuated children. Out of a total of 1,250,000 evacuated children, 400,000 are unable to receive school education. In many areas children receive half-time or less than half-time education. The London County Council has arranged for half-time education of 140,000 children.

Part Four of the Book refers to India and is prepared under the direction of Sir George Anderson, formerly Commissioner of Education with the Government of India. Two chapters on "Education in a Changing World," and "Anglo-Indian Schools" are written by Sir George himself. An interesting Chapter on "Primary Education and the Village" is written by Mr. Mahadev Desai. The Headmaster of the Doon School writes on "Indian Public Schools".

The title of Sir George's chapter on Education in a Changing World may have been suggested to him by Beatrice King's "Changing Man" which gives a detailed description and evaluation of education in Soviet Russia. Reviewing the past, he describes India's educational difficulties as "colossal." According to him widespread poverty, disease, wide distances, climate, and social customs are the major obstacles in the spread of education in the country.

Indian critics are not likely to be enthusiastic about the "substantial achievements" which are felt by the author in spite of these grave difficulties. He is mildly frank in his statements, and guardedly and indirectly admits the failure of this elaborate educational system. He says, "in the first place, it has fulfilled at any rate the object which it set out to achieve—the efficient manning of the administration, though, by so doing, and by setting before itself so limited and so material an objective, Indian education has undoubtedly suffered by the blunting of its ideas". The words very honestly and briefly sum up the educational achievements in India after Macaulay; though even with regard to the education which has "conferred on the administration a stability and an efficiency in which many other parts of the Empire are sadly lacking," one is tempted to refer to the extensive non-Indian I.C.S. element which is yet found necessary to dominate the same administration.

Some of the defects, now admitted by Sir George, have been mentioned in India for decades. According to him "Indian education is far too sedentary and far too literary. It consists too much of immobile study and too little of practical reality A similar literary emphasis is also prominent in the secondary schools where the prolongation of a lifeless form of literary study is followed by distressing results." The present education, he rightly observes, causes a disparity between town and country and depletes the countryside. But to solve this problem, the author suggests a "widespread movement from within" backed by a well devised system of rural education; it is not mentioned that such a movement from within must have the financial backing of the State.

Sir George is candid about the wide disparity between Eastern and Western learning. He confesses that the persistence of English as the medium of instruction has also done much to stultify the spirit of teaching and to confuse the minds of the listeners. Pleading for a right place for Indian languages, he complains that "the languages of the East, classical and vernacular, are taught by teachers with status and emoluments inferior to those of other subjects." An important contribution of the author is his frank opposition to "exclusive and segregate schools" which British educationists perhaps encouraged in the past. He specially holds that "the vogue of segregate schools has a particularly unfortunate influence on the well-being of Muslims."

Putting the pertinent question "why is the result of education so disappointing?" he replies that "the main reason is because education and those who take part in it have been stifled and rendered impotent by a soul-destroying system. It is the framework that is at fault." Striking at the root, he finally criticises the domination of schools by the University, "the baneful practice of examinations," and the exaggerations of these examinations "by their being used, or rather abused, by governments in recruiting to the subordinate and clerical services." Dealing with the finance problem, it is pointed out that much of good money is wasted, and "educational reform should not be carried out piece-meal, but the entire educational structure must be replanned on better lines."

His comments on the Wardha Scheme and the Fraser Report dealing with Christian Mission's educational endeavours in India are brief and frank. But Mr. Mahadev Desai has very ably tried to make out a case for the Wardha Scheme. In the opening paragraph Mr. Gandhi's attitude to the present system of education, and his early experiments in the Tolstoy Farm are mentioned followed by a description of the "appalling waste" that has followed this system as demonstrated in the Hartog Committee Report. Mr. Desai very briefly outlines the scheme and complains of hasty criticisms, especially regarding its self-supporting character, by "orthodox circles." He outlines the support directly and indirectly received by the Scheme from various sources. In order to give a proper understanding of the scheme, the detailed syllabus, as prepared by the Zakir Hussain Committee, is included in the article.

Amongst the other contents of the book are interesting articles on Nursery and Infant Schools, Primary Education, Secondary Education, Technical Education, Rural Education and results of some important researches carried out in England. Chapters on Education in the Dominions mainly refer to the political aspects of education and basic educational ideals.

B. H. MEHTA

Maternity and Child Welfare in Mysore. Indian Red Cross Society, Mysore State Branch, Bangalore. Pages 99.

Persons interested in Maternity and Child Welfare work in its various aspects will find this little book helpful for the organisation and routine work of Welfare Centres. The ten contributors have presented their subjects lucidly so as to be of real benefit even to a lay reader. The book describes the useful work done by the Mysore State in the important field of Maternity and Child Welfare. The suggestion for the adoption of standardised forms is a welcome one which will help all concerned to work with a definite purpose in

view and will give comprehensive results helpful to the country as a whole. It is gladdening to note that efforts are made to link Child Welfare Clinics with Nursery Schools so that each child is better understood as an individual personality. The chapters on milk, diet and feeding deal simply and yet effectively with the live question of nutrition. Those on antenatal care of the mother, prevention of eye diseases in new born babies, and prophylaxis against body parasites are of vital importance for the maintenance and advancement of public health. This little book also tells of the valuable work that the Maternity and Child Welfare Centres can do in close co-operation with organisers of Health and Baby Weeks and Baby Shows. All of them aim to educate the mother in her nation-building work of rearing healthy and happy citizens of tomorrow.

T. MEHTA

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ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM OF NUTRITION IN INDIA

W. R. AYKROYD

Though India has a very poorly nourished population, it is only recently that the subject of nutrition has come to receive some attention. A considerable proportion of our population reveals malnutritional conditions due largely to qualitative defects in the ordinary diet of the people. In this article, Dr. Aykroyd analyses the economic aspects of the problem of nutrition, maintaining that if the resources of science are brought to bear upon the problem, progress can be made, however formidable the obstacles of poverty and ignorance.

Dr. Aykroyd is the Director of Nutrition Research Laboratories of the Indian Research Fund Association in Coonoor, South India.

WITHIN the last 30 years science has reached definite conclusions as to what constitutes a *good* diet for human beings. The principles of correct feeding are fairly well understood and "optimum" dietary standards based on these principles have been drawn up by League of Nations Commissions and other authoritative organisations. Now generally speaking a "good" diet—i.e. a diet which approaches or attains the physiological optimum—costs more than a diet which fails at various points to satisfy human nutritional requirements, and consequently there is a close correlation between the economic status of a family or population group and the physiological value of its diet. In a sense this is a platitude, perhaps better expressed in a simple phrase such as "the poor can't afford to buy enough of the right sort of food to eat". But a more detailed analysis of the relation between income and diet than such a phrase provides helps in the understanding of the problem of nutrition in India.

Dietary Standards.—The League of Nations "optimum" type of diet is rich in first class proteins and in all the essential vitamins and mineral salts. In terms of actual foods, this means a high intake of milk and milk products, meat, fish, vegetables and fruit, and a relatively low intake of cereals. The staple grain foods of mankind—rice, wheat, maize, etc.,—are relatively deficient in certain essential food constituents required by human beings and must be adequately supplemented by other foods—in general more expensive foods—

which are richer in these necessary constituents. A diet composed exclusively, or almost exclusively, of cereals will not support proper growth in young animals.

Let me illustrate the above point by reference to Indian diets. In Table 1, a typical "ill-balanced" Indian diet is compared with a "well-balanced" diet which more nearly approaches the League of Nations standard and in the same table the chemical composition of the two diets is given.

TABLE 1

*A Typical "Ill-balanced" Diet and a "Well-balanced" Diet
(both yielding 2,600 calories)*

(ozs. per consumption unit per day)

Food.			"Ill-balanced" diet	"Well-balanced" diet
Cereal	...	...	23	17
Pulses	...	...	0.5—1.5	3
Milk	...	...	None or negligible amounts	8
Leafy vegetables	...		0.5—1.0	2
Non-leafy vegetables			2.0—5.0	4
Fruit	...	...	Negligible	2
Vegetable fats and oils			Less than 1.0	2
Fish, meat and eggs	...		0.5—1.0	2—3 (if no milk is included)

*Approximate Chemical Composition
(assuming the cereal to be milled rice)*

Calories	...	...	2,600	2,600
Protein (g.)	...	...	55	80
Fat (g.)	...	...	25	70
Calcium (g.)	...	...	0.25	1.00
Phosphorus (g.)	...	...	0.90	1.20
Vitamin A (International units)			1,100	3,000
Vitamin C (mg.)	...	...	60	150

The well-balanced diet is much richer in the very important B₂ group of vitamins than the ill-balanced one. Both the diets have the same calorie content or energy value; 2,600 calories represents approximately the daily energy requirements of an average Indian male. Both therefore will satisfy hunger. But the more varied "well-balanced" diet, containing less cereal and more of everything else, is infinitely more satisfactory in quality, and the health and development of a population consuming this kind of diet will be superior to those of a population whose diet resembles the "ill-balanced" diet.

The "ill-balanced" diet shown in the table will cost from Rs. 2/- to 3/- per adult per month, depending on the nature of the cereal and of course on differences and fluctuations in food prices. The cost of the "well-balanced" diet may be estimated as Rs. 4/- to 6/- per adult monthly. A family containing four consumption units—i.e. the equivalent of 4 adult males—must therefore spend Rs. 16/- to 24/- per month on food, or let us say, Rs. 240/- annually to obtain a diet of this satisfactory standard, and rather more if allowance is made for an intake of 8 ozs. of milk daily on the part of children. An ill-balanced diet, sufficient in quantity but defective in quality, will cost, let us say, Rs. 10/- monthly for a family of the same size.

These figures may be set against actual income levels in India in so far as these can be determined. The income of urban or industrial groups can be assessed with fair accuracy; for example, the average monthly wage of an unskilled urban worker, such as a peon, is about Rs. 12/-, or Rs. 144/- annually. But when agricultural families are concerned the assessment of real income on a monetary basis is a very difficult matter. A number of attempts have been made to estimate income in terms of cash in village groups, and some of these may be quoted, though with considerable reserve. Average total annual income per family in Bengal has been estimated as Rs. 150/-¹, in a group of very poor rural families in Madras as Rs. 100/-², and Rs. 125/-³ in families in the Kangra Valley, Punjab. The following analysis of net income per family in a rural area in Mysore, with a population of about 50,000, was made by the Closepet Health Training Centre⁴ in 1935. The survey included 11,142 families, giving an average family membership of about 5 individuals.

<i>come per Month</i> Rs.	<i>No. of Families</i>	<i>Percent of all</i>
0—5	2,597	23.3
5—10	3,417	30.7
10—15	2,344	21.0
15—20	1,142	10.3
20—30	968	8.7
30—40	559	5.0
40—50	115	1.0
TOTAL		11,142

¹ Azizul Huque—*The Man Behind the Plough*. Book Co., 1939, (Calcutta).

² Aykroyd and Krishnan—*Indian Journal of Medical Research*, 1937; 24 : 668.

³ Punjab Public Health Dept., "An Inquiry into Diets, State of Nutrition and Factors Associated Therewith, in Relation to Health in the Kangra Valley, Punjab, 1939."

⁴ *Handbook of the Rural Welfare Centre*, 1939, Closepet, Mysore,

In more than half the families estimated annual income per family was below Rs. 120/-.

Estimates of national *per capita* income must also be regarded with a dubious eye, because the basic statistics necessary for such calculations are not fully available. One of these may be quoted—that of V. K. R. V. Rao⁵, who has worked out a figure of Rs. 65/-, with an error of 6 per cent, for annual *per capita* income in British India. His estimate is somewhat higher than those made by various other investigators.

Such figures, approximate and open to criticism though they may be, serve at least to indicate the gulf between possible and desirable expenditure on food. It is clear that a well-balanced diet of the kind shown in Table 1 is far beyond the means of a large section of the population. Having established this point, we can proceed to consider the problem in greater detail.

Diet and Economic Status.—The following passage, which refers to England in 1933, is illustrative of the subject under discussion.

“Amongst the lowest income groups are still some who suffer from actual hunger, but these are a declining element which could and should be lifted out of their present situation without delay. Immediately above is a much larger group, estimated to cover between 10 and 25% of the population, who can afford enough food to fill their bellies, but cannot afford a diet of the type and quality now known to be essential as a safeguard against malnutrition and disease. On the next step upwards, measured by incomes, comes another large group which commands enough purchasing power to obtain an adequate diet for the whole family, provided that this purchasing power is completely spent on the lines suggested by such applications of modern research as the report of the British Medical Association Committee on Nutrition. Actually many of the incomes in this group, and especially the lower ones, are often unwisely spent, at any rate from the strict standpoint of nutrition, and thus a further large number of families falls, for practical purposes, into the zone of malnutrition. The higher the income and the more money spent on food, the smaller this risk becomes, but there is reason to suppose that even among supertax payers a standard based upon the optimum established by recent research would disclose the presence of malnutrition due to a faulty diet.”⁶

The same groups exist in India but the proportion of the population falling into each is very different. The lowest group includes a much greater percentage, and the higher groups a much smaller percentage. It is impossible to estimate accurately the percentage of population which “suffers from actual hunger”, but certainly it is a large one. Over 70 diet surveys of groups

⁵ *The National Income of British India—(1931-1932)*, Macmillan, 1940.

⁶ *Political and Economic Planning*, Broadsheet No. 44, 1935.

of families, both urban and rural, have been made in various parts of the country within recent years, and in about 30 per cent of the groups average daily calorie intake per consumption unit was below 2,300—i. e. below any reasonable standard of requirements. In various surveys in villages and industrial areas an approximately similar proportion of families was found to be underfed by the same standard. These observations cannot legitimately be generalised into a statement about the extent of under-nutrition in India, because the sample of the population—about 1,500 families—investigated was small and cannot in a strictly statistical sense be taken as typical of the country as a whole. But there can be no possible doubt that many millions in India never get enough food to eat and this fact is of fundamental importance in connection with agricultural policy. “Enough food” takes precedence over “the right sort of food”. The principal aim of agricultural policy must be to produce *more* food. India cannot afford to import food in large quantities. Agricultural departments and research institutes, and other departments concerned with food supply, should never lose sight of this primary need, or dissipate the major part of their energies in prosecuting schemes of secondary importance, however useful and attractive.

One step out of the abyss, and we have the group which “can afford enough food to fill their bellies, but cannot afford a diet of the type and quality now known to be essential as a safeguard against malnutrition and disease”. This includes those whose diet resembles the ill-balanced but quantitatively sufficient diet shown in Table 1, costing Rs. 2/- to 3/- per consumption unit per month. Certainly a much higher proportion than 10 to 25 per cent of the population falls into this category—it is futile to attempt a precise estimate. The higher groups, with sufficient “purchasing power to obtain an adequate diet for the whole family”, are correspondingly reduced in comparison with the English classification. Ignorance as well as poverty operates strongly in extending the zone of malnutrition. Plenty of people in India, who could afford to consume an excellent diet and feed their children on an excellent diet, do not in fact do so because of ignorance of the elementary principles of nutrition.

Analysis of Expenditure.—Comparison of the cost of various kinds of diet with estimates of total income are illuminating but crude, because they do not take into consideration other expenditure items in the family budget. A number of detailed family budget enquiries have been carried out, mainly by Labour Departments, among industrial groups in various Indian cities; these valuable studies, all too little known to the educated Indian public, throw further light on the subject under discussion. Industrial workers in towns and cities are a relatively highly paid class; it is the prospect of what appears to

be a high wage which attracts the villager from the countryside into the squalid slums of Bombay or Ahmedabad. Family budget enquiries based on field investigations among rural groups not in receipt of regular wage, and in fact for the most part not living on a cash basis, are obviously more difficult than similar enquiries in towns and cities, and few rural studies have been made in India.

Adyanthaya¹ carried out a family budget enquiry on a miscellaneous group of labourers and coolies in Madras City, using standard International Labour Office methods. Some of the data obtained in this investigation are shown in Table 2 on the following page. Various interesting points emerge from this Table. We may note first of all that monthly expenditure on food, even in the lowest group, was slightly above that necessary to purchase an ill-balanced diet sufficient in quantity. Presumably, therefore, the majority of families were above the starvation level—they had *enough* to eat. The percentage of total income spent on food averaged 52.6 per cent in all families.

As income rises, so does the number of consumption units per family. A rise in total income per family does not therefore necessarily result in a rise of similar proportions in income *per consumption unit*. This means that workers who are in receipt of incomes above the lowest levels gather needy dependents and may themselves lose much of the advantage of superior pay—a striking illustration of the poverty of India and the strength of family ties which gives the destitute the right to share in the meagre goods of relations a little better off than themselves. I do not think that a regular increase in the number of dependents with increasing income occurs in industrial groups in England and U.S.A. Apart from other factors, a cold climate and a higher standard of housing would discourage the crowding in of extra dependents. Probably, however, a similar trend could be observed in China and Japan. In any group consisting of poor families at approximately the same economic level, families including the largest number of dependents naturally tend to be the worst fed; this is always strikingly apparent in diet surveys in India and has been observed in similar surveys in other countries. But it is clearly not the same thing as a steady growth in the number of dependents with rising income. These facts have a bearing on the population problem, and the question of family limitation, discussion of which is outside the scope of this article.

Another point of great importance is that expenditure on food per consumption unit did not rise proportionately to income per consumption unit. While the incomes per consumption unit of families with incomes of Rs. 40/-

¹ *Report on an Enquiry into the Family Budgets of Industrial Workers in Madras City* Dept. of Industries, Govt. of Madras, Govt. Press, 1940, Madras.

TABLE 2
Income and Expenditure of Labourers in Madras City (1935)

Income per family.	Below Rs. 20/- per month.	Rs. 20/- to 30/-	Rs. 30/- to 40/-	Rs. 40/- to 50/-	Rs. 50/- to 60/-	Rs. 60/- to 70/-	Above 70/-	All families
No. of families ...	47	167	198	118	69	20	20	639
Per cent in each income group ...	7.4	26.1	31.0	18.5	10.8	3.1	3.1	
No. of consumption units per family ...	3.03	4.19	4.89	5.26	6.15	7.63	6.08	4.92
Monthly income per consumption unit ...	Rs. 5-12-6	6-0-8	6-15-6	8-8-7	8-13-4	8-7-2	12-3-3	7-9-6
Monthly expenditure per consumption unit on food ...	Rs. 3-5-0	3-5-8	3-8-1	3-14-8	3-12-0	3-10-2	5-3-6	3-10-8
Percentage of total income spent on food ...	57.06	56.34	54.93	50.41	49.25	48.81	48.58	52.63
Expenditure on milk per consumption unit ...	Rs. 0-1-2	0-2-4	0-3-5	0-4-7	0-4-1	0-4-0	0-7-11	0-3-6

Consumption units were calculated on Lusk's sale.

to 70/- were definitely above those of families with total incomes below this level, only the highest income group spent enough on food to purchase a well-balanced diet. There was a rise in expenditure on milk with increasing income but this was small until the highest income group is reached. The probable explanation is that an ill-balanced diet is the normal diet of the poor in South India, and poor families will not readily make sacrifices in other items of expenditure to purchase a diet of superior quality. It is only when income reaches a level which allows needs other than food to be fulfilled with relative ease that more money is devoted to buying a better diet.

Very similar tendencies were elicited in family budget enquiries carried out in Ahmedabad⁸, Sholapur⁹, Howrah, Bengal¹⁰ and Bombay¹¹, on industrial workers with monthly income ranging from below Rs. 20/- to Rs. 80/- or thereabouts per family. The percentage of total income devoted to food ranged from 50 to 60 per cent. Mitra¹² has surveyed a group of families in Jharia, Bihar, with monthly incomes of Rs. 5-2-0 per consumption unit or below, in which 73 per cent of total income was spent on food. In general the results of family budget enquiries in India confirm Engel's "law" that percentage expenditure on food falls with increasing income. In all these urban groups rent was a relatively important item of expenditure. It is of interest to note that even when poverty is extreme 15 to 25 per cent of the budget is almost invariably devoted to miscellaneous items including recreation and amusements. To prefer luxuries to necessities is characteristic of the human species.

Improvement in Diet with Increasing Income

A detailed investigation of the relation between diet and income in Great Britain has been carried out by Sir John Boyd Orr¹³. The population was divided into six income groups, and by means of the study of family budgets and diet surveys average expenditure on food in the various groups was estimated. The various groups were as follows:—

⁸ *Report on an Enquiry into Working Class Family Budgets in Ahmedabad*, 1928, Labour Office, Bombay, Govt. Press, Bombay.

⁹ *Report on an Enquiry into Family Budgets of Cotton Mill Workers in Sholapur City*, 1928, Labour Office, Bombay, Govt. Press, Bombay.

¹⁰ *Report on an Enquiry into the Standard of Living of Jute Mill Workers in Bengal*, 1930, A. C. R. Choudhury. Govt. of Bengal, Commerce Dept., Secretariat Book Depot.

¹¹ *Report on an Enquiry into Working Class Family Budgets in Bombay City*, 1935. The Labour Office, Bombay, Govt. Press, Bombay.

¹² Mitra, K., *Ind. Jour. Med. Res.*, 1940, 27 : 887.

¹³ *Food, Health and Income*, 1936, Macmillan.

	<i>Income per head per week (shillings)</i>	<i>Estimated average weekly expenditure per capita on food (shillings)</i>	<i>Percent of population</i>
I	Up to 10	4	10
II	10 to 15	6	20
III	15 to 20	8	20
IV	20 to 30	10	20
V	30 to 45	12	20
VI	Over 45	14	10

The type of diet consumed by each group was compared with optimum standards of intake. It was found that the consumption of the more valuable foods, e.g., milk, butter, cheese, meat, fresh eggs, fruit and vegetables, rose with increasing income. A steady increase in the intake of protein, fat, vitamins, and mineral salts was observed in passing from the lowest to the higher income groups.

In India interesting investigations of the same type but on a much smaller scale have been made by Mitra (*loc. cit.*), Nutrition Officer in the Province of Bihar. Mitra carried out diet surveys among industrial workers in Bihar by the method of daily visits and weighing of food which provides more accurate data about food intake and expenditure than family budget enquiries conducted by means of questionnaires. He was able to correlate income level and the amount of each kind of food consumed. Data obtained in an enquiry in Jamshedpur, Bihar, in which the works of the Tata Iron and Steel Company are situated, are given in Table 3 given on the next page.

The proportion of ghee in the item "oils and fats" rose with increasing income and in group 4 ghee was the chief source of fat. This is one of the reasons for the relatively high expenditure on food per consumption unit in this group, which probably paid somewhat more for most articles of food including rice because articles of better commercial quality were demanded.

Mitra's figures again demonstrate the increase in dependents in the higher income groups. This is not quite as striking as in the families in Madras City. Jamshedpur is a relatively isolated town to which labourers migrate from other districts. In Madras City, families in receipt of regular wages are more accessible to penurious relatives. Similarly Bhawe¹⁴ recorded a considerable difference between the number of consumption units per family in a group of cotton mill operatives in Nagpur, the capital of the Central Provinces, and that in another group of workers employed in a manganese mine in a small town, Tirodi, in the same province. While total income per family was higher in the Nagpur families, income per consumption unit was considerably lower because of the greater number of dependents, and the diet

TABLE 3
Income and Diet in an Industrial Group
 (Jamshedpur, Bihar, 1939)

GROUP		1	2	3	4
Monthly income	...	Up to Rs. 30/-	Rs. 30/- to 45/-	Rs. 45/- to 90/-	Rs. 90/- & above
No. of families	...	110	35	19	13
Percent in each group	...	62.1	19.8	10.7	7.3
No. of consumption units per family	...	3.35	3.93	4.46	4.82
Monthly income per consumption unit	...	Rs. 6-2-0	Rs. 9-12-0	Rs. 15-0-0	Rs. 25-15-0
Monthly expenditure on food per consumption unit	...	Rs. 3-12-0	Rs. 5-9-0	Rs. 7-10-0	Rs. 10-1-0
Daily intake (ozs.):—					
Cereals	...	23.9	24.4	27.1	21.0
Pulses	...	2.4	3.1	3.8	3.4
Non-leafy vegetables		2.3	2.7	5.5	6.2
Green leafy vegetables		1.2	1.0	0.3	0.1
Fruits and nuts	...	0.1	0.3	0.9	0.9
Oils and fats	...	0.5	0.8	1.3	1.8
Milk	...	0.5	1.4	2.6	5.7
Meat, fish and eggs	...	0.6	0.7	1.3	1.0
Condiments	...	0.7	1.0	1.6	1.6
Sugar and jaggery	...	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.8
Calories	...	2940	3190	3250	3330
Percentage from cereals		83.9	74.9	68.0	61.8
Protein	...	68	78	85	85
Fat	...	21	35	45	68
Calcium	...	0.41	0.51	0.55	0.92

consumed by these families compared unfavourably, both in quantity and quality, with that of more poorly paid families in Tirodi.

The main point of interest in Table 3 is that it clearly demonstrates *an improvement of diet in the right direction* as income rises above very low levels. Intake of pulses, non-leafy vegetables, fruits, milk products, meat and sugar in general rises with income and the same is true of intake of protein, fat, calcium and certain vitamins. There was a corresponding *reduction* in the

¹⁴ Bhave, P. D., *Ind. Jour. Med. Res.*, 1941, 29 : 99.

percentage of calories from cereals. The diet of Group 4 resembled the well-balanced diets recommended by nutrition workers more closely than did that of Group 1. This does not, of course, mean that the better-paid families arranged their budgets and food expenditure to the best possible advantage, but it indicates a general tendency of great importance. In India, as in England and other countries, an increase in income leads in general to a change in diet which is to some extent in conformity with the principles of sound nutrition. It follows that an increase in the material prosperity of the country—a rise in the national *per capita* income—will *per se* tend to improve standards of nutrition and with them the health of the population.

In Mitra's groups there was a fairly steady rise in the consumption of most non-cereal foods from Group 1 to Group 4, and the rather sudden rise in expenditure on food per consumption unit at a certain level of income, apparent in the Madras group, was less evident. Comparison between the two groups as regards this point is, however, made difficult by the difference in income classification and possible difference in the real value of wages, depending on the cost of living and other factors. More detailed investigations would be required to establish the suggestion previously made that an abrupt change for the better in diet tends to occur when the income reaches a certain level. It is, however, probable that the low paid worker will insist on his quota of so-called non-essentials or luxuries, even at the cost of consuming a cheap and ill-balanced diet. But once his wages attain a level at which his "non-essential" needs can be reasonably satisfied, leaving a fair margin for other requirements, he will improve the quality of his diet.

Table 3 brings out another point of significance. Consumption of one valuable food—green leafy vegetables—was in inverse relation to income. Green leafy vegetables are a rich source of certain vitamins, minerals and salts. The better paid families tended to despise this food, which they could easily afford, and actually intake of pro-vitamin A, a constituent abundantly present in leafy vegetables, was lower in Group 4 than in Group 1. This shows that while a *general* tendency for diet to improve with increasing income may exist, prejudice may operate in the opposite direction, and incidentally provides an illustration of the part which education could play in improving dietary habits. Although the diet of higher income groups was in many respects superior to that of the lower income groups, it was far removed from the ideal.

Mitra¹⁵ has demonstrated approximately similar relationship between income and the proportion of various foods in the diet in another industrial group in Bihar. Probably these are relatively uniform in urban areas throughout

¹⁵ Mitra, K., *Ind. Jour. Med. Res.*, 1941 ; 29 : 143.

the country, but further investigations on this point are necessary. Change in dietary habits would therefore appear to be a useful index of change in economic status. If in 20 or 30 years time it can be shown that the national diet has changed in the direction indicated by these figures, it can be assumed that an improvement in economic condition has taken place.

The Possibility of Progress.—The nutrition research worker in India is often told, in effect, that he is wasting his time. The cause of malnutrition is poverty, ignorance, population pressure and so on, and no amount of research on food values and the causes of deficiency disease, no experiments on rats and guinea pigs, however pretty and ingenious, will enable the poor to obtain a proper diet. But in order to solve a problem it is necessary first of all to define it. Knowledge of the nature and defects of Indian diets, and how the latter can most easily be corrected, is a necessary basis for effective action. Even in existing economic circumstances much can be done. Nutrition work can be included in the programmes of public health departments, school medical services, rural reconstruction agencies, and so on. The development of agriculture, animal husbandry, and fisheries can be influenced by knowledge of dietary requirements.

Health education, which naturally includes education about diet, can be extended. Improve health and you increase energy and economic capacity; the vicious circle, poverty, malnutrition, ill-health, poverty, is broken and replaced, so to speak, by an ascending spiral. Take, for example, malaria. Malaria causes a million deaths annually in India and an untold amount of physical debility; it is a direct cause of malnutrition because victims of the disease, languid from impoverished blood, cannot cultivate their land properly and improve their lot. Vigorous anti-malarial measures will thus tend to improve food supply and the national diet, and the same is true of many other public health activities. Health education has not yet been developed to any extent in India. Recently the writer put two questions to a senior class of boys in a High School. These were: What is the cause of malaria? Do you know anything about the nutritive value of different foods? Blank silence greeted both questions; the boys had not heard of these subjects, of vital importance to their own welfare and that of their country. Every school child should be taught some elementary facts about health, diet and disease.

A detailed discussion of the various means of improving standards of nutrition—of the various aspects of public health nutrition work—would be outside the scope of this article. Numerous reports of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office have dealt with these questions. But one interesting and remarkable possibility may be briefly referred to in conclusion. Normally, when we are considering the improvement of diets, we think in terms

of ordinary familiar foods—more milk, more vegetables, and so on—a point illustrated in Table 1. But within recent years, the chemical composition of a number of the important vitamins has been discovered and some of these can now be manufactured in large quantities. Vitamins produced in this way are just as valuable to the body as vitamins contained in foods.

Further developments in research and industry may make it possible to manufacture vitamins at very low cost. In England pure synthetic vitamin B₁, costing about four shillings per gramme, is being added to refined wheat flour to bring its nutritive value nearer to that of whole wheat. Human daily requirements of vitamin B₁ are one to two thousandths of a gramme (1.2 milligrammes). This is a war measure, perhaps unnecessary in normal times when there is less danger of the diet of the population being deficient in this particular vitamin. But considerable discussion is at present taking place in America about the value of "fortifying" foods such as bread with synthetic vitamins, although the American diet has not been restricted by the war. Similarly, certain essential mineral elements, such as calcium and iron, could be given in the form of a pill or capsule, as an addition to the diet. Consumed in this form they produce the same effect in the body as when they are taken as ingredients in ordinary foods.

In some of the Southern United States there is a great deal of malnutrition among the poor whites and negroes—economically depressed and backward groups. It has been found that supplying such people with the vitamins they lack, in the form of daily doses additional to their ordinary diet, may produce an immediate improvement in their general health and shake them out of the lethargy engendered by malnutrition. Dispirited and chronically wretched individuals, it is claimed, may be thus transformed into healthy and active citizens. The cost of the necessary synthetic vitamins is even now not very great.

The idea of giving malnourished school children in India a daily capsule containing more than their daily requirements of various essential vitamins and minerals at present seems rather outlandish. But to any one unfamiliar with discoveries in bacteriology and immunology, the idea of preventing various diseases by the systematic inoculation of thousands or even millions of people would seem equally peculiar. In this instance the state produces the vaccines—against the small-pox, plague, cholera, enteric, etc.—very cheaply and the people have learnt, or are learning, to take advantage of them. A few properly staffed and equipped "vitamin factories" might produce vitamins by the ton and the cost of per capita requirements might work out at a low figure.

These speculations are perhaps somewhat out of tune with existing realities. But they may serve to emphasise the fact that science, so to speak,

usually has a few aces up her abundant sleeve. Failure to produce results is not characteristic of the scientific method. An impartial analysis of the economic aspects of the problem of nutrition in India may leave little ground for optimism. But it is surely true that if the resources of science are brought to bear on the problem, progress can be made, however formidable the obstacles of poverty and ignorance.

SAFETY EDUCATION IN THE HOME AND SCHOOL

A. S. TROLLIP

In modern society accidents cause not only an enormous economic loss but also a great waste in human life. India, we are told, tops the world with the highest traffic accident death rate. Since accidents do not just happen but are caused, Mr. Trollip maintains that they can be greatly reduced by removing the causes and conditions which produce them. In this article he points out how safety consciousness and practice may be promoted by parents and teachers through a good system of safety education.

Mr. Trollip is the Hon. Jt. Secretary of the Safety First Association of India.

SOME time ago a very peculiar case of drowning was reported to us. A child was paddling in a pool of water less than two feet in depth. The ayah who was in attendance had gone some distance away, assuring herself that the child could come to no harm in such shallow water. Yet, strange to relate, the child was found drowned at the bottom of the pool when the ayah returned to the place half an hour later. The case was surprising; almost bordered on mystery. No clue was discovered which could reasonably have led to the child's death through drowning. Even if the child had slipped, she could very easily have risen to her feet. The verdict was, 'accidental death by drowning.' The case ended. People soon forgot the incident. But, while the sorrowing mother mourned the sad fate of her unfortunate child and neighbours sympathised with her by saying that accidents would happen, the Safety First Association of India was busy sorting out the details of the accident to discover the real cause; when it succeeded in its efforts, it published a warning to gain the plus value of that accident.

Enquiries brought to light the fact that the child was wearing a pith hat with a very broad rim to protect her from the rays of the sun. The hat was held firmly in position by an elastic band—so firmly, in fact, that even if the child tried to, she could not have removed the hat unaided. Here was the long looked for clue: The child had probably slipped; in attempting to rise, she was unable to lift her head above the surface of the water as the weight of the water, accumulated on the rim of the hat in its inverted position, made it too heavy for her to do so. On the basis of this finding, a warning was issued to mothers never to allow their children to paddle in water unattended; if broad rim pith hats were used the elastic band should be kept very loose below the neck or, better still, thrown behind the head—better lose a hat than a life!

Thousands of accidents occur every year in our city. With a population of fifteen lakhs this does not seem extraordinary. But in reality it is an

extravagant waste in human life. The majority of those accidents could have been avoided by a little care and forethought. If every accident that occurred in our homes was reported in detail to the Association and the cause or suspected cause mentioned, warnings could be issued to the public through the press, platform and radio, and thus similar incidents may be avoided in the future. The main obstruction to the progress of safety education in India is the indifference of the public, their lack of enthusiasm and apathetic attitude towards the problem, and the popular belief that accidents just happen.

There was a time when safety lecturers warned their audience to avoid accidents because accidents caused pain and suffering. It was the negative aspect of the question that they considered—the avoidance of pain and suffering. That, perhaps, is the reason why safety education made so little headway in the beginning. Safety educators and lecturers now treat the subject in a more positive way. Children are told to observe health rules not because that will save them from sickness but because their observance ensures happiness, contentment and joy in living. Women are asked to use stoves safely not with the threat that misuse will result in fatal burns but because the right use of stoves yields the best cooking results, saves time and inconvenience through stove trouble, and shows their efficiency and smartness as housewives.

We must learn new lessons from experience. Therefore some say : “There is good, even in accidents”. An illustration from industry will help us to understand this statement better. Since the advent of the machine age, businessmen have come to realise that accidents mean a loss to industry. But though the direct loss has always been counted, it is only recently that the indirect loss has been considered as important. Experts tell us that the indirect loss is four times as great as the direct loss caused by an accident. This revelation brought about a speedy change of attitude. Businessmen no more shrugged their shoulders and paid compensation when there was an accident; they decided that accidents should not happen. Safeguards were installed, freshers were instructed in their work by experienced workers before they were allowed to handle dangerous machinery; no-accident campaigns became subjects for inter-departmental competition ; safety was no more the fad—it became the fashion. Then came a startling discovery. Businessmen found to their surprise that production had increased without increase of manpower or additional machines or extra hours of work. There was only one conclusion—Safety had done it. They had set out to decrease accidents ; they had succeeded in that and, in addition, had increased output.

Happiness in the Home.—The same results can be achieved in every home and have been achieved in some. Housewives who are safety-minded have succeeded in making the home clean, comfortable and cheerful. Their less

fortunate sisters have not yet discovered the secret to happiness. Accidents bring in their train suffering and pain, discontentment and misery. Accidents to children are a strain on the family budget, cause anxiety to the father and worry to the mother. They are the outcome of the same old human failings—carelessness, neglect, ignorance and indifference. In many instances it needed only a little more care, a little more knowledge, a little more attention to minor repairs, a little more checking up on unsafe conditions in the home, or a little more correction of unsafe practices. These home accidents are a challenge to parents, as industrial accidents are a challenge to businessmen. Accidents are as great a threat to our security and happiness as war, disease and crime.

Statistics show that there are more than 6,000 accidents in our city streets every year. Unbelievable though it may seem, it is absolutely true that the number of accidents in the home far exceed even this high figure of road mishaps. If we study an analysis of the accidents that occur in the home we shall notice the following :—Thirty-nine percent of home accidents occur in the bedroom getting in and out of bed, tripping in the dark over loose rugs, shoes, clothes, furniture, and toys that are out of place, smoking in bed and the like. It is so easy to have a switch near the bed and prevent falls in the dark ; so simple to rearrange the furniture last thing before going to bed and so important to train the child to keep toys in the proper place. To abstain from smoking in bed is not such a difficult matter either ; and I must confess that in this, at least, we men are mostly responsible.

Then there is electricity. At the flick of a switch unlimited power is ours. Lights flash, machines start working, music floods the room, and heat or cold is obedient to our control ; yet we are indifferent to the greatest bit of social service at hand. The greatest need in our home to-day is a thorough reconstruction on safety lines so as to remove the hazards that lurk in our homes and to improve our habits so as to be able to make use of modern machines and inventions without danger and mishap. Mothers must recognise the fact that they are the Safety Directors in the Home, and much depends on their behaviour for the setting of a good example and on the early training that they give to their children whose lives they shall answer for, at least during the first seven years of their existence.

A common source of fires in the home is the bad practice in connection with stoves. Day after day the local papers report stove tragedies in the home. All of them can be traced to the same cause—carelessness in handling stoves. The common faults in the use of stoves are : Placing them on the floor, or in front of a shelf or store cupboard in the wall, and pumping the stove before it is properly heated. Stoves should always be placed on a table, or on a raised

shelf attached to the wall. They should be properly heated with the aid of spirit and not with the use of kerosene pumped out from the stove nozzle into the heating cup. A splendid safety device called the "Ram-guard" is now available in the market for a couple of rupees. Although, I assure my readers, I get no commission on the sales of this very useful gadget, I may mention that every housewife who uses a stove without this stoveguard is guilty of suicide, and every husband who fails to provide his wife or daughter with one is guilty of murder if his wife or child is burnt to death through his neglect.

How few of us realise that falls alone cause the death of over 23,000 persons per year in India! Out of an average of 2,000 falls per month, 77% occur in the home. Badly lit stairs are the main cause of fatal falls. Have you not visited a friend's place and on leaving often found difficulty in coming down the stairs of his house? And have you not heard your host or hostess call out from the top: "Mind the steps—the last one is a bit treacherous"? It would be so much safer and more comfortable if a light had been fixed above the stairway; it would also help to maintain a pleasant parting impression.

Medicine bottles are another source of danger in the home. Very many homes do not possess a cabinet or chest for medicines and poisons; these dangerous bottles are kept on a shelf and are often within reach of children. It would take a whole day to tell you all the accidents which result from this unsafe practice. Last week there was a case of a school boy whose grandmother poured iodine into his eye in the mistaken belief that it was medicinal drops. If further proof is needed one has only to glance at the daily newspapers and read of the numerous accidents that take place every day in our city—accidents that cause pain, suffering and misery; accidents that cost the unfortunate home a large portion of the savings or all of it perhaps; accidents that are often fatal. Here is an extract from the columns of a city daily:—

Fatal Burns—The Bombay City Coroner held an inquest yesterday over deaths of three women from shock following extensive burns sustained either from a stove or *sigree*. It was stated of J. Hansraj (17) of Bohra Bazar that her saree caught fire over a *sigree*. K. Chaganlal (19) of Kalbadevi also died in similar circumstances. Mariambi Ahmed (70) of Sandhurst Road sustained burns from a *sigree* on the steps of a 'dargah' where she had gone to offer prayers.

Three deaths in one day from burns alone! And this is certainly not an isolated instance. Here is another common occurrence:—

Child Swallows Nitric Acid—While other members of the family were all asleep, a two-year old child reached out for a bottle of nitric acid, which had been kept in the house for testing ghee, and drank the contents. The child, Hasmukhlal Popatlal, died in the G. T. Hospital, Bombay.

Most of such accidents could be avoided with a little forethought. Poison bottles should always be kept in a locked cabinet; and if they are not of the

approved ridged pattern, they should have little jingles attached to the neck or a pin stuck to the cork. These little precautions may save a life. Is it not worth the few minutes spent in following these hints?

Give Positive Instructions.—In tackling the safety problem at home, parents would do well to win the co-operation of their children. Treat them as co-workers in the campaign; they are as important to its success as you yourself and the other adult members of the household are to its effective functioning. Wherever possible, do not be satisfied with saying: "Do not do this." Show the child how to do the action correctly and safely. You probably have heard of the story of the mother who said to her young daughter: "Go upstairs and see what your little brother is doing, and tell him not to do it." This type of mother achieves nothing. Prohibitions alone do not help much; explain to the child the reason why he must do certain things and abstain from doing others. Let your orders be few, clear and concise; then exact strict obedience to them. Please do not hamper your child with too many restrictions; let him find out the minor precautions to be observed. Give him opportunities to decide for himself in lesser issues and thus prepare him for the greater things of life, enabling him to live a fuller and more satisfying life.

But safety education should not end here. What was begun in the home should be carried forward in the school. People must be made to realise that there is a right way and a wrong way of doing every action of our daily lives, no matter how small or trivial those actions may be. To do something in the right way shows efficiency and ensures safety; to do it the wrong way displays carelessness, ignorance and indifference. Take the very simple action of pinning together a number of papers. Most persons insert the point through the papers from front to back and then push the point of the pin up again from back to front. This at present is the accepted method of pinning papers; yet, it is not a good way, at least not the best way. A better method is to push the point back once again, but this time only through the first sheet so that the point is covered. This not only saves annoying pin pricks which are even dangerous if the points are rusty, but shows efficiency and thoughtfulness on the part of the one who inserted the pin.

Then there is the case of playing on the street. Parents have been known to remark: "There is no harm in that, these children have played on the street for years and nothing has happened to them." Then, when an accident *does* occur, they put it down to an act of God and find comfort in the thought that God willed it so. Almost every accident that takes place in our homes and most of those that take place on our streets can be avoided with a little care and forethought. Accidents do not happen; they are caused.

Another difficulty we have to overcome is the plea of parents and even

some teachers that little children are too small to learn safe practices. It is our opinion that parents and teachers should instil safe habits into children from a very young age. No child is too young to learn safe practices for the simple reason that if a child is big enough to learn anything it is big enough to learn to do that thing in the best way. Experiments have shown that children learn to do a new action much quicker if they are shown how to do that action in the correct way—safely and efficiently. Leaving them to learn things for themselves not only means waste of time and unnecessary delay but also results in inefficiency and often in accidents too.

Talk To Not At Them.—In attempting to teach children safe practices we must see that we do not lecture to them. Talking *at* children is of no use; talk *to* them. Treat them as if they were adults. They like to feel that they are big enough to look after themselves. Take them into your confidence and ask for their *cooperation*; do not demand their *obedience*.

One teacher we know, gets the little youngsters to understand the danger of playing with matches by asking them to write in bold letters on their slates:—MATCHES + CHILDREN = FIRES. When dealing with the older children, she speaks to them of the needless sorrow caused to their parents, brothers and sisters, and the terrible suffering caused to themselves if they play with matches and get themselves burnt.

Another teacher shows the children the need of keeping their toys in place after use by explaining how falls are caused by leaving them about the floor or on stairways and landings. It is important of course for the teacher or parent, while requiring children to pay attention to the rules of safety and tidiness, to observe those rules themselves. Children are not easily fooled; *precept is useless without practice*.

Safety Education in the School.—Education has for its purpose the preparation of children for life; in other words, boys and girls are trained in schools and colleges how to become men and women worthy of our civilisation and culture. Unfortunately, present education does not achieve the end which educationists have in view because the means used to fulfil that purpose are not in keeping and are totally unsuitable to the environment which surrounds the youth of 1941. To put it briefly, educationists have failed to adapt the school curriculum to the needs of our time. While subjects which ten or twenty years ago may have been important are still allowed to crowd the school time-table in spite of their little or doubtful value today, more vital and urgent information is being withheld from the children for lack of time.

Our age is rightly called the machine age; but unfortunately, it has been found that the very devices which increase our comforts also increase the number of our accidents. The home, for instance, has been made more

comfortable and the housewife has been provided with more leisure, but the Primus stove still claims its numerous victims because the school girls of the previous generation were not told by their teachers that better, safer and cleaner methods of cooking were available. Education today still persists in dealing with the problems that faced the generation before us and miserably fails to equip the citizens of to-morrow for what awaits them.

Our children in schools are taught that Bombay holds the proud position of being the second city in the British Empire, but they are never told the disgraceful truth that India tops the world with the highest traffic accident death rate. In this country, we kill ninety-three people every year for every 10,000 cars that run on our streets. For the same number of cars and period of time, Germany kills about 45 persons; England, 31; Australia, 14; the United States of America, 13; and New Zealand, 7. India tops the world and will stay on top until educationists step in and do something to reduce this awful loss of life.

School Safety Patrols.—In secondary schools, safety is steadily coming into its rightful place. Many of the schools in the city have started safety squads and school safety patrol system as a student activity contributing to the training of youth in good citizenship. It encourages them from an early age to shoulder responsibility and instils habits of self-help and self-reliance. It develops a sense of social responsibility and prepares them for leadership.

Road Patrol.—Heads of schools, where these patrols function, declare that the School Road Patrol ensures a very efficient form of school dismissal; it prevents loitering and quarrels in the school compound and removes all possibility of children chasing one another into the street or rushing into the path of vehicles. It instils the habit of self-help and is certainly more effective than asking the road authorities to instal a "caution board" for motorists.

Resuscitation Teams.—These train students in the valuable art of life-saving. Artificial respiration is the only remedy for victims of lightning stroke, electric shock, gas poisoning and drowning when unconsciousness sets in and the respiratory system fails to function.

Cycle Patrols.—With a view to solving the cyclist problem, the Association drew up a pledge and rules for the functioning of Cycle Patrols in schools. The boys and girls, who form the patrol, pledge themselves "to work for the safety and comfort of all road-users by helping their fellow students to learn to ride the bicycle safely and efficiently". They also report cases of reckless riding or ill-equipped bicycles belonging to the students of the school to the Safety Instructor or the Principal.

Bus Patrols.—These patrols maintain discipline in the school bus. Few Principals realise that, apart from the safety value of this activity, it helps to

preserve the good name of the school in the eyes of the public. A school bus with the name of the school written in large letters over it is a medium for good or evil ; if the children in the bus behave well, it is a good advertisement but if they misbehave the effect is disastrous to the fair name of the school.

Health Patrols.—Boys and girls who form these Patrols look after the cleanliness of the school building and surroundings. They help to relieve the authorities of a heavy burden and inculcate habits of health and cleanliness in the children. The Health Patrol also organises the collection of scrap and waste. This teaches the cadets how to put to profit material which, if allowed to lie in rubbish heaps or in lofts, often becomes a nuisance and a source of danger to health and safety.

Safety Syllabus in Schools.—Good progress is being made in the city schools of Bombay. The Director of Public Instruction has recommended the Safety Syllabus prepared by the Safety First Association of India for use in the primary standards. A syllabus for seniors has also been forwarded for sanction and it is hoped that this will be introduced officially in the near future. At present, however, a number of schools in the city and suburbs are already teaching the Safety Syllabus for senior classes pending the official sanction.

We need hardly emphasise that to-day in particular it is essential for education to adapt itself to suit the environment in which people live. This aspect has been fully realized by the more progressive schools in the city and suburbs, and we feel sure that the time is in fact approaching when safety education will take its rightful place in the school curriculum.

Safety and Efficiency.—Many people are under the impression that safety teaching is something negative. Far from it. There is nothing so positive as the teaching of safe practices; for, acting safely means acting efficiently. In fact, safety and efficiency are synonymous terms. If a person acts efficiently it stands to reason that his action will not result in an accident; otherwise that action would be inefficient. The same with an action that is done safely. When we examine what safety, as it is taught by the Association, teaches its followers to do, we notice that its teaching goes even further than mere efficiency. It also includes consideration for others. Thus a safety cadet is required not only to walk in such a manner as to ensure his own safety but also to observe due respect for the comfort and convenience of other road-users.

We repeat again, accidents do not happen; they are caused. Accidents are the direct or indirect result of somebody's carelessness, recklessness or indifference. It is the urgent task of parents, teachers, scoutmasters, guiders and social welfare workers to study the problem and to spread the safety message to every individual in this great country of India.

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE BLIND

RAS MOHUN HALDER

The baffling problems of the blind, arising out of their isolation and economic handicap, are indeed many, and they not infrequently result in social maladjustment. In this article Mr. Halder describes their social life, and makes a plea for an intelligent care and treatment of the sightless.

Mr. Halder received his special training in the United States of America and is at present Principal of the Dadar School for the Blind.

THE problems of the handicapped groups—the crippled, the disfigured, the stutterer, the deaf, the blind—are not only physical and economic but also social and psychological. Nevertheless, their acquired or inherited defects make us aware of only the physical and economic problems because they are more apparent. Few of us regard them in the light of socio-psychological maladjustment which may arise out of the environmental relation between this small minority-group and the rest. A happy solution of such problems has always been a rational and sympathetic understanding of the minority by the majority, and the will and earnestness of the minority to adjust itself to the society of which it is a part. This mutual co-operation is the keynote to the realization of a better and nobler world. In this spirit of understanding and helpfulness, let us consider the particular problems that the sightless minority-group presents in relation to the sighted majority-group.

The Pre-School Blind Child.—The position of a blind child in a family is peculiar, not normal. His arrival is generally regarded as a misfortune by the poor family. In the rich family, though he is a source of distress, he is an object on which wealth is lavished. In one case, he is an 'economic liability'; in the other, he commands 'luxurious indulgence' by arousing the sympathetic sentiments of the family. In both cases, he develops abnormal personality traits. In the poor uneducated home, he is not understood, and is badly neglected; in the rich home, he is petted and pampered to the noticeable neglect of his other sighted brothers and sisters. This over-fondness and partiality on the part of the parents are detrimental to the proper growth and development not only of the blind child but also of his 'normal' siblings.

The defective child, as he grows, 'accepts, expects and demands' this treatment; his brothers and sisters first sub-consciously grudge it, and later on laboriously turn their apparent affection into 'pitying tolerance' which is unhealthy both to them and to their handicapped brother. Socially they start to separate; economically the blind child turns out first to be a robber and

then a tyrant and a burden to his sighted brothers. Taking advantage of the over-fondness of the parents, the handicapped child starts to manipulate situations to his benefit and convenience by bringing social pressure to bear upon the normal members of the family. Thus he grows in this atmosphere, gradually developing a selfish attitude towards every aspect of life. Rightly, therefore, Dr. Allen remarks that the education of the blind child requires first the education of the blind child's parents. The sighted world observes his selfishness and wrongly generalizes the behaviour-patterns of the unfortunate few as typical of the "class". Though the blind develop undesirable social habits through their reaction to the behaviour of the other members of the family, yet they are blamed for these traits as though they were wholly responsible for them.

It must now be apparent why blindness presents not only physical, but social and psychological problems. The ego-centric nature of the blind child, which is usually noticeable even to a casual observer, is not entirely his own creation. Lack of stimulation and ample experience due to deprivation of sight is, no doubt, an obvious reason. But, more than this is the environment which encourages him to be selfish and subjective. The restricted world of social intercourse and the unwise treatment allotted to him by his friends and parents make him ego-centric ; but the common man usually penalises him for his self-centred life which is not entirely of his own making.

It is known that the degree of blindness varies in individual cases; but in this article problems of only the totally blind child from birth will be considered. Physically, such a child gathers experience through touch, hearing, and later on through smell. In the beginning his experience outside his own body is almost nil. He can orient himself only through touch. Even here, the manual guidance of the sighted preponderates over his own efforts, retarding at the very start his independent activities outside of himself. The sighted child crawls at the age of 6 months ; the blind child is not allowed to do so because of the vulnerable position of the head, hand or feet. The child with sight starts to stand and walk at the age of 12 or 15 months ; the one deprived of vision has been sometimes found unable to walk even at the age of three years when he is thrust upon the doors of an institution for the blind. The locomotion he has learnt is of a leap-frog type, slowly moving on his feet with outstretched hands. To meet their needs at this stage, institutions known as "Sun-Shine Homes for Blind Babies" are provided in advanced countries. There blind babies between the ages of 10 months to 4 years are brought up by experts and trained in the primary senses. But, sad to say, no such homes are provided in our country. In their absence, and till such time as public opinion is created to realise the necessity of separate nursery schools,

it is essential to establish up-to-date nursery schools and kindergartens as part of the elementary schools for the blind.

In such institutions practice in orientation as well as all experiential knowledge should be given through touch, hearing and sound. Stimulation through sound not only helps and develops the sense of direction but it enriches and makes the concepts meaningful. Very few sighted persons pause to think that it is essential to give a blind child practical experience to inter-relate the "sound heard" and the "sounding object". To a child totally blind from birth, the sound of a "Sitar" is only a sound without its special relation to the musical instrument. He cannot understand the relation unless he tactually examines the object that produces that sound; the rattle, which he handles, is not merely a toy to him but an educative instrument that teaches him the relation between the "sound heard" and the "sounding object", and at the same time it gives him a sense of direction. But, more than these, it is here—through kinaesthetic experience—that he gets his first idea of space.

Apart from other educational values that pets have on the life of children, a dog with some bells round the neck gives the blind child innumerable opportunities for orientation. The child can run after it, following the sound. Manual guidance is often employed at home to help the child around, and too much attention is given to shield him from injury. The school pet, not having any such sense of helpfulness, is a definite gain to the child. It runs about freely; the child in playing with it may "bump" against walls, hedges, doors or chairs, thereby occasionally hurting himself; yet his freer activities teach him orientation. Perhaps a few bumps at this stage would teach him lessons that are likely to become very valuable throughout his life. The ability thus acquired to carry himself easily without awkwardness and to move smoothly will be an asset for his social acceptance in the future.

Verbalism in the Blind.—Because of lack of opportunities for tactual and conceptual experiences in the home-environment, a blind child on admission into a school may appear to be retarded. Almost always he acquires a verbal unreality, devoid of experiential knowledge. It, therefore, implies that a boy, who is admitted to the school later, should be provided with the elementary experiences of which he is so badly in need. If he is denied these, not only does his education remain incomplete but his social behaviour is disapproved later on by the sighted. In our country, as most of our schools receive government and municipal grants-in-aid, school authorities have a tendency to hurry the pupils through the graded classes in order that they may continue to receive the grant-in-aid per child for the specified number of years. As a result, the pupil is often denied the elementary experiences so important to

him, thus making him unfit for social acceptance.

The retardation referred to above is physical, mental and conceptual. Doubtless, a good school for the blind provides for physical activities, organised games and remedial exercises. And the child definitely improves his physical behaviour and adjustment during his residence in the school. Such experience helps him to grow mentally also. But, observations of pupils in good schools for the blind have led many to believe and endorse the view of Dr. Cutsforth that the sighted environment is, to a large extent, responsible for the verbal unreality of the blind. Not only in the blind child's home but also in his school, one usually finds a sighted person describing a rose leaf as "beautiful, small, green" and so on, without reference to its roughness on one side and smoothness on the other, serratedness, smell and taste when crushed.

No wonder then that a blind child would try to describe his visit to a farm or a menagerie in his written composition with preponderance of visual concepts which are meaningless and unreal to him. This practice develops verbalism. Dr. Ritchie describes this process of verbal exuberance as a defence mechanism which the blind employ to compensate his lost sight. As against this view, Dr. Cutsforth calls it merely verbalism. He holds that this mechanism grows not out of their desire to assert equality with the sighted but out of the environmental conditions provided for them by their sighted friends and teachers.

In reference to the above Dr. Ritchie says : "Many blind people, for instance, have a fondness for big words. In writing they affect the grand, the Johnsonian, manner. The modern cult of the conversational in style leaves them cold. They roll the word of many syllables lovingly round the tongue and quickly respond to like eloquence in others. That such a trait is allowed to persist after school-days is a reflection on the current teaching of English, for the misuse of words is, in most, an eradicable failing ; but the real point at issue is that, to a degree distinctly greater than in their seeing comrades, blind adolescents and adults have a tendency towards this weakness."¹

On the other hand, Dr. Cutsforth remarks : "The unique social and educational situation in which the blind are placed creates the necessity of treating a vast world of unreality in some realistic manner. This necessity has produced the much discussed verbal-mindedness of the blind. Wordmindedness or verbalism is not a social phenomenon found only among the blind. It exists in any situation that demands the use of abstract concepts not verified by concrete experience. Words are conventional symbols for objects, qualities, actions, feelings—shorthand signs for experience. Their significance for com-

¹ Ritchie, J. M., *Concerning the Blind*, p. 193.

munication depends on the assumption that they represent essentially the same experience for all who use them. But social situations frequently arise in which words pass current in their own right, with little or no regard for the experiential reality they imply. Verbalism in the blind is not, as some writers hold, a sort of social compensation, an unconscious attempt to assert quality."²

The effect of this self-created and imposed verbalism is very unwholesome in the life of the blind child. He not only starts to discredit or undervalue his own experience of the world around him but inculcates in him the hypocrisy of describing objects and attitudes which are unreal and meaningless to him. This habit produces bad social traits of vanity, emptiness and unreality which persists even in later life. The "error of not educating the blind child into his world of experience so that he may live in harmony with himself and his world, whether it be among the blind or among the seeing" has been recognised by many educators. But, in our country this unreality in description is likely to continue until we give our pupils progressive schools with ample opportunities for experiencing and exploring the real world around them in the company and guidance of qualified well-experienced and understanding teachers. Of such institutions there is at present a regrettable dearth.

Life in the School.—True though it is that the home can seldom offer more facilities to the blind child than an institution, yet it must not be forgotten that want of proper stimulus, lack of proper freedom to develop the pupils' personality may be as common in the residential institution for the blind as in the home. Within the four walls of the school, the blind pupil may feel happy, bright and responsive. But, how does he behave in the company of sighted persons, not connected with the institution, with whom he will have to spend a greater part of his life? This aspect of group living is important, and a normal relationship should therefore be established between the institutional blind child and his sighted friends. Doubtless, schools are trying to provide them opportunities to mingle with the sighted. But, unfortunately, such associations are occasional and short-lived. In order to have the desired effects, they should be real and permanent.

Though the residential schools offer the blind pupil splendid opportunities to acquire desirable social habits, there is always the danger of institutionalizing him. Keeping this in mind, we should adopt measures to develop his individuality. Uniformity in dress, however desirable it may be in a regiment, creates in the blind child the traits of what is known as institutionalism. If a little girl would like to dress herself in a frock of particular fashion or cut which may have some tactual and aesthetic appeal to her, she should be allowed to do so. If another older girl has a liking for a particular

² Cutsforth, Thomas D., *The Blind in School and Society*, pp. 48-49.

“sari” which may give her an emotional satisfaction, by all means she should be given such liberty rather than be forced to use the simple and convenient institutional uniform. An institutional close hair-cut may help the blind boy to a certain extent to keep his head and hair clean, but it cruelly deprives him of the opportunity to learn to comb, part his hair and keep them clean in the normal way. Further, let us imagine for a moment what mental and social effect it might produce on him when he comes to know that his seeing friend’s hair-cut is almost always different.

Then there is the question of mores, codes and tone of the school which affect the moral, mental and social life of the blind. These influences persist even in post-school life. The impression the sighted members of the staff create in their sightless pupils are regarded by the latter as being typical of the general sighted public. If the sighted members of the school community are peevish, inconsiderate, apathetic and sentimental, the blind pupil will judge the rest of the sighted world as such. This side remark is merely to show the importance of the school environment and of the sighted teachers towards their blind wards.

Social life of the blind-school pupils consists mostly in their relationship with one another and their teachers. In the preschool period, the child’s social world consists of those who come close enough to talk to him, to touch him, or to be touched or talked to; and in their absence, of himself. To the nursery school teacher instances of masturbation, many years prior to signs of puberty, may be shocking, if she fails to realize that, though the child plays with the sex-organ, it may have no sexual significance. Lack of activity, or interest in and discovery of parts, is not infrequently the reason for such behaviour. Even as the child grows, his social situation does not expand, neither does it have the same stimulating objective environment that a sighted child is blessed with. Therefore the social-sexual relationships grow out of social relationships. Because of lack of objective stimulation the child discovers, or is initiated into, masturbation. Masturbative habits are common amongst the sighted children as well, but the factor, which is mainly responsible for this habit of masturbation and homosexuality among blind children in the residential schools, is the practice of herding together pupils of all ages. In many schools, big and small boys sleep in the same dormitory. No schools have separate buildings for the nursery, kindergarten, primary and high school pupils.

But more effective than segregation by age-groups is education in sex matters. Many American colleges, universities and even high schools are offering courses definitely designed to develop in young people a wholesome attitude towards sex life. At present none of our colleges or schools for the

sighted offers training in so important a subject. So also this convenient attitude of ignoring the problem has been adopted by all of the blind schools in India with the exception of one where education in personal hygiene is correlated to elementary problems of sex. In this particular institution children are all of school-age. The girls' class is taken by a cultured motherly woman and the boys' class is taken by an educated fatherly man. The Principal co-operates with these voluntary workers. The results achieved so far have been both encouraging and satisfactory. The contents of the course expands gradually as the child grows in maturity. Such education is likely to be of far greater value than the traditional method of sermonising on sex matters.

In American schools for the blind, where women-teachers are much in excess of men, instances of "teacher-fixation" are common. The admiration of the young blind man for his educated, sighted and attractive teacher has, in some cases, resulted in happy marriages. In fact, these helpful, sympathetic and intelligent wives have been able to guide their blind husbands and inspire them to achieve greater success. One blind man, who married his teacher, rose to the high position of a judge of a court through her guidance and inspiration. "Master-fixation" in the case of girls is also known to exist. Always these poor blind girls have been objects of disappointment. If attractive instructors in residential institutions only knew how often they are the objects of love-conversations amongst the pupils they would certainly feel much embarrassed. We do not hear of such "teacher-fixation" in our schools, not because they do not exist here but because we do not care to study the sex and emotional life of our pupils. If a teacher is admired by a blind boy or girl, it speaks well for the teacher. But it also reveals a defect in our school system—the dearth and infrequency of the opportunity of social intercourse with the desirable, intelligent and attractive sighted members of the community who can enrich the life of the sightless by their company.

Now with regard to the aesthetic life of the blind, very few persons realise that "what is visually simple is tactually complex". This truth should be constantly remembered when presenting objects to the blind child for his education or enjoyment. The object he can appreciate aesthetically is tri-dimensional (three-sided). Even then one must not lose sight of the fact that, however life-like the expert hands of a taxidermist may make a hare, it does not have the throbbings of an alive animal; the hairs are not glossy; the tail does not wag, and so on. The stuffed python does not have the slipperiness; it shows only one posture; it is not active. Then again, there are both objective and subjective factors in aesthetic life. Aesthetic life is related to social life in that aesthetic values enrich it. So, in the life of a blind child, realistic experiential knowledge is very valuable for his growth

as well as for his social adjustment.

Voice cultivation, orientation and presentation are of immense value to the blind. A pleasant voice and good presentation prove to be a social asset. A child with these qualities would make good impressions on his sighted friends. The "broadcasting voice"—a voice that is thrown all over the auditorium or room, and not particularly towards any one direction—is what is common among the blind. This defect is due to their inability to locate the position of the listener or the speaker owing to their lack of sight. Therefore, training in orientation and localisation of the voice, when a blind boy speaks or is spoken to, should be given in order to make him socially efficient. In the absence of this knowledge many embarrassing social situations may be created.

Dr. Cutsforth clearly amplifies the above situation thus: "The broadcasting voice and its accompanying lack of spatial orientation produce many of those embarrassing situations in stores and restaurants in which the seeing clerk or waitress can establish no contact with the blind customer. His behaviour indicates such complete oblivion to his surroundings that the clerk is compelled to make the approach by asking, "What size collar does your friend wear?" or the waitress, "Does your friend wish soup?" He further adds: "Whenever the blind complain of the stupidity of seeing individuals who ask such silly questions, they are quite unaware that it is they and not the seeing who are stupid, for they are not appearing, from all objective criteria, to be oriented to the spatial social situation, and until they do acquire the ability to seem so oriented in appearance and in the use of the voice, clerks and waitresses will for ever be obdurately unresponsive." ³

"The attitude towards others and, still more important his attitude towards himself will be determined firmly by whatever his (the blind child's) social environment will afford." The 'blind teas' of London, a half century ago, of which Sir Francis Campbell got disgusted, and of which Dr. Allen ⁴ so often speaks and writes, smacked of pity, compassion and superiority-complex on the part of the sighted giver. They have probably diminished to nil in England and in America, but charitable dinners and parties still exist in our country. The givers play the role sometimes of the non-ethical man who throws a coin to the beggar so hard that it hits and hurts him, sometimes of a person who is an emblem of sentimental sympathy, and almost always of persons who show signs of economic exuberance. Doubtless, there are persons who treat blind children in the right way but their percentage is very small. Many generous persons invite blind pupils to their home in order to satisfy their craving for a good meal but seldom to help them to benefit themselves by

³ Cutsforth, Thomas D., *The Blind in School and Society*, p. 193.

⁴ Allen, Edward E., *The Teachers' Forum*, May, 1940, p. 89.

social contacts with the sighted. Sometimes feeding of the poor and the under-privileged is regarded as an act of kindness by the giver to court the favour of God. Unless the blind children get the social benefits of mixing with the seeing, the feasting of children outside school premises should be discouraged. It is needless to point out what unwholesome mental, moral and social effects these charitable treats may have on blind children.

The Post-School Blind.—The social life of the post-school blind presents problems which are beyond the power of the school to solve; yet the schools are primarily responsible for their social adjustments or maladjustments. The ultimate test of social fitness is whether or not the blind adult can adjust himself to the normal world. If he fails here, it proves the failure of the school which trained him. The outgoing pupils of a school may be divided into two groups: the professional or the literary, and the industrial. The former, though naturally very few in number, have better chances of adjustment, since they generally enter an understanding world which is ready to receive them. These fortunate few attain success, become socially adjusted, economically independent and contributive members of the community. A few marry successfully and live happily.

The problem of the other group is very acute and serious in nature. Some of them get admission into the few sheltered or subsidized workshop or homes that exist in our country—but the number of such homes is very limited. The socio-psychological problems of this industrial group parallel those of the residential schools but they are greater and wider in degree as well as extent. Some of these blind men cannot make the workshops or homes their permanent abode. They go out, explore the unknown world and find it very unsympathetic. Some marry unsuitable persons and bring unhappiness and distress to themselves and to the other members of the growing family. Some encounter mental and moral aberrations. Such maladjustments are not likely to disappear unless and until we have plenty of sheltered and subsidized workshops, placement-bureau and social workers to help and guide them in meeting their occupational and social problems.

To summarise, education in life-situations, opportunities for the development of personality, proper guidance in behaviour problems, and after-care associations to look after the blind pupils when they leave school to become wage-earners are essential to help the blind to become self-supporting, well-adjusted and useful members of society.

TAGORE AND HIS SCHEME OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

J. M. KUMARAPPA

Tagore was not merely a poet; his vigorous mind urged him ever to fresh efforts of creative activity. As a result, there is no important aspect of Indian national life to which he did not make a signal contribution during his strenuous public life covering over a period of fifty years. In this article Dr. Kumarappa interprets the poet's ideas on rural reconstruction, and shows how they found expression in Sriniketan when it was under his control and guidance.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE is no more, but his ideas and deeds live. Since they are rooted in the eternal elements in Indian culture, they will influence generations yet to come. His precious gift to India, of which he generally spoke with tenderness and emotion, is Visva-Bharati, the International University in Bolpur, Bengal. It grew out of the educational experiment the poet conducted in Bolpur about the beginning of this century. Though Visvabharati was organized only in 1921, today it comprises, besides Shantiniketan—founded after the ancient forest school ideal in 1901 for primary and secondary education—a Department of Music and Arts whose purpose is to reclaim Indian music, singing, dancing and painting, and an Institute of Oriental Research which aims to revive India's ancient culture and learning. To these Tagore added Sriniketan, a unique institute of rural reconstruction, for the purpose of rehabilitating the disorganized villages, and training men to carry on and extend this important task into other sections of India. In view of the ever-growing interest in rural reconstruction in our country, it may be worthwhile to bring to light Tagore's outstanding contributions to this aspect of our nation-building programme by tracing his educational theory and seeing how it found expression in Sriniketan and influenced its growth and development.

Agriculture plays an incredibly significant part in the economy of the country. Even now only a very small percent of India's teeming millions has been affected by Western industrialism. It is because India is still mainly agricultural that there are some 7,00,000 villages in the whole of India, while there are hardly 2,000 towns and hamlets with a population of five thousand or more. Thus the population being rural, the village still remains not only as an important factor in India's economic organization, but also as the very basis of her culture and civilization. It is not, therefore, without reason that Tagore pronounced emphatically that any attempt or scheme to bring about India's regeneration must begin with the village as the unit.

But contrary to this position maintained by the poet, the education of

India for over a century and a half has totally neglected to take into consideration this peculiar, and yet vital, place the village occupies in India's economic and social life. When the British introduced Western learning into India, they were primarily interested in educating the upper classes in English so that they could recruit from among them, men who could assist in the subordinate offices of the administration of the country. Naturally, therefore, secondary and higher learning were encouraged but primary and practical education were sadly neglected. The operation of such a policy excluded effectively education in commerce and agriculture, applied science and technology, and arts and crafts. An educational system so limited in its scope could not but result in narrowing down the range of professions and occupations in India. In consequence, the country was flooded with so-called educated men whose training was purely literary, and whom the government could not absorb as they were too many in number and the country could not make use of as they were ill-equipped to help in its economic development.

Since the Indian mind, through its pursuance of literary and dialectic studies for ages had already become remarkably subtle but pathetically impractical, no system could have been more successfully devised for the emasculation of the upper classes than this type of Western education which trained the intellect and disregarded the hands. Such an education of India over a period of hundred and fifty years could not but result in deepening India's poverty and helplessness. And now as one ponders over the fact that about 75 percent of India's enormous population lives directly on the soil, and another 15 percent more by occupations closely allied to agriculture, one is struck with the hopeless inadequacy of this type of education to effect India's economic regeneration. It is such educational futility that drove the poet to experiment in education. In order to demonstrate how villages may be reconstructed and their appalling poverty reduced, he started Sriniketan to experiment in rural reconstruction.

I

The ancient forest schools of India, which were India's universities, were not shut off from the daily life of the people. The *guru* and his *chelas* gathered fruit and fuel, and took their cattle to graze, supporting themselves by the work of their own hands. Thus education in ancient India comprehended all life. Likewise modern education, the poet maintained, must develop out of, and be vitally related to, its native element, the life current of the people. Economic life covers the whole width of the fundamental basis of society, because its necessities are the simplest and the most universal. In fact, society in its early stages was held together by its economic co-operation as

its members felt in unison a natural interest in their right to live. Therefore educational institutions, he contended, must have close association with this economic life. And the highest mission of education must be to help us to realise the inner principle of unity of all knowledge, and all the activities of our social life and spiritual being. In other words, education must not only instruct but live, not only think but produce.

Further, just as the need for self-preservation demands that room be made in the education of man for training him for the perfect maintenance of his individual life, so also the need for adjustment of his individual life to his larger community or corporate life demands the cultivation in man of the spirit of mutual responsibility. But unfortunately this hardly finds its place, so the poet observed, in the system of education which obtains in India. No doubt, the discipline of self-control and good behaviour is recognized in our schools, but the service of society requires much more than that; it calls for information certainly, but, even more than that, it requires that experience which comes only from the exercise of a number of physical, moral and intellectual faculties. All that we see in our surroundings today in the form of poverty, disease, ignorance, feebleness of intellect and will, and also that aggressive spirit of egotism and self-assertion associated with the cultivation of sectarianism, institutionalism and nationalism, which create in the human world the worst form of dissension and blindness, are due, he believed, to this deficiency in our educational system. Owing to this defect, man suffers from that lack of true freedom in his social life—a freedom that comes from a feeling of general welfare characterized by a wide-spread atmosphere of mutual sympathy and co-operation.

Therefore Tagore confidently asserted that a centre of learning in India should not only be the centre of intellectual life but the very centre of her economic life also. It must co-operate with the villages around it, cultivate land, breed cattle, spin cloth, press oil seeds; it must produce all the necessities, devising the best means, using the best materials, and calling science to its aid. Its very existence should depend upon the success of its industrial activities carried out on the co-operative principle, which will unite the teachers, students and villagers of the neighbourhood in a living and active bond of necessity. Such an education will give an industrial training, whose motive force will not be the greed of profits, but the joy of service rising out of mutual sympathy and love. Only an education which approximates this ideal will be capable of supplying that motive power which can give a different bias and direction to our modern civilization which is at present dominated by **crass materialism**.

Property, as it is sought for today, separates individual from indivi-

dual, and group from group; it thus weakens human relationship and disintegrates society. Therefore Tagore maintained that education should change this situation by supplying us with different ideals of property and its use. It must help to make property the richest expression of the best in us, of our individuality whose greatest illumination is love. Property must really become the means of social intercommunication. When it is alive to its function, it makes, as the unit of wealth, for communal prosperity, just as individuals as units build up the community. Our wisdom lies, therefore, not in destroying separateness of units but in maintaining the spirit of unity in its fullest strength. Such an ideal can only be realized by making provision for students to live in intimate touch with nature, daily to grow in an atmosphere of service offered to all creatures—tending trees, feeding birds and animals, and learning to feel the immense mystery of the soil and water and air.

Along with this, the poet stated, there should be some sharing of life with the tillers of the soil and the humble workers in the neighbouring villages, studying their crafts, inviting them to feasts, joining them in co-operative enterprises for common welfare. In all our intercourse we should be guided, however, not by moral maxims or the condescension of social superiority, but by natural sympathy of life for life, and by the sheer necessity of love's sacrifice for its own sake. The function of education thus becomes that of imparting life-breadth to the complete man, who is intellectual as well as economic, bound by social bonds but aspiring towards spiritual freedom and final protection.

But because education in India was controlled by base utilitarianism, and not by social ideals, generous and creative, the masses of India have received little benefit from it. As Tagore looked over the villages, he found the shadow of death and want growing deeper daily. In them, he declared, water stores are drying up, the pastures are no longer kept inviolate, temples are falling into decay, and the unlettered sons of the village pundits are earning a precarious livelihood by giving false evidence. The village is fast growing into a jungle and malaria is devastating the land. No food, no health, no joy, no hope, no man to help his neighbour. When the blow comes heads are bent to receive it; when death arrives a passive embrace is offered. When injustice is suffered the blame is cast on the evil star, and neighbours in their troubles are left to Providence. The village community is moribund,—its life-giving institutions are uprooted and are floating like dead logs down the stream of time.

And yet, the village is the centre of Indian civilization, and a vast majority of the Indian population is still rural. It is obvious, therefore, that

if India's national regeneration is to be brought about, the villages must first be restored to their normal economic and social life. To this end, the poet stressed, we need a system of education which will win the confidence, friendship and affection of the villagers and cultivators by taking a real interest in all that concerns their life and welfare, and by making a lively effort to assist them in solving their pressing problems. It must take the problems of the villages, of the soil, to the class room for study and discussion and then to the experimental farm for solution. And the knowledge and experience thus gained should be carried to the villages in the endeavour to improve their sanitation and health, develop their resources and credit and help them to sell their produce and buy their requirements to the best advantage. Furthermore, it must teach them better methods of growing crops and vegetables, and keeping live-stock ; and encourage them to learn and practise arts and crafts, bringing home to them the benefits of associated life, mutual aid and common endeavour.

II

During his sojourn in America, Tagore met L. K. Elmhirst, a graduate of Cambridge, who was then a student in the Agricultural School of Cornell University ; he extended an invitation to Elmhirst to join him in the task of meeting this pressing need for experimentation in the rehabilitation of the villages in India. So he joined Tagore in 1922 and rendered within his short stay invaluable help in combining American ideas of scientific farming and modern education with the poet's ideas of rural reconstruction. Tagore placed his farm in the village of Surul at the disposal of Elmhirst to be used as the basis of his operation for the founding of a School of Agriculture and Rural Reconstruction. Here every precaution was taken to avoid all the blunders which are commonly committed in India of bringing a ready-made system from somewhere and making it fit every unfortunate village and town in India. Just as each pupil needs individual attention, so also each village, said Tagore, requires individual study and treatment, inasmuch as each has its own history—social, economic and political.

Hence in Sriniketan no attempt is made to start out for the village with any well planned programme ; there the programme grows with the study of the problems of each individual village. The method of attack followed is to begin with a very careful survey of the village with special reference to its past and present economic condition, its social and sanitary state, and its educational and political position. Such a survey, for instance, of a particular village revealed the following conditions : impoverishment of the soil, prevalence of malaria and other diseases, suspicion and distrust, poverty and

starvation among the inhabitants, and the drain of the best brains and bodies to the city. Further, it was found that the community life, the spirit of mutual responsibility and co-operation, was absent in the village. Roads were poor, sanitary conditions were bad and the peasants' knowledge of how to capitalize their resources for agricultural improvement was hopelessly inadequate.

The disclosure of the above conditions made it quite evident that the task of village reconstruction was nothing less than that of rebuilding the economic foundation of the particular village, of stimulating the villager to use his available resources, of organizing co-operative marketing, of driving out fear and suspicion. In short, it meant that the old spirit of community enterprise,—which embraced not only buying and selling but every part of a varied life, of art and poetry, of dance and drama, of song and folk tale,—had to be revived.

The poet and his workers realized that to undertake such a task of reconstruction would mean not only instructing and assisting the farmer to regain his place but also providing proper education for the children of the village. The rural school, if it is to meet that need, must be such as to give the child an opportunity to experience and to learn by experience. In other words, it must encourage the child to experiment and to draw conclusions from its experience. In Tagore's Institute, therefore, no programme of village work is considered in the abstract. It is through purposeful enterprise that it is growing in its life and work. The triple agencies in village education, as they have grown out of actual experiment, are : the Scout Troup, Day and Night Schools for village children and the Home Project.

Scout training helps the village boys to pick up the idea of immediate obedience to an order, and to realize the value of concerted action. The group games develop in them a sporting spirit as well as an understanding of co-operative effort—a great need in village life. The Scout Troup has been found to be a very valuable auxiliary in the work of reconditioning villages. During district or village fairs, for instance, they help as volunteers in the general running of the fair, the controlling of drinking water, the proper parking of carts, the supervision of latrines etc. At times of epidemics they render excellent service. When malaria breaks out, for example, the scouts draw up maps showing dobas, tanks, pools, drains etc., in the village, and then take the necessary steps in fighting the dobas, kerosening tanks, disinfecting wells, destroying mosquitoes, opening up drains and so forth. Out of a village fire came the need for a fire brigade and now the scouts are also trained to fight fire in the villages. Their excellent work and disinterested service in the improvement of the village seldom fails to produce a most salutary educative effect on the adult population of the village. The Institute sends out trained scouts to

neighbouring villages to organize scouts. Thus Boy Scouts prove themselves indispensable by their invaluable service to the general condition of these villages.

The village family is a poor family, and it is no wonder if the parent insists on having his child share in some way the financial burden of the family. Moreover, the parent is sceptical of the value of education. He often fears, and that not without reason, that his child may be tempted away from the land by a system of training which makes him unfit for rural life and work. Because of such fears he keeps the child away from the village school. In full recognition of this situation the poet decided to train every boy in the village to play his part in increasing the family income by utilizing the Home Project. By this method the boy is taught to carry on some hobby at home which will aid in a way the family earnings. They are encouraged to weave, to raise poultry, to preserve fruits and to grow vegetables in their own home yard under the supervision of their teachers. The natural ambition of the boys to be earning members like their fathers is also thus capitalized. Incidentally it may be mentioned in this connection that the poet did not consider that a boy has had an education in citizenship until he had learned to produce by the labour of his own hands, sell the product of his efforts and then express his personality in the expending of the proceeds. The Home Project provides also for this type of training in citizenship.

Another value of this method, which is of real educational significance is that it arouses the pupil's interest by offering them problems and claiming solutions from them; it has been found that with proper stimulation unlimited fields of interest, and therefore study of varied subjects, such as botany, chemistry, physics, bacteriology, geology, surveying, levelling, soil-testing etc., may be opened up in relation to their Home Projects. Such projects help the students, not infrequently, to discover their special interests and go on to higher schools for specialized study. Above all these values, the most important advantage it has from the poor peasant's point of view is that it makes his boys useful and productive; consequently, it has also the advantage of increasing thereby the peasant's own interest in the education of his children.

Tagore was fully convinced that no system of education which does not give children under proper supervision all the experiences—social, economic and cultural,—with which they have to deal when they are grown up, could help in the true sense of the word in the rehabilitation of the villages. Any system of village education, he believed, must aim to train them to meet the needs of the village itself, whether it be by way of tanning, poultry-raising, farming, gardening, dyeing, weaving or anything else.

Though Visvabharati has often been badly in need of financial help, yet all through the years of his administration, Tagore consistently refused to accept aid from Government for fear of external control, and consequent check to the freedom of his institution. But it is interesting to observe that he was not opposed to accepting assistance from any organisation, governmental or otherwise, in the work of village reconstruction. In fact, it is the policy of the Institute to consider it, as far as its village extension work is concerned, its duty to stimulate and encourage the activities of all bodies, public and private, which have the welfare of the peasant at heart and show a really sympathetic attitude towards him.

This step taken by the Institute made it possible to secure the services of the Government Research Tannery for the village muchis or tanners, and to work out a co-operative scheme between the Anti-Malarial Co-operative Society, the Ministry of Public Health, the District and Union Board Chairmen to tackle the curse of malaria and ill-health in these villages, and to invite the Veterinary Department to run a clinic for the village.

Such co-operative effort and work of the Institute has demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt that only as private enterprises arise in the villages themselves, it would be possible to make full use of the Government Departments of Health, Industries and Agriculture. It is very necessary to form some permanent link between the laboratories maintained by Government and the needs of the villages. Unless these Departments stimulate the villager to grasp the information and assistance held out to him, and unless they reach the children directly through co-operation with the school master and private agencies, they will not justify their existence and the lavish expenditure of funds on them. This demonstration of how these costly departments can be made use of in the interest of the rural population through such co-operation is in itself a notable service to the cause of rural reconstruction.

The people of the village easily fall victim to all sorts of diseases because of their low power of resistance and of the unsanitary conditions which prevail in the villages. The crying need for medical aid to the sick in the villages brought a dispensary into existence as part of the Institute. There is always a stream of men, women and children who come to the dispensary seeking medical help. As many as 10,000 patients are treated in a year. Women come even from long distances for treatment. Doctors, trained nurses and midwives with the assistance of young men and women students attached to the dispensary do excellent work in caring for these humble folk.

This medical section has successfully organized Local Health Societies for the improvement of the sanitary and health conditions of the villages. The medical officer of the Institute gives frequent demonstrations and lantern

lectures on food values, personal hygiene, village sanitation and preventable diseases. He carries on a certain amount of research also in connection with the peculiar diseases prevalent in the villages. The midwives of the dispensary visit the women of the village and give them talks on maternity, nursing and sanitation; they give lessons in midwifery, and demonstrations whenever possible, to the untrained village *dais* (midwives). Thus the Institute tries through such medical work to improve the sanitary conditions of the villages, and the health and happiness of the peasants.

III

The poverty and suffering of the peasantry has become most appalling because of the continued economic exploitation. Though India is still almost purely an agricultural country, only a very few agricultural colleges are found in India, and even they serve mainly, as Prof. Kilpatrick of Columbia rightly points out, to teach some and they in turn to teach some others. The farmer who is in dire need of agricultural knowledge and training in scientific methods gets really little or no benefit from these institutions. Our villages therefore need education; certainly, said the poet, but not book learning. They need education in sanitation, in health, in co-operation, in arts and crafts, and, above all, in scientific agriculture. However, in the education of the village there should be no attempt, he pointed out, to impose education from without. In every case the nature of village education must be determined by the distinctive problems each village faces.

In order to experiment in this direction Tagore organized an Agricultural School with an experimental farm in the village of Surul. Though the barren land, where the present farm stands, was bought in 1922, yet it was not till 1924 that the actual laying out of the farm and the carrying out of experiments on scientific lines were undertaken. The entire area was plotted out systematically and a proper system of drainage and irrigation laid out. With the help and guidance of agricultural experts trained in America, the poet added to his Institute an invaluable experimental station.

The village workers are trained here to look for the peasant's problem, bring it to the class room for study and discussion, and to find a solution through experimentation. The Agricultural school teaches the boys and the farmers how to find out the natural productivity of the soil and to increase it by following a judicious system of rotation of crops and intensive cultivation. It teaches them also how to find out crops that might be grown most economically with the aid of indigenous implements and methods which an average cultivator can easily afford, and also how to introduce new crops and to use with advantage improved and modern implements whenever possible. The

farmers come quite frequently, and in numbers, to the experimental farm to see demonstrations in scientific farming, to watch students at work on the farm, to observe the tractor in operation and to learn the various methods of fighting crop diseases and insect pests.

The Experimental Farm cultivates tomatoes, cauliflower, dhaincha plants for green manuring, tobacco, potatoes, big round onions, maize as fodder crop, sunhemp fibres, jute, Guina grass for fodder, sugar cane, plantain, pineapple, mulberry plants for silk rearing and so forth. A flower garden is also kept up for the purpose of raising seeds and seedlings. A number of Japanese, Chinese and other foreign fruits and vegetables have been experimented with successfully. During the slack season the sons and daughters of the peasants are invited to come to this Institute with their school teachers and devote their time to the learning of gardening, manuring, seed-bed making, poultry-raising, durrie-weaving and other such useful arts and crafts.

The Agricultural School runs Dairy and Poultry farms also. The Dairy Department breeds cattle which will produce not only good milch cows but also good draft animals. The latter is produced without the importation of foreign stock by proper selection and culling from indigenous stock. The villagers are invited to avail themselves of every help the farm can give towards improving their cattle.

It is obvious that if agricultural knowledge is to be of any use at all to the people, it must be in possession of the toilers of the soil. What India needs, therefore, are not merely agricultural colleges all over India, but even more rural schools with an agricultural bias, and also experimental farms. Tagore put forth the idea that agricultural improvement must be started with each individual farmer. It is he who is lacking in agricultural knowledge and education; his methods and implements are primitive, and his meagre means forbid expensive implements. Agricultural education must consider all these problems of the Indian farmer, and find ways and means of solving them. The poet, by actually demonstrating how the individual farmer may be reached and how he may be supplied with useful and scientific knowledge of farming, has made an important contribution to village education.

There are over 250,000,000 persons living on agriculture, but since agriculture in itself, as practised in India, could not yield a real livelihood, cottage industries were maintained to supplement the family income. But these cottage industries were crushed by the play of such economic forces as the industrial revolution in Great Britain, the practice of free Trade Policy and the resulting competition of machine-made goods with the hand-made articles. The destruction of these industries meant the reducing of millions of agriculturists to dire starvation.

Since for years yet to come India will not become industrialized in such a way as to raise substantially the economic condition of these villages, Tagore held that any system of rural reconstruction must give careful attention to the possibility of reviving the decaying arts and crafts of these villages. It is the practice of such a policy that seems to determine the expansion of Tagore's Institute in different directions. For instance, the deplorable condition of the local muchhi or village tanner in one particular village led the institute to study his problems and needs. Those students who made the investigation had to be sent to the Research Tannery in Calcutta to be trained in order to help those village tanners to solve their problems. Such a study resulted not only in reviving the tanning industry of the village, but also in bringing into existence the Tannery Department of the Institute.

Similarly, an investigation of the district of Birbhum showed that there was once a prosperous weaving industry, which had practically died out, and that some attempts made to revive this important industry on the workshop plan had also failed. Further, the investigation revealed that that failure was due to the inadequate supply of cheap yarn, and to the substitution of more expensive ways of supplying the labour provided in the older method of production by the co-operation of the weaver's family. This research resulted in adding a Weaving Department to the Institute.

After several attempts the Institute has succeeded in putting new life into the industry. The Weaving Department now gives these weavers training in planning new designs and supplies them with yarn at a cheaper rate. Others who wish to learn weaving to supplement their family income are also given every facility according to their several needs. Thus many have already learnt to turn their idle hours to productive work and raise the economic condition of the family. In this manner the Institute takes up the problems of the different villages, and helps, as far as possible, to solve them and to revive their old handicrafts.

Along with such work, the poet proposed that Village Societies should be formed to work hand in hand. Therefore such societies were established for the purpose of settling disputes by arbitration, bringing about mutual trust among the peasants, and improving the condition of the depressed classes by spreading education and removing the evil of drink. Also Co-operative Organizations for buying and selling, for the purpose of irrigation, sanitation, and promotion of efficient manufacture and intensive cultivation were organized in these villages. We must keep in mind, however, that Tagore's efforts to form such co-operative societies were not controlled by the idea of accumulation of riches or of concentration of power. Such societies are meant to teach India co-operation partly for creating wealth,

not acquiring it, but even more for a fuller expression of spiritual life through property in all its communal relations. They have been found to be of very great help in instilling new moral and social life into these village communities.

Poverty is, indeed, an important problem in the village, but to the poet, the problem of unhappiness appeared even more important. Wealth, which is the synonym for the production and collection of things, men can make use of ruthlessly, but happiness, which may not compete with wealth in its list of materials, is final. It is creative, and therefore it has its sources of riches within itself. Consequently, in all his attempts to rebuild the village, Tagore tried to flood the choked bed of village life with the stream of happiness. In such task, he believed, the scholars, the poets, the musicians, the artists should collaborate and offer their contributions.

On festive occasions and during village fairs, a company of Visva-bharati players and musicians entertain the villagers with Jatras, folk songs, open air plays and village music. The peasants are encouraged to act scenes from the scriptures—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata—to take part in village sports and to indulge in fire works. All these help to relieve the monotony and isolation of rural life and to cultivate sociability by feeding the affective side of man's nature. The boys of the Institute take great delight in serving the peasants in this manner and increasing their happiness. The Institute tries thus to instil that noblest spirit in the world, the spirit of brotherhood and disinterested service between man and man in the promotion of his welfare and happiness. Without appeal to such spirit, any attempt to solve the problem of the Indian village will only lead us, the poet declared, to the spirit of capitalist industrialism.

For the purpose of extending this work of village rehabilitation, the Institute holds a series of Training Camps each year. Young students from villages who wish to return to their own home to take up some form of Welfare or Village Reconstruction Work are given an introductory training in these camps. They learn to dig trenches, cook and serve food, and receive instruction in personal hygiene, policing and fire control. They are taught the causes and prevention of malaria, cholera, typhoid, smallpox, dysentery etc. They are also trained in map reading, drawing of maps, surveying of local conditions of village life and in some farming methods. Besides such workers, the Institute trains others known as apprentices. The peculiar thing about this group of workers is that they are trained not only to carry on the village welfare and reconstruction work but also to be independent workers. They are taught to earn their own livelihood and then go about stimulating in the peasant and his children the spirit of self-help. Thus

the Institute carries on not only its experimentation in rural reconstruction but also the work of providing an army of devoted and well-trained workers for the purpose of extending this important work in other districts and provinces, and laying the foundations of a happy, contented and humane life in villages. Such then is the programme of work outlined by Tagore for re-suscitating our disintegrated villages.

Visvabharati is a unique centre of learning where there is a perpetual fusing of the intellect and the soul, not only between the master and the pupil, but embracing in its influence the unlettered tillers of the soil as well. The Indian centre of culture is wedded to the soil from which it has sprung. In years to come it will, we hope, inundate Indian villages, where at present barrenness and scarcity, poverty and gloom prevail, with fertility and abundance, wealth and health. The Institute of Rural Reconstruction of Visvabharati has already become a marked centre of attraction to those interested in the promotion of the work and welfare of the Indian peasant. Tagore's philosophy of rural reconstruction is so Indian and yet so modern that it is bound to play in the years yet to come an important role in India's economic regeneration and in flooding villages with new life and happiness.

TOWARDS LABOUR EFFICIENCY THROUGH PRACTICAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

B. H. MEHTA

Believing that the literary character of our system of education has increased educated unemployment and labour inefficiency, the author of this article makes a plea for the introduction of the Activity Principle in education. While he does not advocate Labour Schools, Dr. Mehta suggests that the tool and the workshop should supplement the book and the classroom. To aid those interested in this type of education, he has drawn up a model activity course for children between the ages of three and fourteen.

IN spite of the long span of world history, the democratisation of education has been very slow in developing. What is now known as the modern school, with its trained staff, a well defined curriculum, clear aims and well thought out methods, was little known even to the civilized and progressive West a few centuries ago. Education was then mainly theological, and contained a smattering of the classics and the fine arts for the benefit of children of the fortunate few. After the French Revolution, education came to be discussed, principles were formulated, and it was considered worthwhile to educate larger numbers of children. As education came to be gradually democratised through State initiative and effort, its aims and objects widened, and the curriculum was framed to achieve definite predetermined results. When large numbers of children went to school, and that too at the age of seven or eight which was then considered a very early age, the education of the child in the three R's was naturally considered fundamental and of very great importance. The aim of education was purely objective, the psychology of the child was not understood as the science of psychology had hardly emerged out of the woods of "soul and matter" confusions, the training for work and marriage was hardly considered essential as the Industrial Revolution was just born, and the institution of marriage was in the grips of tradition, and the number of even poorly trained teachers was hardly adequate to shoulder the burden of any ambitious scheme of child training.

Gradually as the concept of the nation was more definitely developed, education came to be allied with the fundamental socio-economic-political structure of the State and society, and the type of education was conceived to suit each strata of society, whilst its quality varied according to the economic class to which a child belonged. More recently the patterns of education have varied with the more clearly defined aims and ideals of highly nationalistic governments and societies and the requirements of the very complex and scientific economic orders prevailing in various countries. Thus in Russia,

Germany, Britain, U. S. A., Italy, Japan and other countries, who shape their own destinies, education develops on more or less same principles but moulds of training are evolved to suit their own formulated nationalistic ambitions.

India perhaps knew a particular type of education in the hoary past, and that education had practically died out or had been suppressed after the decay of Brahmanism and Muslim rule, and especially after the impact with Western civilisation and the establishment of British Rule. The foundation of education under the British Raj was again laid with purely objective aims. The plan of education was prepared top downwards, with an implied adoption of the principle that the end justified the means. It was the goal of a University career that determined what type of education was to be given in the very early years. The government, of course, was not at all anxious for democratising education or for making it practical. It only wanted a particular class to carry on the subordinate services involved in the administration of the country, and their own few institutions, supplemented by schools maintained through missionary effort, public philanthropy and a little bit of private initiative were enough for this purpose.

Education has become widespread only during the last twenty to thirty years, particularly after the growth of Local Self-Government. Unfortunately this new wave of democratic education which accompanied political unrest and social awakening in the country did not conceive of any new scheme of education. The continuation of the old plan has led to the preservation of wrong objectives in education which has brought about educated unemployment, and other disastrous consequences, one of which is the inefficiency of labour.

New Education in the West.—Educational theory and practice have developed very rapidly in the West, especially after the last war. The new principles of education are based upon our present knowledge of child psychology, experimentation with regard to technique, and an understanding of the importance of social, economic and political forces in human life. Modern education does not merely tinker with old systems. It demands a radically new outlook and a realisation of the great creative possibilities of the human individual and the complex nature of his functions in a highly advanced state of civilisation. Thus is born a new slogan: *Education of the Whole Man*—a complete preparation of the individual from the earliest years for a proper and efficient functioning in every aspect and department of life. Naturally, in such an education work plays a vitally important part as it deals with one of the two major natural functions of the human being.

Importance of Early Education.—Early theories of education gave the greatest importance to the culmination and final stages of training of the young person. Modern education rightly realises that the development and

training of the child for its full development must begin as early as possible. This should be especially more so in societies which are victims of ignorance for ignorant and poverty-shaken homes cannot provide proper care and environment for the child in the early years. It is not therefore surprising that the element of work is introduced even in Nursery School curricula. At the same time, it is but natural that any undue emphasis on the work-element in education will expose it to the charge that it is ultra-utilitarian and materialistic. The golden mean is to bring about a happy combination of mental development, training for work and cultivation of proper skills and habits, not as a mere compromise, but as an ideal condition for the full growth of the child. The importance of training for work-life cannot be exaggerated in a world dominated by science and industry where a highly complicated economic system prevails. This training is essential not only for personal welfare, but for national progress and the progress of civilization.

Educational Theories and Practical Work.—Important educational institutions in the West have introduced the work-element in education from very early years, because of the importance and recognition of fundamental psychological and physiological theories and principles. If work is an important element in human life, then the child should be *habituated* to work as early as possible. Work actually means a co-ordination of the brain and finger activity, both working under the stimulus of pleasurable emotions. The behaviour training and development of the child should not overlook work-life.

Efficient work implies a healthy physical growth of man. Physical structures must be well developed and must attain full growth to perform their natural functions efficiently. The structural development of man takes place quickly and more during the early years and hence the importance of paying attention and guiding the physical development and growth of the child. This physical development especially implies the training and development of the senses, the acclimatisation of the limbs to work, and the correction of the physical environment in order to make it the most helpful agency for the development of the child. As important as physical health is mental health, and the emotional and mental development should also begin in childhood. The child's mind can be impressed at an early age, acceptable trends may be developed in its expression of desires, and interests may be acquired early in life which may prove useful in later years.

Activity Principle in Early Education.—Pioneers of early education like Froebel, John Dewey, Mon tessori and others recognised the importance of the work-element in early education, especially through a programme of active play. A study of these methods and their technique followed, and the

Activity Principle and the Principle of Accustomed Environment were laid down as of fundamental importance. The entire early education of Austria was based on these principles before the Hitlerian conquest of the country. Schools in Russia, Germany and other countries also based their educational programmes on the same principles. The Activity Principle implies that the child acquires experience and develops personality through a programme of active work, and that book lessons and class rooms are the least suited to early development as they lead to the repression of natural interests and desires. Play is a fundamental child interest and its extensive use in a programme of activity creates a curriculum which makes a natural appeal to the child.

Besides, in the early years the child must develop by establishing active and conscious contacts with the physical environment of which it is a part, and should be gradually introduced by an acquisition of experience to more important and complex forms of environment to which it will belong in future. Thus the school environment must especially maintain direct contact with the home, the field or the workshop, and the general social and political background of a community.

Very interesting technique has been developed together with corresponding equipment in Kindergarten, Montessori and Labour Schools. Whilst it is possible to use these because of their capacity to command the interest and enthusiasm of the child and at the same time provide the necessary development and training, it is possible to evolve a course of training which will prove of great use to work-life and which can be extended through the Primary and Secondary Schools. Such a practical course, based on the Activity Principle, will provide a threefold experience of (1) Substances, (2) Tools and Implements, and (3) Processes which are the basic factors in agricultural and industrial life. Substances and tools are brought into the child's environment in graded series, and these are made objects of play and experimentation in a well-thought out programme of active work.

Substances.—When the child sees, handles and manipulates substances and tools in such a manner and for a length of time as to permit the objects to make a fairly permanent impress on its mind, it will acquire knowledge of those substances and tools. This knowledge will include a proper grasp of the shape, size, consistency, surface and other characteristics and qualities of the object. The substances and tools may be generally divided into three separate series. The first series will include substances and tools which may be used between the ages of $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 6 years, the second series for children between 7 and 11 years, and the third series for those over 12 years.

Most of the world's production centres round natural substances and other materials manufactured from more elementary substances. With the

spread of science an infinite variety of raw materials are used, and also a large number of artificial substances are produced for use in manufacture. The child is introduced to a list of most important substances graded to suit its ability to use them in play and experimentation. The following list of substances will give a general indication for the framing of suitable Activity Programmes:

First Series : 2 to 6 years.

<i>Name of Substance</i>	<i>Age for First Introduction</i>	<i>Suitable Activity</i>
Sand	2 years	Sand Play.
Water	2 „	Gardening & Water Play.
Clay	2½ „	Plasta Modelling.
Paper	2½ „	Folding, teaming, cutting, making.
Glass	2½ „	Play with Beads.
Wood	3 „	Block and Brick Play.
Earth	4 „	Gardening.
Manure	4 „	Gardening.
Seeds	4 „	Gardening.
Cork	4 „	Nailing and Shaping.
Pith	4 „	
Colours	4 „	Brush Work.
Soft Cardboard	4 „	Cutting and modelmaking.
Twine	4 „	Bead necklace making, parcel tying etc.
Cane	4 „	Elementary basketing.
Wool	5 „	Design weaving in canvas.
Tissue Paper	5 „	Tracing.
Cotton thread	5 „	Sewing.
Cardboard	6 „	Cutting and modelmaking.
Cloth	6 „	Cutting and sewing.
Rope	6 „	Knotting.
Soft wood (Indian)	6 „	Nailing and sawing.

Second Series: 7 to 11 years.

Rubber, leather, plain glass, tin, copper, brass, kerosene oil, turpentine, linseed oil, methylated spirit, lime, etc.

Third Series: 12 to 14 years.

Pig iron, cast iron, different types of metal wires, sheet steel, tool steel, tempered steel, different types of wood, pressed wood, ply wood, celluloid, fibre, different types of leather, gasoline, heavy oil, grease etc.

Tools.—The human capacity for inventing and using tools is a distinct

A model activity course is given below to provide a general idea of how the knowledge of *substances, tools and processes* can be imparted to children in a series of activity lessons which will be interesting and appealing to the natural aptitudes of children. In this course *play* and *work* become more or less synonymous, and children secure the joy of actual achievement. The Activity Course presents a unique opportunity for self-expression and group work practised in actual work conditions. Activity courses must suit the children and their habitat, and dominance should be given to local handicrafts. The following model course is generally suitable to modern city conditions and it may be modified and improved to suit other conditions.

A MODEL ACTIVITY COURSE FOR CHILDREN BETWEEN 3 AND 14 YEARS

Age : 3 to 5 Years

Action-play without apparatus:—

Holding, moving, putting, turning, pulling, pushing, lifting etc.

Digging sand pit and sand play.

Filling water, sand, earth, stones, etc. in boxes, baskets and pits dug in the ground.

Throwing solids, and pouring liquids.

Cleaning—Washing face and hands and cleaning teeth, brushing hair.

Carpentry:—Hitting, Driving and Drilling—Driving a nail in cork and soft wood, hole making with awl, removing nail with flat plier.

Block play with standard sized building brick-blocks.

Clay—Modelling shapes.

Colouring—Use of brush and prepared primary colours. Colouring on paper.

Cutting and Tearing—Paper and cloth tearing, use of edgeless scissors.

Latching and Tying etc.—latch door, tie granny knot, stringing beads and working on bead looms, buttoning etc.

Surfacing—Use sand-paper on wood and recognise surfaces.

Assembling—Pinning together bits of paper, making heaps, tying bundles. Making paper toys by folding paper, stitching with cotton thread and wool.

Gardening—Sowing very large seeds and taking care of individual plants.

Age : 6 to 7 Years

Mixing—Grain, earth and manure, liquid to liquid, liquid and dissoluble solids, liquidising solids.

Apparatus and accessories—Vessel, spoon, churning stick, ink, water colours.

Experiments—Glue making, Paste making, Ink making from powder.

Cleaning—Dusting, washing, sweeping, erasing pencilled line, and boot polishing.

Carpentry—Use of saw, screwdriver and driller.

Cutting—Paper cutting, designing, etc. (soft and hard card-board).

Assembling—Glueing paper and wood.

Colouring—Crayon and pencil work, water colour.

Sowing large seeds in baskets already prepared, watering plants, growing seeds between blotting-papers, recognising different types of grain.

Measuring—Use of footrule to measure height, length and breadth.

Sewing—More advanced work.

Smoothing surfaces on sand stones.

Knotting—Tying eight elementary knots.

Age : 8 to 9 Years

Digging—Small pits using pick-axe and shovels.

Filling, Throwing and Filtering—Planting flower seeds in baskets.

Cleaning—Washing floor, cleaning utensils, erasing ink line.

Cutting—Cutting finger nails, cloth, vegetables, etc.

Making paper toys with glue and pastes.

Colouring wood with oil paints.

Measuring—Same as in 6 and 7 years, including areas.

Carpentry—Making wooden toys using glue and nails for assembling.

Knitting.

Sharpening pencil.

Tracing and copying.

Elementary leather work.

Introduction to metals by using metal counters in indoor games.

Cane work and basketry.

Age : 10 to 11 Years

Digging—Garden pits and flower beds.

Gardening—Preparing and sowing flower beds and vegetables and transplanting plants.

Watering plants.

Cleaning—Removing stains from clothes, erasing typed and stencilled letter with chemicals. Cleaning metals, tiles, china, floors, with proper requisites. Washing clothes.

Carpentry—Elementary joinery, cutting, sawing wood, cutting card-board, preparing minced meat, vegetables etc.

Make plaster of paris moulds, ordinary gum, and flour paste.

Transporting and looking after seasonal flower plants.

Measuring—Liquid and cubic contents.

Sewing simple articles, knitting and embroidery.

Sharpen the edge of a penknife.

Light a fire and cook simple dishes.

Make paper, wood and wire articles.

Spinning and weaving.

From the age of twelve it is desirable to introduce pupils to regular workshop and laboratory work. Elementary courses in carpentry and mechanics, and chemistry and electrical experiments as contained in Lott's Chemistry Sets and Electron Sets will prove of great interest to the young. Over and above this, it may now be possible to introduce actual handicrafts with only a small element of play with reference to handicrafts actually practised as handwork in the earlier years. Cane work and basketry, leather work, spinning and weaving, sewing, knitting, embroidery and elementary tailoring, clay modelling, painting, linocraft, plastics, book-binding, rug weaving and similar practices can now be undertaken by groups of pupils according to their respective interests.

Place in School Curriculum.—The establishment of purely Labour Schools for the education and training of workers is not desirable and is not suggested for adoption in India. It is possible to remould the existing school curriculum and adding to them a fair measure of practical work. The tool and the workshop should supplement the book and the classroom. Public opinion will take some time to value practical training, as a wrong notion has been cultivated that literacy and book training are meant for cultural training, whilst practical work should be reserved for the working classes. The importance of literary training is as erroneous as the importance of classical education was half a century ago. A beginning deserves to be made in every good school, whether Nursery, Primary or Secondary, to introduce 6 to 12 hours of practical work per week.

The Teacher Problem.—A great difficulty will be experienced in obtaining teachers of the right type for teaching practical work in schools as long as technical courses are not part of the curriculum of the various Teachers' Training Institutions. The literary training of the teacher does not develop his aptitude for practical work, and therefore he lacks training, skill and efficiency which are the basic qualifications of teachers of practical courses. When technicians or craftsmen are appointed as teachers, they are found to be untrained for handling children and imparting to them the necessary training. The only solution of this important and difficult problem is to train as teachers persons who are already adepts in various arts and crafts.

School Workshop.—The classroom is not a fit place for practical work. A separate and properly equipped workshop with work-tables, work-benches and a fair equipment of good, durable and efficient apparatus and tools is indispensable for every school. Practical work naturally requires more space than the usual, ordinary classroom work. Western schools, and especially Secondary Schools, not only possess good workshops, but also separate and well equipped departments for carpentry, mechanics, printing, book-binding, leather work, etc. India is accustomed to a few separate workshops for vocational training, but a far advantageous method which will be of service to large numbers of pupils is to organise vocational departments in Secondary Schools.

Equipment.—In India most of the equipment for practical education comes from foreign countries, though it is possible to manufacture most of the imported articles in India. With the realisation of the need of practical training, educational equipment has already begun to be manufactured both in British India and in the more progressive Indian States. There is need to make only one mention of an important detail with regard to practical training, and that is to point out the unwholesome practice of using inefficient and worn out tools in schools and vocational training departments as a measure of economy. Nothing could be more harmful to the proper training of pupils in practical work than to habituate them to slack practices and use of tools which are not suitable for developing real skill and efficiency.

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THE PROBLEM OF ADOLESCENCE

KATAYUN H. CAMA

Dr. Cama maintains in this article that it is not enough to say that during adolescence many sex problems arise because of the effect of physiological maturation, for, sex maturity does not account fully for the variety of conflicts observed. She supports the view that the problem of the adolescent child proper concerns the lack of harmony between mental tendencies themselves and the impact of these on the ideals, attitudes, social modes and customs of the child's environment.

IN discussing the psychology of childhood, various writers have found it convenient to divide the period into different stages. Although mental and physical development from birth to old age must be regarded as a continuous unfolding, a dynamic process without break, students of the human mind and human body find it useful to divide life into a series of stages. Thus we have, for instance, the development of play habits of childhood classified as solitary, individual or competitive, and group or co-operative. Then there is the famous theory of Shakespeare's popular Seven Ages of Man as also G. S. Hall's thesis of recapitulation of ancestral steps.

To the psychologist, however, it is found useful to see human life as a passage through five more or less critical phases: the phase of infancy to the fifth year; a period of relatively calm emotional development from the fifth year to the twelfth; a period of puberty and adolescence extending widely from the thirteenth to the eighteenth year; the period of adult manhood and womanhood; and the phase of change medically known as the "menopause" or "climacteric". None of these phases or periods necessarily appear or end at the exact ages mentioned. There are approximate demarcations, and scientific writers are usually careful to say that each ensuing stage appears gradually even though there are marked differences at more widely separated periods. As this article deals with the development of puberty and adolescence, and with the problems that arise as a consequence of the disturbances that occur during this period, the phases of infancy and childhood will not be elaborated upon in great detail, but will be touched upon now and again as this critical period of adolescence cannot be fully understood in all its implications and manifestations without appreciating what the child has been before he reached puberty.

G. Stanley Hall, in his monumental work on *Adolescence* (pp. XIII, XV), writes in this manner: / "Adolescence is a new birth, for the higher and more completely human traits are now born. The qualities of body and soul

that now emerge are far newer Development is less gradual and more saltatory, suggestive of some ancient period of storm and stress when old moorings were broken and a higher level attained The social instincts undergo sudden enfoldment and the new life of love awakens. "It is the age of sentiment and of religion, of rapid fluctuation of mood, and the world seems strange and new." Interest in adult life and in vocation develops. Youth awakens to a new world and understands neither it nor himself."/

The passage from childhood to adolescence is, in the majority of cases, a comparatively quiet and harmonious one; but adolescence itself must be regarded as a phase calling for particular care and attention as it involves significant bodily, physical, and mental changes which affect the individual not only in his relation to society but in relation to himself, his happiness and mental balance. Youth is marked off biologically from the period of childhood by the maturation of the sex function with the remarkable awakening of the secondary sex characteristics and, anthropologically, by the primitive initiation rites or religious ceremonials, and the donning of adult garb. It must be remembered that these forces of life at puberty, so graphically described by some writers, are not entirely new but take on a new direction, because one of the major instincts or drives is coming to maturity—the sexual instinct and its related interest. Instincts and interests that were more diffused and lacked any definite character, exercising or venting themselves upon immediate members of the child's family now assume a character which demands that they shall have their satisfaction in the world outside the family and in the general life of the family. This coming of age of the instincts is a signal of the approaching independence of the human being as a battling, struggling, sexual and social creature.'

Ada Arlitt, in the *Adolescent* (p. 43), cites the case of a fourteen-year-old boy who, whenever his grandmother came to the house, said, "Sorry, but I'm too big to kiss you any more and too busy to talk to you." After witnessing tears in his grandmother's eyes and being scolded by his mother for rudeness, he would say, "Well, I'm going now, good-bye," go out, slam the door, wait a few minutes, then come back and kiss his grandmother. This behaviour illustrates the adolescent's eagerness to be considered as an adult full of independence and ready to strike out on his own into the world outside, and the concern on the part of the parents and guardians to retain the childhood behaviour pattern. It is significant to note in this connection that the instincts or inborn drives with which the child is endowed, though still untamed, are subject to those personal and early social influences which are found in family life. But before considering the interrelationship of parent-child attitude and the problems arising therefrom, let us study the

physical and mental changes at adolescence in the course of the growth and maturity of the human being so as to be better able to understand the nature and cause of the problems.

In recent years there has been a tendency to belittle the changes of the pubescent period. Starch, for example, in *Educational Psychology* (p. 20), expresses the opinion that "a great deal of the dramatic bursting of instincts is chiefly a dramatic bursting forth of descriptive words," but if we look at the following Table and Curves carefully, it will be only too obvious that Starch's statement is not based on accurate statistical facts:—

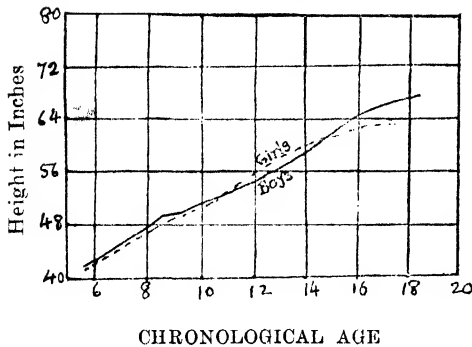
THE HEIGHT OF 88,449 CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

(After Boas)

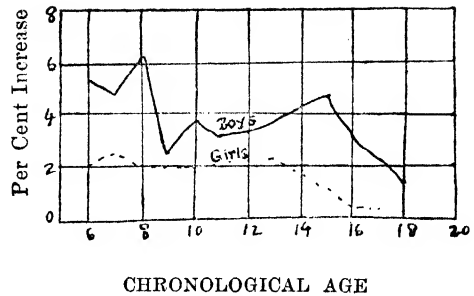
Approximate average age	Number of observations	45,151 Boys			43,298 Girls		
		Average height for each year	Absolute annual increment	Per cent annual increment	Average height for each year	Absolute annual increment	Per cent annual increment
5½	1,535	41.7	2.2	5.3	41.3	2.0	4.8
6½	3,975	43.9			43.3		
7½	5,379	46.0	2.1	4.8	45.7	2.4	5.5
8½	4,633	48.8	2.8	6.1	47.7	2.0	4.4
9½	5,531	50.0	1.2	2.5	49.7	2.0	4.2
10½	5,151	51.9	1.9	3.8	51.7	2.0	4.0
11½	4,759	53.6	1.7	3.3	53.8	2.1	4.1
12½	4,205	55.4	1.8	3.4	56.1	2.3	4.3
13½	5,373	57.5	2.1	3.8	58.5	2.4	4.3
14½	2,518	60.0	2.5	4.3	60.4	1.9	3.2
15½	1,481	62.9	2.9	4.8	61.6	1.2	2.0
16½	753	64.9	2.0	3.2	62.6	0.6	1.0
17½	429	66.5	1.6	2.5	62.7	0.5	0.8
18½	229	67.4	0.9	1.4			

Cited by G. Stanley Hall in *Adolescence*, p. 7.

GROWTH IN HEIGHT



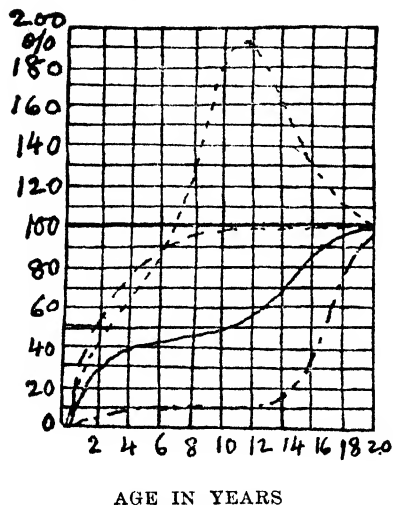
PERCENTAGE OF ANNUAL INCREASE OF HEIGHT



The data for these curves showing growth in height are obtained from Boas's combined measurements of 88,449 children and adolescents including 45,151 boys and 43,298 girls. Here, the most striking variation from almost perfect uniformity of acceleration is to be found at year eight. Then there is a "resting phase" at the twelfth year in which the increment is only 0.6 per cent. But during the thirteenth and fourteenth years there is a 3.4 per cent increase in the girls and 2.2 per cent in the boys. The percentage figure shows a rapid decline in increase after the fourteenth year in the girls and the fifteenth year in the boys. But certain other irregularities are not disclosed by such group data as these. First, there is the variability between different individuals, which may be illustrated in the matter of weight. Intelligence differences also become greater, and the age of the onset of puberty itself, with the various changes it brings about, ranges from as low as nine or ten years of age up to fourteen or fifteen. Secondly, there is a lack of balance in the growing of the various parts of the body, a difference in speed in the development of the various functions. This irregularity of growth between different body parts of the same individual results in a period of temporary mal-coordination, commonly called the "awkward age". Unexpected strains and stresses are suffered by certain tissues as a result of the more urgent growth of others. The major types of growth curves of the various parts and organs of the body are very well illustrated by Scammon in *The Measurement of Man* (p. 193). These are schematically presented in the chart on the next page.

It will be seen then that increase in height is accompanied by a great increase in the amount of muscle tissue in proportion to body weight. In fact, the amount of muscle tissue may increase in one year more than it has increased in the preceding thirteen or fourteen years. Instead of control of the muscles increasing at the same rate as the muscles themselves control is

GROWTH OF PARTS AND
ORGANS OF THE BODY



Lymphoid Type. Thymus, Lymph-nodes, Intestinal lymphoid masses.

Neural Type. Brain and its parts, Dura, Spinal Cord, Optic apparatus, many head dimensions.

General Type. Body as a whole, External dimensions (with exception of head and neck). Respiratory and digestive organs, Kidneys, Aorta and pulmonary trunks, Spleen, Musculature as a whole, Skeleton as a whole, Blood volume.

Genital Type. Testis, Ovary, Epididymus, Uterine tube, Prostate, Prostatic urethra, Seminal vesicles.

delayed. Hence the awkwardness of the adolescent child. The importance of the normal endocrine development is also suggested by the consequences of the malfunctioning of one of these glands leading from mental precocity to mental deficiency or idiocy and insanity.

The physical changes mentioned above are reflected in the behaviour of the adolescent. Increase in height leads to a pronounced stoop and bad posture, whereas lack of muscular control accounts for most of their clumsiness. They may be constantly falling over their own feet or may make vain attempts to conceal their hands and feet not knowing how to manage them when in company. Or they may giggle, strike odd attitudes, show off a great deal, say silly things and try to conceal awkwardness in a hundred other ways. The so-called "adolescent tic" is probably the result of lack of balance between nervous control and amount of muscle. The "adolescent tic", involving those often repeated meaningless movements such as jerking the tie, twitching the eye or cheek muscles, pulling out the chin and turning the neck sideways every few seconds, fiddling with the buttons or chains, adjusting the hat, caressing the hair, is apt to annoy adults and many parents seek to correct these activities by nagging at the child, not realising that these are mere mechanisms adopted by the adolescent as a cover for his awkwardness. This nagging not only does no good, but it actually serves to make the irritating movements permanent which otherwise the child would have outgrown at the end of early adolescence.

Too rapid or too tardy a growth may result in serious behaviour problems. If children feel that they are too large or too stunted for their group, they may either try to distract attention from their unusual size by bad behaviour, or they may become tongue-tied, shy, and completely retiring. Many other serious problems such as truancy or even more anti-social behaviour can be traced to this apparently insignificant cause.

Again, there are certain types of behaviour which may be the result of the changes in the endocrine glands which play a very important part during the adolescent period. If the thymus gland does not become atrophied by this period, the child fails to develop secondary sex characteristics and at the age of thirteen behaves like a five-year old. No parent, however, should experiment with any gland treatment as the effect of these on the physical make up, and on the behaviour of children and adults is far too serious. These should be administered only by a physician who is a specialist in endocrinology. Many cases of backwardness in school, feeble-mindedness, lack of general intelligence may be ascribed to the malfunctioning of the glands at this period. It is these neuro-muscular-glandular changes that are responsible for such phenomena as the period of real exhaustion followed by apparently rapid recuperation, or periods of voracious appetite followed by several days or weeks of no appetite at all at the pubescent period. Growing children will often come home from the school or the playground and lie flat on the sofa or the bed utterly unable to speak or move, and within a few hours these same children will go out to a party or a movie and have a thoroughly enjoyable time. Wise parents, instead of being annoyed at such behaviour, will do well to respect the exhaustion and allow the child to rest until he has overcome his fatigue. Children who are over exercised, or pushed to the point of nervous exhaustion, may show far more serious effects than merely being tired. They may easily develop enlargement of the heart or disturbances of the glandular functions.

These physical changes, which are associated with what are known as secondary sex characteristics, are among the most significant modifications in the adolescent's physical make-up. /At this time the deepening of the voice, the development of the sex organs, the beginning of the menstrual cycle, the growth of pubic hair and the glandular changes associated with these have a profound and far-reaching effect on behaviour./ None of these changes should be ridiculed or commented upon by adults in the presence of adolescents as these will only tend to make the youngsters more self-conscious or inhibited. They should be treated as a matter of course, since all human beings mature in this fashion. In fact all boys and girls should be enlightened in advance so that they too will learn to treat the onset of puberty as the natural course of physiological maturity.

So far we have dealt with the lack of balance due to physical changes and its profound effect upon the child's behaviour. But the greatest lack of balance is found not so much between one set of organs and another, or between the muscular and neurological or glandular system, as between the physical life and the life of the mind in its instinctual, emotional, and intellectual aspects, and in its relation to the social life of the external world. It is here that we come to the heart of the problem of adolescence. The early problems of adolescence are mainly concerned with this lack of balance between mental and physical forces, and the problem of the adolescent child proper concerns the lack of harmony between mental tendencies themselves and the impact of these on the ideals, attitudes, social modes and customs of the child's environment. It is not enough to say that during adolescence many sex problems arise because of the effect of physiological maturation, for sex maturity by itself does not account fully for the variety of conflicts observed in adolescents. Many sociologists and anthropologists have after extensive research come to the conclusion that sex conflicts arise mainly because of the attitudes of adults toward the behaviour of adolescents. In short, conflicts arise because of the social implications of their behaviour.

Of the many studies on adolescence that of Margaret Mead demonstrates very clearly the factor of environmental pressure and adult attitudes upon the behaviour of children. In her book, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, she points out that in Samoa the girls do not pass through the typical adolescent "stage" commonly spoken of in Western countries. Adolescence was found to be part of an orderly maturational process. In groups where there is little or no emphasis upon violation of sex regulations and upon rigid principles of morality, few conflicts arise during adolescence. In the so-called civilised society, on the other hand, the watchful attitudes of adults toward adolescence, and the social taboos imposed upon their desire for new experience motivated by the new impulses frequently result in conflict. We may, therefore, assume that the basic problems of adolescents are in great part merely a reflection of the difficulties of social adjustments. Indeed, so important is the role of parental attitudes to the child's developing personality that it leaves a lasting impression on the child's character for good or for ill. From his infancy the child is making adjustments in accordance with the expectations of the adults who are close to him and intimately concerned with his normal development. One must be boyish or girlish, as these terms are construed by parents and teachers, and sex appropriateness is stressed in various subtle ways through difference in dress, toys, playthings, and the manner of addressing or playing with the boy or girl. Caroline Zachry, in *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence* (page 73), cites a very good instance of a mother who was over-anxious about

the masculinity of her small boy. This mother had forbidden the boy to play with his big sister's discarded dolls, but when the boy persisted she arrived at a compromise and allowed him to have the dolls provided he would always play that he was their father. When left alone with the dolls, he was overheard addressing them in the following way : " Children, I'm so glad your mother is dead. Now I can have you all to myself." This is typical of a normal child solving his problem of conformity to the expectations of his parents, but if the child had responded differently it would have resulted in far-reaching effects of later maladjustments and conflicts.

There is no doubt that deep-rooted psycho-biological factors have a great deal to do with influencing parents to attach great importance to the differentiation of the sexes. It is quite obvious, then, that biological factors alone do not constitute the masculinity or the femininity of a child, but that modification, selection, and repression through parental and social pressure groups play an important part in the development of sex appropriateness in the child's behaviour. This cultural aspect of sex differentiation is very well brought out by the Lynds in *Middletown in Transition*, (pp. 176-177), where they make the following observation : " But this culture says not only that men and women do different things ; they *are* different kinds of people. Men are stronger, bolder, less pure, less refined, more logical, more reasonable, more given to seeing things in the large, but at home, needing coddling and reassurance 'like little boys'. Women are more delicate, stronger in sympathy, understanding, and insight, less mechanically adept, more immersed in petty detail and in personalities, and given to getting emotional over things."

These cultural concepts conveyed to the child in various different ways from his earliest days serve to make the primary differentiation in the social role of the man and woman. Thus social development in its early stages is accompanied by the child's evaluation of himself and the world amid fluctuating feelings of confidence, pleasure and love arising from satisfying and successful achievement as well as of doubt, fear, and anger arising from frustration. This is but natural, for during these years the adolescent is striving to reintegrate a changing personality on shifting ground. He is shaken and at the same time stimulated by new, undefined, unknown changes and consequent bewildering thoughts and feelings about the conflicting demands of his newly emerging personality and of an uncertain world that cannot make up its mind as to whether to treat him as a child or as a young adult.

As far as the family is concerned, two aspects of adolescence deserve special notice. One concerns the intimate relations of the family members to one another, and the other the parental pride in having produced worthy and

useful members for the community. These two aspects are the maturing of sexuality and the maturing of aptitudes, interests and attitudes which determine the child's ultimate place in the community as a citizen. As has already been observed, the child's character is moulded not by the impact of neutral forces upon the personality but by the effect of the moral attitude of the parents upon the children. Modern psychologists believe that whatever sex knowledge a child may have acquired in earlier years, its ultimate sexual destiny is determined by the process of identification with the mother and the father. Even assuming that there is an element of bisexuality in all persons, which may have been weighted by physical characteristics giving rise to maleness on the one hand and femaleness on the other, the child's final attitude toward other people will be influenced by the extent to which parent personalities have been assimilated. This assimilation may be good or bad. It may prove completely satisfying, or there may be longings for affection or hostility still left unsatisfied.

By the time puberty is reached the child begins to move in a larger circle of friends and persons other than his parents, and much of the spirit of dependency has either been overcome or diffused and spread over a larger number of people. In this sense, the child is well on his way to normal adulthood as he has effected a wholesome transfer and has acquired confidence by mastering new situations and coping with personal differences. This maturing is in itself a part of the inner mental problems leading to independence and the biological turning towards objects of love other than the parents themselves. But this very activity which bespeaks normal development in the adolescent is regarded by the parents and guardians as the problem of the adolescent child because in their desire to continue to cling to their children as children they are reluctant to face the fact that their child has grown up.

Thus most of the alleged problems of adolescence are only problems in the eyes of the parents who fear the loss of their child's affection or overthrow of their authority because of evidences of unusual sex interests in their growing sons and daughters. In an anonymous response to a classroom questionnaire regarding personal difficulties, a high-school boy, as cited by Zachry in *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence* (p. 303), wrote: "My main problem is that of getting my parents used to the fact that I am no longer a baby and that I should have more freedom—especially when it comes to going out with girls. I plan to go to college out of town when I graduate from high school and in that way assure myself of this freedom. My friends all face problems something like mine and they also hope to get freedom. They all plan as I do."

The problem particularly of the adolescent girl has acquired a new

complexion now because of the ease with which sex knowledge is available. Today the knowledge that can be acquired, and that is acquired, is not only substantial but rich in scientific accuracy and detail. Such detail is not confined to the basic facts which most well-informed adults possess, but occasionally span the field of birth control and contraceptives. Very few educated young women today are ignorant of the physical and mental changes following menstruation, and however gently the modern mother may attempt to initiate her daughter into the physiology of the process itself, the young woman probably knows more than the mother is prepared to tell her. Such literary expressions as the poetic outpourings of the gifted adolescent may prove valuable to the easing of mental tension, for not only is the love motive given a chance of escape but it is couched in imagery which has sublimated the forbidden interest into patterns of higher and acceptable order. In these flights of lyricism sensuous beauty takes the place of a sensual experience, and the guilt which otherwise might be felt about a forbidden passion is transmuted into poetic idealism with regard to the spiritual goodness of a loved object.

In the same way as there is a strange conformity in all adolescent literary ventures, there is an equal or perhaps more amusing conformity in the dress-habits, posturings, and social modes of different adolescent girls. Fashions and make-up intrigue them and their social pastimes take on a monotonous sameness. With the dawning of mature sexuality the young adolescent girl may experiment with her power to attract members of the opposite sex. It is, therefore, necessary that parents and teachers should show tact, tolerance and sympathy instead of ridiculing them and repressing the love-interest of the adolescents. They can give guidance by leaving open every avenue for sublimation so that the adolescent may approach the marriage state without stifling romantic impulses and without experiencing those feelings of guilt which add to the problems of adulthood.

Adolescence has been described by German writers as the period of *Sturm und Drang*, of 'storm and stress'. As the child approaches maturity, the process of unfoldment causes him gradually to emerge from the protected environment which the home and school have provided him so far. He is coming out of the cocoon and beginning to get into closer contact with the realities and complexities of the adult world. To say that adolescents are iconoclasts is to give them more than their due. It would be nearer the truth to say that at this age they look out upon the world through the lens of their increasing intelligence and slightly enlarged experience, and it crumbles and falls apart itself. They discover misery, cruelty, and selfishness where they have been led to expect self-sacrifice and idealism. Their heroes seem to be lacking in one or more of the conventional virtues. Even their parents now

appear to be limited in their sagacity, their power of judgment and discrimination and in their intellectual capacity. If they have been brought to believe in the form or symbols of religion rather than in the spirit or significance of it, they feel that they have been cheated. Disappointments, conflicts, and thwartings lie in wait for them on every side in the face of which evasion, retreat, regression, submission to one delusion or another may result in an undeveloped, maladjusted personality.

The intensity of these conflicts and their effect upon the development of neurotic symptoms as a result of the effort to substitute new values and attitudes for old ones are very well illustrated in the case of the young man, cited by Mendel Sherman in *Mental Conflicts and Personality* (pp. 113-116), who was born and brought up in a small, pious, rural town and left it for the first time when he joined college. His parents were intensely religious and forced their children to attend church regularly. There was no card playing on Sundays or holidays and dancing was forbidden as immoral. He attended a Bible School regularly and was not allowed to play with all the boys in the neighbourhood because of their rowdy behaviour. During the first two years of college attendance his views towards religion and towards the problems of morality changed. He played cards, attended dances, and rarely went to church. But he could not free himself from a sense of guilt for doing things disapproved of by his parents.

During this period his greatest anxiety was over his masturbation. When in high school his father had discovered that he masturbated and had punished him telling him that masturbation was a short-cut to insanity and Hell. When, however, after finishing college, he returned to the village to which his parents had moved and obtained a position as a teacher in the high school, his conflicts started. He found that, on the one hand, he attempted to free himself from the traditions of his parents, and, on the other, that he was unable to accept without emotion his desire to break away from his parents. The following passages from one of his letters illustrate the nature of this conflict: "For some time I have been depressed with the thought of death. I cannot tell you the dread that seizes me at times. It is too terrible to describe. I am not so much afraid of the act of dying, but the thought that I am to be annihilated, my ego destroyed for ever, nearly drives me mad. My reason tells me that death is just a long dreamless sleep without sorrow or pain, but my emotions rebel at the thought of it To this day, in spite of my materialism, I am afraid to say anything against the Holy Ghost because I am afraid I will be tortured by my conscience for committing the unpardonable sin.

"In my youth I attended the United Brethren Church. Emotional

revivals were in order. I have seen a preacher go into a trance I have seen my grandmother dance up and down swinging her arms and shouting Glory! Glory! Glory! I have heard my father shout and have seen my mother cry. All this I was told was the working of the Holy Spirit.

"Yet these actions always made me uncomfortable and afraid. I dreaded to have one of these possessed individuals with the fanatical light in his eyes talk to me These things have left their impression Shall I cease going to church? Shall I tell others that I am an unbeliever? Or shall I quietly go about my business letting them think what they will and when they approach me tell them kindly that my religion is my own personal affair? What kind of philosophy can a man have if he doesn't believe in God and Heaven? I call myself an agnostic. I don't deny the existence of God or Heaven, but I cannot find any satisfactory proof of it, and I know too much about psychology to 'Hang on to the Lord' until I get the assurance in my heart! Would it be better for me to get away from these puritanical and dreary religious ideas?"

But despite the conflict many adolescents have in lopping off the heads of the adult world dragon, it seems probable that the "storm and stress" period can be overcome successfully if the children are handled carefully and wisely in their infancy and childhood. Kupky, in *The Religious Development of Adolescents*, has concluded from a study of several adolescent diaries and journals that there is no high peak of religious conflict coming to rest with their consecration either to the church or to science. Usually there are to be found periods of questioning at wide intervals, and often connected with illness, some disappointment or other emotional experience. The following excerpts from two of these diaries are enlightening on these points:

Case A.—The girl is the only child of religious parents. Father a merchant in good circumstances. Protestant.

12½ years old. "Today I want to die. I lied again, and I have prayed so often for strength. But it will never be any different, I shall pray once more, and I already feel that tonight I shall die (she had a severe attack of dysentery), and if I do not die tonight I shall commit suicide."

14½ years old. "Now confirmation is over. The door has been passed through which the child steps forth as an adult."

16 years old. "A week ago there was a storm here that lasted ten hours. Then God showed himself again in his omnipotence and greatness."

17 years old. "He is called wonderful! I am almost dying of joy. That is not caused by the air of spring alone. In my heart it is spring too. Yesterday's meeting with him is a splendid answer to prayer."

20 years old. "I saw the sea with laughing blue sky above it. I saw

it enveloped in sea-mist, and when this lifted, I saw it kissed by the rays of the setting sun. Lord, how wonderful are thy works ! I said 'No', I have talked it over with God. I have no feeling for him at all . . . Now I am reading all sorts of things about the modern view of life."

Case B.—The boy is a seminary student, later a school teacher. Father, craftsman, of deep piety.

15½ years old. "Again I feel miserable and wretched. I do not know what may be the reason Lately doubts have come to me again followed by grievous questionings. Is there a God? What is he like? . . . I think I am going crazy Today there was a fearful storm. Did not sleep practically all last night, but instead I reflected and meditated."

16½ years old. "A retrospect I became characterless. I no longer had strength over myself to defy the devil, pleasure-seeking. I lived beyond my allowance and misrepresented my expenses as in order; consequently deceived my parents Now I have a story ready for the magazines. Would to God it may be accepted Dear God, cause it to be accepted."

17 years old. "Now I have become calmer. My heaven storming arrogance has been broken to be sure I pray, but from prudence, not from faith."

20 years old. "Now I feel that way again. Dissatisfaction, disgust, indifference If I could make an end of living, raging, writing—I wonder if it will last like this."

21½ years old. "Now I shall serve the one strict, severe goddess, Truth, or else her image, Science."

Failure of adolescent adjustment occurs in the form of neuroses and delinquency. Dementia praecox or schizophrenia has been called adolescent insanity because of its frequent incidence among young people. This may not be absolutely correct for, judged by their first admission to hospitals, by far the greatest number of these cases develop during the twenties and early thirties, though some of them may have been passing through earlier stages unnoticed in their teens. Whether or not the extreme characteristics introversion-seclusiveness, phantasy life etc., eventually follow the course of the disease through hallucinations and mental deterioration, they should be given the clinical attention they deserve. Even mild neurasthenia should not be allowed to develop, if anything can be done to prevent it. Truancy is an overt maladjustment to the environment usually found accompanied by other major or minor delinquencies of which it is almost symptomatic.¹ Healy and Bronner in their study of 2,000 repeated offenders found only 12 boys and 4 girls who were cases of uncomplicated truancy; the rest were combined with begging, thieving, gambling, excessive smoking, bad sex habits, staying away

from home at night etc. Increase in the amount of delinquency chiefly in the early adolescent years is quite alarming. C. R. Shaw in his research on *Delinquency Areas* gives the following interesting tables illustrative of the rapid increase in truancy among boys and in delinquency among girls during the years 1917-1927 :

TABLE 1

Age Distribution of 5,159 Male Truants in Chicago

1917-1927		
Age	Number	Percentage
7	15	0.3
8	83	1.6
9	242	4.7
10	387	7.5
11	624	12.1
12	810	15.7
13	1,058	20.5
14	1,061	22.5
15	769	14.9
16	10	0.2
Total ...	5,159	100.0

TABLE 2

Age Distribution of 2,869 Female Juvenile Delinquents brought to Juvenile Court

1917-1923		
Age	Number	Percentage
10 and under	32	1.1
11	55	1.9
12	143	5.0
13	224	7.8
14	493	17.2
15	749	26.1
16	714	24.9
17	450	15.7
18	9	0.3
Total ...	2,869	100.0

In their study of the criminal careers of more than 500 'graduates' of the Massachusetts Reformatory, Glueck and Glueck unearthed a mass of data that

cannot be ignored by those seriously concerned with social problems. 80% of these young men continued their criminal careers after leaving the so-called reformatory. And what is perhaps more significant is the impressive evidence of the relationship between adolescence and delinquency.

Unfortunately we do not as yet have any such adequate statistical data concerning the adolescent delinquents in India, and it would be a very fruitful line of endeavour to carry on research in this field. Although general bodily growth is continuous and slightly accelerated at adolescence, special problems of this age do appear to arise chiefly out of the difficulties of adjustment to an enlarged social and intellectual environment. They are more common among city dwellers than in rural populations. Whatever the difference in the degree or area of incidence, these problems call for individual responsibility which is not always as prompt to develop as the feeling of independence, resulting in difficulties that are often complicated by the necessity of choosing a vocation and training for it. The maturing of sex function likewise opens the way for various sex perversions which may result in habits very difficult to break, and in severe mental conflicts. These conflicts have probably been increased in the case of masturbation by well-intentioned people who have tried to frighten away children from harm by fabricating ingenious stories of terrible consequences, instead of regarding the practice as fairly common at the period and furnishing opportunities for more wholesome activities.

For the educational psychologist, then, the problem consists in helping the individual to adapt himself to the changes he is compelled to meet. For the educator, it lies in so adjusting the school curriculum and instruction that the breaks cause no more jolt than is absolutely necessary. The school should aim to adjust itself more closely to the interests, aptitudes and needs of adolescent girls and boys by providing greater freedom, diversified curricula, prevocational courses and opportunity for individual differences and initiative. For the parent it lies in consciously guiding youth through the unconscious working forces of heritage and family environment in such a way as to give youth a better world to live in. This can only be achieved by the parent "who has a knowledge not only of mental mechanisms, but of temperamental differences, intellectual endowment and aptitude as well as instinctual drives.

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BEHAVIOUR PATTERNS IN SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

P. M. TITUS

Since proper social adjustment is necessary for human happiness and social progress, Dr. Titus explains the fundamental types of behaviour in the hope that it will enable parents, teachers and social workers to understand and correct not only their own unacceptable social conduct but also of those with whom they deal, thus helping themselves and others to be more creative and socially more productive.

HUMAN conduct is constantly subjected to indietments, many of which are based on an inadequate understanding of human behaviour. Generally speaking, behaviour which is in conformity with the *mores* of the group is approved and that which is refractory is disapproved. Till recently no attempt was made to investigate how people behave, why they behave the way they do, and thus discover certain general behaviour patterns that are common, and prescribe remedial measures for the unacceptable. During the last two decades psychology, sociology and allied social sciences have helped a great deal in discovering the more common human traits and behaviour patterns. The modern approach is to help people discover themselves, and reveal to them their difficulties, thus making it possible for them to integrate their personality and adjust themselves in society. In this article, an attempt is made to analyse some of the more common behaviour patterns that are generally noticed.

‘Man is not born human’ is one of the established tenets in sociology. An individual becomes a person or acquires human nature through social contact. There are the stimuli from the environment to which the subject responds and the repetition of this stimuli-response process ‘condition’ the individual to react in subsequent life in certain habitual ways which mark his character and personality. In this connection it is necessary to note that man, even though sharing with the lower animals most of the so-called natural instincts, has the one unique capacity of ‘reflective thinking’; and this not only differentiates him from animals which learn by ‘trial and error’ but enhances the possibilities of his freedom to choose and go to either extreme. This enfranchises him from the iron grip of instinctive and environmental influences so as to make it possible for him to change his behaviour patterns, habits, character and personality at any period of his life, the degree of success varying with age, environment and intensity of purpose.

Another important factor in the mental process is the truism that every stimulus induces a response which leaves its mark upon the individual, and it

is the degree of awareness and the formation of the 'endarchy of neurograms' by the repetition of the stimuli-response process that affects the behaviour. There are three levels of awareness—the conscious, the subconscious and the unconscious. Each level has its own contents. In the conscious level we find the clearly aware, the freely acknowledged, the socially acceptable, the logically-relevant thoughts, while the dimly aware and the faintly acknowledged are found in the subconscious; and the not-aware, not-acknowledged etc. remain in the unconscious level. The goal of mental process is action, and the mind is a repository of a medley of divergent impulses each attempting to gain ascendancy and express itself. This struggle then inevitably results in mental conflict, the adjustment of which is the end-product which is spoken of as character or personality. Any unwillingness to recognise serious conflicts leads to unadjustment, nervous disorder, unhappiness and failure. On the other hand, a conscious facing of serious conflicts leads to adjustment, mental health, happiness and progress.

In this attempt to adjust oneself the urge for action might stop at different levels. The process of consciousness may stop at the sensation-perception stage, the feeling-emotion stage or the thinking stage. In 'neurasthenia' the person is 'stuck' at the sensation-perception stage. Patients with anxiety states are distracted by feelings and emotions. The individuals who cannot "get across" the thinking stage—who are continually harried by doubts, speculations, and apprehensions—suffer from what we call 'psycho-sthenia'. They stop at the level of possibilities, none of which are acted out. In normal, adjusted mental life there are no "blocks". Sensations, feelings and thinking lead continuously to purposeful and useful action. No other safeguard can one have here excepting the distribution of activity—the different levels or latitudes of mental activity. A well-organised distribution of intellectual, instinctive and perceptual or social, emotional and sensual activity is conducive to growth and happiness.

There is also another important factor to be noted, viz., that in such a happy adjustment, there is always the natural possibility of draining or re-directing most, if not all, of the energy that is associated with the unexpressed impulses into the one that is acceptably expressed, so much so, that there is the vitality and momentum added to the central purposeful action by hundredfold. In this connection the five laws of thought, as Garnett¹ has laid down, may be stated :—(1) To every psychosis there corresponds a neurosis; (2) excitement in any nervous arc tends to spread to every other arc that is connected with the first through synapses, the insulation of which the excitement in question is intense enough to overcome; (3) any nervous arc of the

¹ J. C. M. Garnett : *Education and World Citizenship*, p. 289.

higher level, if intensely excited relative to other higher level arcs, tends to drain the impulses from those other arcs; (4) will, measured by the general factor 'g' can reinforce the excitement in any excited system of higher level arcs and so may cause that system to drain the excitement from all other active arcs of the higher level; and (5) action is the normal level of every train of thought./

It is necessary to repeat once again that the normal adjustment of mental conflicts is the foundation of personality and 'the less the friction, the greater the efficiency' is the same mechanical law that we find in the mental process. In all endeavour for the growth of personality, one has to minimise the conflict and make adjustments to the maximum level of harmony and smoothness. But we do not find this perfect adjustment and here it is necessary to consider the different levels of adjustments that are generally observed in different types which we stamp as successful if progressive and socially productive, and unsuccessful if otherwise.

When conflicts arise, which are inevitable, there are various ways of meeting them. One may drift along without decision; or may face it boldly and come to a decision leading either to a lower or a higher level; or may evade facing the issue and get into different kinds of situations and integrations. "The mind has certain typical methods of meeting apparent danger, avoiding unpleasant situations, and solving perplexing problems. They are automatic manipulations and compensations of ideas and tendencies in the face of psychological stress just as automatic as the body's readjustment to maintain its physical equilibrium. There are ways of arriving at this state of security common to all of us." Some are sensible and satisfactory; others are the reverse. Some of the typical ways of meeting conflicts are :—Regression, Extroversion, Introversion, Rationalisation, Segregation, Repression, Dissociation, Displacement or Substitution, Projection, Indentification, Inferiority, Compensation, Sublimation, and Conversion of Mental Conflicts into Bodily Symptoms.

Regression or Exaggerated Emotion.—Literally to regress means to go backward. In psychology it signifies a return to a former somewhat primitive and rather childish type of reaction. A human being behaves regressively when he is "put out", violently angry, 'sore' or 'loses his head'. When desire is blocked, when we are irritated, disappointed or ashamed, then we are tempted to express ourselves emotionally rather than rationally. The regressive action is ineffective and procrastinating, often humiliating.

In regression there is an inordinate emotional response. It is out of all proportion to the stimulus and in the long run is not useful. One gains relief

² Strecker & Appel: *Discovering Ourselves*, p. 116.

and a false and temporary resolution of difficulties and conflicts, but the solution is neither adequate nor permanently satisfactory. "No human being may hope wholly to escape regression. In its occasional and not over serious manifestations it does no great harm. If, however, it is employed as a constant method of avoiding conflicts, it leads to unadjustment and unhappiness. There are many stone walls in the life path of every human being but they cannot be beaten down by puny blows from the childish fists of anger, melted away by a flood of tears or frightened away by sulking. The walls remain. The mental status of the individual is diminished by repeating such emotional exhibitions. His mental strength is a bit decreased. He becomes less capable of surmounting life's difficulties." In its serious form it develops into the mental disease 'Schizophrenia'. Intelligent after-analysis and a feeling of shame associated with a determination to get over such infantile emotional outburst is the best way out of this habit.

Extroversion and Overactivity.—In regression there is the 'blowing off' of pent-up emotions and gaining relief. In extroversion there is the excessive activity in place of emotion 'blowing off'. It tries to distract itself by the assumption of feverish activity. In acute mania (manic depressive psychosis) the patient is in a state of frenzied and mercurial activity of thought, mood and act.

Extroverts are "outward" people. Extroverted activity, if not carried to an extreme degree, may be a useful method of meeting mental dissatisfactions and conflicts. Solace may be found in new channels of activity. "Without doubt, not only individuals but society and civilization have been enriched and advanced by the energy and accomplishment which comes from the spur and lash of serious conflicts in our inner mental lives. It is not too much to say that in many fields of human endeavour—in art, painting, poetry and music—the throes and sufferings of the soul have been transmitted into beautiful pictures, immortal words of song and prose, and glorious symphonies of sound. And science, so often thought of as coldly intellectual and, for that matter, even the seemingly mundane activities of commerce are often unquestionably stimulated by human purpose and energy originally derived from attempts to escape from perplexing, personal mental conflicts."

Sometimes extroverted activity is purposeful, useful, helpful and constructive. Sometimes it is purposeless, useless, harmful and destructive. When extroversion is utilized to escape from an intolerable conflict, then the activity is effective and constructive in proportion to the degree of realization and understanding with which the individual has faced his conflict. He will

³ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

then be safeguarded against extreme overactivity, an increase in personal dissatisfaction and against unwise spheres of action.

Introversion.—A third method of eluding difficulties is to think about them excessively or intellectualise them whereby the conflict is 'de-energised' or de-emotionalised to an ineffective degree without finding any solution. Here thinking is not to insure effective action but for delaying or avoiding action. They analyse situations, problems and motives *ad infinitum*. They see too much pros and cons. There is indecision and wavering. Their mind or self is turned inwards into their own problems. While the introvert gets his chief pleasures from within himself, the extrovert gets his from without. The internal world and the external world are their respective spheres. Thought is pale, non-vital, unreal to the one; action is irrelevant or valueless to the other. Introverts are inclined to be cold, apparently gloomy, unsociable and rather inactive. Their feelings are seemingly not strong and they do not express them readily. They are not the executives who get things done, but the planners and theorists. The extroverts get things done; they are the executives, the men of action, sociable, and cheerful. The introverts are those who supply innovations and plan for the future. The present belongs to the latter, the future to the former. Because of their isolation and detachment, introverts see more clearly problems and solutions which never occur to the extroverts. The introverts are the dreamers and inventors. Many of the greatest discoveries have been made by them. But both the types developed to the extreme (the extrovert in senseless overactivity and the introvert in aimless phantasy) are equally useless and harmful.

If introversion is carried too far, little is ever achieved. The introvert might accuse himself of inactivity which does not result in overt action; but in day-dreaming 'it seems to him' that his life is not abject failure but soul satisfying success. It is a subtle poison. If used constantly it leads to the *Nirvana* of mental nothingness. It is a normal balance between the extrovert and the introvert that results in a well-adjusted personality.

Rationalisation.—Rationalization is another method of avoiding too disturbing recognition of somewhat humiliating personal motives which are not 'high-minded' or idealistic and hence unacceptable to the ideal self, and to the society. It is a sort of mental camouflage. It changes and bedecks or camouflages unworthy motivations so that to others, and even to ourselves, they appear satisfactory and even praiseworthy. It is a kind of self-deception; finding 'good reasons' to camouflage the real reason.

Rationalization in a mild degree is harmless, even though it is not commendable. But when it is constantly indulged in, then it becomes interwoven into every pattern of the fabric of mental life. The reaction of self-

deception may become so habitual that one may conceive of it as a transforming screen between the real person and his self-estimate. This screen changes the appearance of every motive into a form which pleases the individual and gains the approval of society. Naturally, real motives remain unchanged. Yet it has its advantage of standing firm against the onslaught of the changes and vicissitudes of life, and helps to build up a philosophy of life. "Thus rationalization, which is capable of being a potent instrument of self-deception, may be a great aid to a constructive orientation of character."⁵

Segregation.—This is the hazardous psychological stratagem of evasion which is called in other words the development of 'logic tight compartments', with the object of preventing 'the mental right hand from knowing what the mental left hand is doing'. Complexes flow into the stream of consciousness and express themselves more or less harmoniously in our every day life. When complexes of opposing claims crop up, there is confusion and conflict and unless recognized and harmoniously blended, there is danger. If not recognized but ignored, they produce a type of conduct which is utterly inconsistent with the rest of the personality. The individual does not recognize the inconsistency. Consciousness flows on in two separate streams, the one independent of, and inconsistent with, the other. In itself and to the observer the resultant behaviour is quite paradoxical—but not to the individual himself. The extreme form of this sort of personality is found in the classic "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde".

Repression.—If segregation is the device of the extrovert, repression is that of the introvert. It is the device of forgetting unpleasant and painful experiences of life. Incidents or experiences with no emotional associations are passively forgotten in a natural way. But those with which strong disturbing feelings are attached are not forgotten in that manner. They are to be 'actively' forgotten with a will to forget. These unpleasant desires or experiences are driven underground without the issues being faced squarely. In its abnormal form it develops into a disease called *Amnesia*. The conflicts, that force upon an individual these drastic methods of avoidance, are derived from the three elemental drives or complexes of man, namely, the Ego, Sex and Herd.

Dissociation.—"The separation of ideas-emotions-tendencies into different groups or complexes that have reached no working agreement among themselves (whether it be by segregation or repression) is called dissociation."⁶ Influences, tendencies and ideas that are guiding one's modes of thought and behaviour, of which he is not always conscious and which he does not recognize until he is informed of them, are the root cause of this stratagem.

⁵ Kreuger and Reckless: *Social Psychology*, p. 411.

⁶ Strecker & Appel: *op. cit.*, p. 183.

Whenever we meet bias, prejudice and intuition, such dissociated influences come into play.

The dangers of such methods of relieving the conflicts are that they fail to accomplish the purpose. Segregation, even if the individual is blind to the inconsistencies of his own life, is soon recognized by the herd. Repression would be the most potent of all mental weapons if forgetting was equivalent to effacing. But it is as much true in psychology as it is in physics that 'something which has once existed, even though it be only a thought, can never be wholly effaced'. It can never be wiped out as though it had never been, without the possibility of reappearance either in its original form or some other form. In this way, segregation, repression and dissociation may be thought of as slumbering volcanoes whose craters are at the very threshold of consciousness, and whenever, as it frequently happens, they are stirred into activity by some association of ideas, there is an eruption. Such eruptions may be indicated by great sensitivity, timidities, uneasiness, tension, over-vehemence, nervousness, unexplained silences, embarrassing irritability etc. The person who has so many sensitive spots, which are always in danger of being 'set off', can scarcely have a peaceful mind or an adjusted life. In addition to the minor explosions, there is the danger of severe eruptions or 'nervous breakdown'. The advantages that accrue from dissociation processes are scarcely enough to compensate for the endless trouble in guarding against the appearance and consciousness of the segregated, repressed and dissociated material. The game is not worth the candle.

The Conversion of Mental Conflicts into Physical Symptoms.—Anxiety, Neurasthenia, Hysteria are some of the common forms of such conversion. Much that passes as nervousness and nervous exhaustion is due to the activity of partly or totally unrecognized inclinations, desires and inhibitions. Merely throwing one interest out of consciousness does not remove it from the field of activity. The activity of a subconscious or repressed complex may be much more sinister and harmful than if it is met frankly in the full light of consciousness, and a working arrangement established. Sleeplessness, night terrors and somnambulism may be due to dissociated desires. Dreams are thought to be fulfilments of strange and bizarre wishes which in our waking life we should condemn and reject at once. Neurasthenia, or so-called nervous exhaustion, is largely the fatigue resulting from mental cross purposes. Self-knowledge—clear, calm, honest and conscious understanding of the conflict—is the only solution for such an impasse.

Substitution.—Displacement or Symbolism is a phenomenon we find in everyone's experience on the basis of conditioned-reflexes. Many meaningless prejudices, originally connected with some unpleasant experience in early

life which we might have forgotten, are found in us associated with certain objects, persons or situations. Such misalliance of emotions, ideas, and objects occur in every day life. It is our experiences that mould antipathies and preferences for persons and objects, and not the persons and objects themselves. A correct understanding of the real problem by analysis and conscious recognition and solution, instead of labouring under the complex, is the way out.

Projection.—This is the psychological temptation of putting blame on others which we should accept ourselves. When we have made errors or something has gone wrong through our own incapacity or poor judgment, we relieve ourselves of the responsibility and attribute the failure to forces outside of ourselves. The objectifying of personal difficulties is the essence of projection. Through it we purchase temporary satisfaction and relief from humiliation, weakness and self-criticism. By it we avoid the recognition of our own personal shortcomings. Such recognition is always unpleasant and embarrassing, if not painful, and by the projection mechanism we try to escape such feelings.

Projection might transform a combative individual with a social vision into a social discontent and make him a reformer, thus enabling him to throw himself heart and soul into the fight for social justice and equality. But if it is a mask for weakness and inner conflict, it is more likely to multiply difficulties than it is to solve them. Projection is rarely constructive. "Persistent, long-continued effort and striving are discounted, since there is too readily at hand an available explanation for cessation of the struggle or reversal. It is too much like going into battle, carrying a previously prepared excuse for defeat." In an unadjusted person it expresses itself in cynicism, ultra-radicalism, many prejudices, intolerance, fixed pessimism, much brooding over injustice, excessive sarcasm and excessive criticism. In a diseased state it vents itself to hallucinations and delusions of persecution.

Identification.—By ignoring or disowning one's weaknesses (conflicts), projection gives one the feeling of security and strength. In identification one identifies himself as closely as possible with people and institutions that represent for him ideal qualities. Such qualities embody his strongest aspirations. He admires them. He wishes to possess them. Identification "pieces out" or supplements the real with the ideal. This is more or less a device of the optimist and on the whole it is individually and socially useful. The need for identification arises when there is an unconscious lack of something which leaves life very incomplete. The most usual form of identification is idealization. The parents, nurse, teacher, heroes and heroines in novels, athletes, politicians, movie-stars etc., are all the idols of the adolescent age and

[†] *Ibid.*, p. 247.

this hero-worship most often continues throughout life. In so far as these agencies are consistent in their conduct, attitude and guidance, these influences will be of remarkable good to the individual. But any disillusionment due to these agencies' inconsistency will set up a reaction which will have disastrous consequences.

In all religions which claim a devotion to a personal deity, we find this identification process at work. All the evils are attributed to the devil and the good to God. However much modern theologians might condemn the personal deity-centric religion of the conservative, this alliance and identification of oneself with a personal God as a concrete reality, as the manifestation of God in flesh, has its own psychological effect upon the individual. To all religionists, God represents that which is supreme for the interests and needs of man. The best and noblest is found in the attributes of the Godhead. In the conception of God the process of idealization and identification is raised to its greatest heights.

"In all walks of life, then, in all the ages of man, identification finds a prominent place. It includes hero-worship, standards of conduct to be imitated and aspirations to be fulfilled. Wherever there are courses to be followed, that seems to have an over-personal justification; wherever we have loyalties involved, there one discovers identification in the form of idealization.

"We should be dull and drab without identification. It adds zest to life. And this is the fine thing about it. We are stimulated to strain to reach high in order to supersede ourselves./ Energies are called out and qualities and capacities are developed that otherwise would go unpractised. It enables us to make the most of whatever talents we have. Self-development therefore is greatly favoured by identification. It is the antagonist of desuetude." ⁷

Identification performs another function. When energy flags, when attainment seems impossible, when we are apparently defeated, identification steps in to support us. It is an anodyne to discouragement. Ideals keep us going when otherwise we should give up the ship. They carry us through the difficult and rough places of life. Dull routine is sometimes sustained by them. They support us when the energies of life are at an ebb. When buffetings bear us down and weary the 'soul', ideals may carry us through.

However, the great danger is that it might lead to idealization and phantasy-formation instead of constructive action. Day-dreams might then be preferred to concrete action. There will be the confusion of the ideal and the real leading on to delusion. If idealization is to be effective, it needs constantly the check of the real. Identification with clear sight of reality will lead to good ideals actively pursued; it will not only quicken energy and

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

renew effort but create interest and zest in life. But blinded to reality, it will lead to too slavish an imitation of the hero whereby there is loss of independence of thought and action, and demand of others too close conformity with the ideal. The ideal will often be confused with the real, resulting in complete inactivity due to a paralysis of all effort.

Inferiority Complex.—A sense of inferiority is an idea or a set of ideas, strongly bound together emotionally, that makes us feel inferior or less than our fellow men. Disappointment, failure, defeat and infirmity are the seeds of inferiority complex. We hate to be neglected, to remain unloved, or to be relegated to a lowly position. //We wish to succeed, to master difficulties and feel strong//

Physical infirmity is one of the chief factors in the development of this complex; so also environmental and mental difficulties give rise to it. Once a strong sense of inferiority, whatever the cause may be, has become a part of the personality, then the battle is on. Either the person will beat it down and rise above it, or else the inferiority will destroy him. Efforts to out-distance, allay, or overcome inferiority may be termed *Compensations*. One of the common methods is the development of apparent superiority. Others are phantasy, creation of fictitious goals, specialist attitude, travelling the "paths of opposites", and also swinging to extremes.

But this is not all; there are also 'values in inferiority-complex.' A consciousness of our limitations keeps us humble and also goads us on to greater perfection. It is the "spark that disturbs our clod". It prevents us from reclining in smug satisfaction with what we have and what we are. It is the very breath of inspiration and progress. The spur and lash of inferiority enables us to rise upon our dead selves. We are given strength to "welcome each rebuff that turns earth's smoothness rough, each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go." This is the philosophy of the inferiority-complex and it enables us to transmute it into pure gold.

It has its social value in that it makes our friends lovable. Overgrown superiority leads to lack of imagination and sympathy. Adler bases his individual psychology on this feeling of inferiority and desire for superiority. There are gems of mankind who have compensated successfully their inferiority and have been a boon to the world and to themselves. It is in the manner of facing the problem that depends the success and advantage. Wise compensations are always contributive to greater achievements and social values.

Sublimation.—We have seen that complexes in some form or other are the lot of every human being and these inevitably lead to conflicts. In the face of conflict, action of some kind is demanded. There may be advance or retreat; and open battle in consciousness or a screened skirmish in the "no

man's land" (subconscious and unconscious) of the mind; there may be hopeless defeat or glorious victory. Usually there is compromise. The extrovert goes into greater activity; the introvert resorts to his most powerful defence—thought. If the importance and strength of the complexes are great the conflict is more serious. Then again it is always noticed that the individual usually seeks to win the approval of the circle within which he lives.

In the foregoing discussion we have seen that there are inner drives or desires with so much of dynamic emotional associations seeking to find expression, but could not be expressed because of the disharmony between each of these due to conflict either with the self-ideal or the social ideal. The general course of action taken is either unintelligent indulgence or suppression, neither of which are conducive to the development of a healthy well integrated personality. If mind could be compared to an automobile, unintelligent indulgence is similar to opening of the throttle without the appliance of the brake on the steering wheel which makes the auto run amock. If brake is applied when throttle is full open, it crushes the engine which is similar to suppression. The best course is the mastery of the steering wheel with wise regulation of the throttle and minimum use of the brake. This is what we call sublimation. The impulses of creative activity wisely steered in the direction of purposeful activity with a set goal naturally takes one to the destination. The brake of 'Thou shalt not' is replaced by the throttle of "Thou shalt". Any ideal surcharged with emotion leads one to purposeful activity as it is the law of thought that thinking must necessarily lead to action. As Bertrand Russell says, "Consistency of action ought to spring rather from consistency of impulse than from control of impulse by will." %

It is the creation of a 'single wide interest', to use Garnett's phrase, that is needed, and all the available dynamic energy of emotion attached to other emotional instincts will then naturally part company with the original drives and drain itself into this single wide interest, thus adding zest and efficiency to the execution of one's task. All the faculties pay homage to this purpose in life and even though in the beginning it is a conscious process, in the long run ever unconsciously it becomes a second nature for the individual to think, talk and act in the ideal way. For, the establishment of neurograms by repeated action organises the synapses in such a way that the ideal line of action becomes the line of least resistance.

The desire to accomplish any objective represents energy, and if obstructed the energy does not vanish, but it becomes all the stronger. This potential energy can be diverted into other channels and employed to secure the secondary object if the primary object is unattainable. Such diversion of

* Bertrand Russell : *Why Men Fight*, p. 262.

energy from an unobtainable desire into new pathways leading to constructive and satisfying activity may be termed sublimation.

Denison, in his book *Enlargement of Personality*, illustrates this by describing our emotional power-plant as if composed of two engines which may work together or in opposition. The first is hunger or desire, and its reverse is disgust or aversion. The other is rage, the reverse of which is fear. The reverse in both nullifies the power. Now, as a corollary, the reverse of one does not nullify the power of the other. Fear does not nullify desire; it is only disgust that will nullify desire. Hitherto it was fear that was used to nullify the power of desire. The safe and successful course is to divert or eliminate by disgust the passion or desire that is unacceptable. Powerful desires suppressed by fear go on racking the mind. Crushed out of sight, they still ferment and struggle for expression.

Now the question is : What is this 'single wide interest' ? To what purpose shall we sublimate our desires ? What can we do about it ? Many men and women would wish to save mankind, but they are perplexed and their power seems infinitesimal. Despair seizes them; those who have the strongest passion suffer most from the sense of impotence, and are most liable to spiritual ruin through lack of hope. Social reconstruction is a slow process. Loyalties ingrained through a long period of time are to be shifted by persuasion with the least amount of pain being inflicted on those who are anachronisms to the progressive activities and endeavours. The one great danger in revolutionary changes is that the revolutionist is blind to the worth of the personality of the opponent, and to the fact that the success of the one is defeat to the other which means lack of co-operation and co-ordination. And progress could be achieved only by the willing co-operation of the parties involved. Our expectations must not be for tomorrow, but for the time when what is thought by a few shall have become the common thought of many. If we have courage and patience, we can think the thoughts and feel the hopes by which, sooner or later, men will be inspired, and weariness and discouragement will be turned into energy and ardour. For this reason the first thing we have to do is to be clear in our own minds as to the kind of life we think good and the kind of change that we desire in the world.

"The ultimate power of those whose thought is vital is far greater than it seems to men who suffer from the irrationality of contemporary politics . . . The power of thought, in the long run, is greater than any other human power. Those who have the ability to think and the imagination to think in accordance with men's needs, are likely to achieve the good they aim at sooner or later, though probably not while they are still alive." ¹⁰

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

But those who wish to gain the world by thought must be content to lose its support in the present. The reformer is one who is in the world but not of the world. There is a loneliness but not aloofness. The loneliness depends upon the range of heights to which he has ascended in his dream of a changed social order in its extensive and most potent factor of justice and love for the individual.¶ The intellectual detachment associated with aloofness leads to contempt and the reformer often turns out to be an irritable cynic.¶ It is not the invention of a Utopia that is wanted, but the discovery of the best direction of movement. The direction which is good at one time may be superficially very different from that which indicates the right course for the present time. The criterion on which we decide upon our direction of thought and action is the promotion of the growth and vitality of individuals and communities without impinging upon the rights of others. In short, it is the principle of 'reverence and liberty'—liberty not in the sense of individual freedom to act unmolested for personal gain and comfort but liberty of right to serve the community to its best advantage, which will eventually enrich his own life.

In order that both these principles may be capable of being satisfied, what is needed is a unification or integration, first of our individual lives, then of the life of the community and of the world, without sacrificing individuality. The life of an individual, the life of a community and even the life of mankind ought to be not a number of separate fragments but in some sense a whole. When this is the case, the growth of the individual is fostered which is not incompatible with the growth of other individuals, and thereby the two principles are brought into harmony.

What integrates an individual life is consistent creative purpose. Instinct or fundamental wishes alone will not suffice to give unity to the life of a civilized man or woman. There must be some dominant object, an ambition, a desire for scientific or artistic creation, a religious principle, or strong and lasting affections. But the exigencies of life situations break down this unity of life inspired by high ideals as the conformity to the latter not infrequently faces defeat. They cannot always 'make good'. Inward freedom is infinitely precious, and a society which will preserve it is immeasurably to be desired. Inward growth is crushed not only by obstruction of activity but by misdirected activity. What is desired is action in conformity with the vital impulses of creativeness. But the artist, poet, dramatist, politician etc., in order to ensure immediate success are obliged often to conform to the ordinary standards of the existing society. Hence he fails to become the artificer of what his own nature feels to be good. The moment he makes this act of consent something dies within him and he can never again become a whole man, except indeed

through conversion and a fundamental change in his way of life by rediscovering and revitalising of the original good impulses.

The integration of an individual life requires that it should embody whatever creative impulse a man may possess, and that his education should have been such as to elicit and fortify this impulse. The integration of a community requires that the different creative impulses of different men and women should work together towards some common life, some common purpose in which all the members of the community find a help to their individual fulfilment. The two vital impulses are the creative and the possessive. The best life is that in which creative impulses play the largest part and possessive impulses the smallest. // "It is the preoccupation with possessions more than anything else that prevents men from living freely and nobly . . . Possession means taking or keeping some good thing which another is prevented from enjoying; creation means putting into the world a good thing which otherwise no one would be able to enjoy." ¹¹ // All endeavour should be made to promote all that is creative, and so to diminish the impulses and desires that centre round possession. The creative impulses in different men are essentially harmonious since what one man creates cannot be a hindrance to what another is wishing to create. It is the possessive impulses that involve conflict.

It is rather through impulses than through will that individual lives and the life of the community can derive the strength and unity of a single direction. In this connection it may be stated that the will which is directed outward is essential but not the inward one which comes into being only when there is an inward conflict. // "Those in whom the central impulses are strongest inner conflicts are least." When the fellowship of such is created, there is the endarchy of single wide interest or purpose.

The unifying of life ought not to demand the suppression of the casual desires that make amusement and play; on the contrary, everything ought to be done to make it easy to combine the main purposes of life with all kinds of pleasures that are not in their nature harmful. What is needed is not asceticism or a drab puritanism // but capacity for strong impulses and desires directed towards large creative ends. // When such impulses and desires are vigorous they bring with them, of themselves, what is needed to make a good life. Amusement when pursued as an end in itself is the one that is detrimental to progress. Subjectivism in the life of an individual or community is good in that it tries by introspection to check up the direction of the impulses with reference to objective ends. But very often it leads to introversion. Till the beginning of this era, this latter kind of subjectivism was fostered to a great extent by religion which directed attention to sin and the state of the

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

soul rather than to the outer world and our relations with it. Only a life which springs out of dominant impulses directed to objective ends can be a satisfactory whole, or be intimately united with the lives of others. No fresh water spring could ever be kept free from stagnation and contamination so long as there is no outlet and it is a well established truism that 'running water carries no dirt'.

The pursuit of pleasure and pursuit of virtue as an end in itself suffer alike from subjectivism. Epicurianism or the modern Hedonism and Stoicism are infected with the same taint. Subjectivism is the natural outcome of a life in which there is much more thought than action. Active thought directed towards achieving some purpose has as much good effect as passive thought leading to subjectivism and inaction has bad effects. What is needed is to keep thought in intimate union with impulses and desires. Otherwise, thought and impulse become enemies to the great detriment of both. A prerequisite for creative life is good social adjustment. The task of social work is to help individuals make such adjustments and enrich their own life and that of society at large with dynamic creativity and social productiveness.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE BEGGAR PROBLEM

THE total number of beggars in India is estimated at 14 lakhs. Many of these are found in the big cities and towns. In Bombay City alone it is estimated that there are more than 15,000 beggars, the juveniles among them numbering in the neighbourhood of 5,000. According to a survey made in 1932, there were 4,000 beggars in Calcutta of whom about 25% were lepers, 10% blind, 5% lathyric, 5% suffering from miscellaneous diseases, while a small fraction included the insane, deaf and dumb. The remainder, namely, 50% of the professional beggars and vagrants, did not show any disease or physical disability. Of this total of Calcutta's beggar population, one-third belonged to Bengal, one-third to Bihar and Orissa, and the remaining to U. P., C. P., and other provinces. The females numbered a little less than half the males, and the Hindus were double the number of the Mohamedans.

According to a recent census, there are 5,749 beggars in Bangalore City and 2,800 in Mysore City. Of these some 2,000 are non-Mysorians. There are altogether 3,937 able-bodied and 1,812 infirm beggars in Bangalore City, and in Mysore City 2,133 and 677, respectively. Majority of them have no other means of livelihood. Only about one-third of those in Bangalore and one-fifth in Mysore have had some occupation prior to taking to begging. In Lucknow there are 2,000 beggars and daily some Rs. 500/- are given away in indiscriminate charity. Figures are not available for other cities nor do we have any accurate data for the important cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, etc. All the same, we may conclude that there has been an alarming increase of beggars in cities and towns.

During the last two years there has been increased attention given by the public to the beggar problem in many cities and towns in India, among these being Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Trivandrum, Kottayam, Ernakulam, Bangalore, Mysore, Karachi, Lucknow, Nagpur and Hyderabad. The All India Women's Council have been active on this issue all over India. Concern about this problem is not of recent origin. It has been engaging the attention of governments, local bodies and the public for more than two decades. It was as early as 1915 that the Bombay Municipal Corporation interested itself in this problem. In 1919, the Government of Bombay appointed a Committee to report on beggary in the Province with a view to preventing

it. The appointment of the Pickford Mendicancy Enquiry Committee in 1920 was an indication of the concern of the citizens of Calcutta of those days with regard to the eradication of this evil. The recommendations of the Pickford Committee were not carried out owing to financial difficulties.

There have been in existence of old and recent origins in different cities and towns a small number of institutions private, grant-in-aid and public, which were taking care of the destitute and infirm. In Bombay, for instance, there are two Children's Homes at Umarchadi and Chembur, grant-in-aid institutions run by the Children's Aid Society ; there are two homes for the blind at Dadar and Andheri, there is the King George V Memorial Infirmary, the Lady Dhunbai Jehangir Home for the Destitute, and the Dharmasala in Byculla maintained by the District Benevolent Society. In Calcutta, there are five agencies and the Corporation is thinking of starting a new Vagrants' Home. The Madras Corporation is already running a poor house and is contemplating to build another. In Nagpur, the Society for the Elimination of Beggary—a privately constituted body of public-minded citizens of the city—is active and has been raising funds, and planning to start poor houses. In the meanwhile, they have adopted a system of billeting beggars on their relations and friends, or some other institution with the help of a monthly subsidy. In Karachi, it is proposed to confine able-bodied beggars in a separate ward in jails and inculcate in them the habit of industry and work. In Lucknow, the Social Service League has opened a Poor House. Trivandrum, Kottayam and Bangalore have homes for the poor.

Regarding legislative measures, the law on begging as it stands in India concerns itself only with prohibition but not with relief. For instance, the Central Provinces Municipalities Act (Section 206) penalises importunate begging in public places without offering relief to the beggars. The Government of India published on 15th February 1941 an amendment to the Rules under the Indian Railways Act prohibiting begging in railway premises or trains without making any provision for relief. Section 109 of the Criminal Procedure Code penalises a vagrant without ostensible means of livelihood but makes no provision for such means. Certain Police Acts in India prohibit begging without providing alternative means of livelihood. Exceptions to this rule are the European Vagrancy Act and the Leper Act which lay an obligation on the State to provide means of subsistence to the persons concerned.

The Bombay City Police Act (Section 121) deals with begging thus:—
 "Whoever in any street or public place begs or directs or permits children under his control to beg, or applies for alms or exposes or exhibits with the object of obtaining or extorting alms, any sore, wound, deformity or disease shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one

month or with fine which may extend to fifty rupees, or with both." The Madras Government published a Bill on 26th November 1940 to amend the present Madras City Police Act to penalise begging in public places. The C. P. Government issued a circular in January 1939 inviting all Deputy Commissioners to explore the possibilities of using Section 206 and Section 179(1) (EE) of the C. P. Municipalities Act to deal with beggary. The Government of Sind has appointed a Committee to deal with this problem. There is a bill in the Sind Legislative Assembly to penalise begging by able-bodied beggars. The District Magistrate of Bangalore (Civil & Military Station) has, under Section 64 of the Bangalore Police Law, absolutely prohibited begging in public places in his jurisdiction. Similar action has been reported in Secunderabad. Calcutta Corporation has a Vagrancy Bill under consideration.

In spite of the prohibitory legislations in the major cities, either because of the laxity in enforcing them or due to the comparatively light punishment involved, beggars are still present on the streets of Bombay, Madras and other cities. The Committee of Enquiry into the case of Destitute Children and Young Offenders, set up by the Government of Bombay, reported in 1934 that "the punishment is comparatively light; it makes no provision for treatment on classified lines. In our opinion there can be no constructive treatment of the beggar problem without a comprehensive Beggar Act drafted in line with the Leper Act."

Mere prohibition without adequate provisions for relief is not going to solve the beggar problem. Now the question arises: Who will pay for the care of beggars? Will the State take the responsibility, or should the beggars be left to shift for themselves without begging, or should voluntary agencies give them institutional care? Voluntary agencies though indispensable are not adequate to meet the need. Government action is necessary not only to prohibit begging but also to finance poor relief from public taxation. Private agencies carrying on with voluntary donations can continue as supplementary and co-operating institutions.

Unless legislation is effected both for prohibition and relief on an All-India scale, there is the danger of many embarrassing situations arising in different places. For instance, the Calcutta Vagrancy Bill recommends the repatriation of extra-territorial beggars. Where will they go and what will they do? The drive against begging in public by the Secunderabad Police authorities has made many beggars take to different avocations. Some have gone to villages and set themselves as money-lenders and fortune-tellers, while others who are still in the city are believed to be working as magicians and trinket-sellers. There is no reason to assume that many of the beggars would prefer security and compulsory detention in a poor house or jail to free-

dom outside with all its risks of insecurity. Many beg because it is not an offence, because it adds to their income; further, the comparatively slight odium associated with begging, and the public at large, with the traditional idea of religious merit derived from almsgiving, indirectly encourage begging. It will be as hard to take the almsgivers off the streets as to prohibit begging. Many of these donors may not contribute towards the maintenance of a poor house. The public is to be educated to think of beggary as a social problem to be solved by organized concerted effort. What is given now indiscriminately and haphazardly ought to be pooled together to run central agencies where beggars will be cared for. But institutions dependent mainly on voluntary contributions alone will not be enough to meet the need. Government has to share a major portion of this burden.

A special ear-marked tax may be levied to meet the need. In the Note prepared by the Calcutta Rotary Club on the beggar problem, it was suggested that there should be an increase in the tax on trade licenses by 12·5%. Another suggestion made in that Note was the levying of a surcharge on the applications for building plans in Calcutta. There are evidences to assume that the public at large will be sympathetic towards legislation to prohibit begging in public places, to make it obligatory on local bodies to give relief and to levy tax to meet the expenses for the same. Poor laws, doles, work relief, unemployment insurance, social security legislation etc., are only too common in many western countries. It is not any too early for us to make a start by taking care of our beggars efficiently and adequately.

WELFARE WORK AMONG PARSIS

THERE has been a great reawakening in the Parsi Community of late born of the desire to set right some of the wrongs and evils brought into being by the age-old, out-moded and extremely detrimental system of doles. The thoughtful and intelligent members of the community were challenged by the queer and irreconcilable phenomenon of the smallest but one of the richest communities in India with vast financial resources and vaster problems heading straight towards general deterioration due to stark poverty. And thus the Zoroastrian Welfare Association was formed to organize Zoroastrian Community life towards self-dependence and self-respect by devising projects and programmes for the *rehabilitation* of the members of the community who have to be dependent upon charity, and by finding out the means and organizing the machinery to execute the same.

Among other things, it may be mentioned that the Association aims to render social service through personal contact of the social workers with

families for advising, guiding and assisting the latter in the routine of life, and organize an efficient and influential machinery in order to provide and/or help to secure sufficient and timely ameliorative assistance for the distressed, needy, sick and poor members of the community. Further, it seeks to organize social welfare settlements wherever and whenever possible. Salaried and voluntary workers will, as far as possible, be recruited from the community which a welfare settlement serves.

Among its other objectives are special provisions for the care and education of the mother and child, initiation of playground and other activities for the physical and mental well-being of children, the young and the aged, and training of social workers in theory and practice under expert guidance for undertaking welfare work amongst those who are in need of the same. The Association proposes to take such other measures as may be found expedient for the general betterment and health of the community life, particularly of families whose means of livelihood are slender and inefficient, and devise means to execute them.

In accordance with this programme, Welfare Centres have been started at the Cowasji Jehangir Colony, the Marzban Colony and the Gamadia Colony, and the second annual report opens with an optimistic note : " Our Welfare Centre ", it observes, " . . . can now claim to be one of the best organized Welfare Centres in India ", and states " the Association now works for the complete rehabilitation and improvement of life of 700 Parsi families with a population of nearly 3,000 persons. " The programme of rehabilitation includes the Nursery School, the Saturday Activity School, the Vacation Schools, Kiddy Club, Play Centres, Athletics, Training Camp, Nature's Club, Cycle Club, Boys' Club, Girls' Club, Three Women's Clubs, Education Supervision, Reading Rooms, Debating Union, Study Circles, Visual Education, Dramatic Club, Employment Bureau and a definite Employment Scheme in the form of a small industry—the Artitoy Industry—for the benefit of Indian children and unemployed Parsis. Some provision is also being made for Research Work.

The Artitoy Industry has splendid potentialities not from the business angle alone but also from the point of view of developing child activity and initiative, and of pointing the way to the role of art, aesthetics and education. A perusal of the Report as a whole fills one with a sense of something definite being achieved by a body of sincere, earnest, enthusiastic workers and the Parsi Community owes no mean debt to the generosity of Lady Ratan Tata, Lady Cowasji Jehangir and other patrons and donors for the solid financial backing, and to the indefatigable efforts of the Association's Director of Social Work, Dr. B. H. Mehta, M A., Ph.D., of the Sir Dorabji

Tata Graduate School of Social Work, without whose able direction and organizing zeal the present regeneration and reconstruction of the Parsi poor families could hardly have been possible.

TALKING BOOKS

MANY and varied have been the efforts made in the past to educate the blind. Many books have been made available to the blind by transcription into raised characters known as Braille. These books are very bulky and difficult to read. An ordinary novel done in Braille requires several volumes. Not all blind people are able to read Braille fluently ; many cannot read it at all, even in its simplest form. Braille system was developed on the basis of utilizing the sense of touch of the blind. Now a new system has been introduced which utilizes the sense of hearing of the blind. Since 1933, talking books have been introduced. The invention of the talking book puts the whole field of literature within the potential reach of the blind. Already many western classics have been recorded as gramophone novels, and the intention is to create a comprehensive library so that almost any book that is worth reading will be available to the sightless.

For the purpose of recording books, special 12-inch records are used made of very thin flexible material. A fourteen-record volume will be less than an inch thick, which makes the gramophone novel scarcely more bulky than a printed book. By placing the sound channels closer together, without interfering in any way with the quality of the reproduction, success was achieved in compressing much material into a single record page. The records run for eighteen minutes a side. The recording is done at the rate of 180 words a minute and the reproduction can be regulated to 10% slower or faster as required. While it is estimated that an average reader can get through a book at the rate of 400 words a minute, the talking book gives a reproduction at about half this rate. A 7,200-word story can be recorded on a double-faced record.

Another method of producing a talking book makes use of the "sound strip" employed in some methods of film recording. The attractive features of this method are that a novel can be recorded on one continuous strip of film much less bulky than a set of records, and that it is easier for reproduction. But it requires the use of a modified film projector, which is much more expensive than a gramophone which is used for reproducing the records. Yet the two different methods have their own special uses. The "sound strip" is particularly suited to the broadcasting of novels, whereas the gramophone record is more of a home amenity. If more than one person is engaged in the recording of books where more than one character come, it is possible

that the reproduction of these records or films will have an added dramatic touch.

At present talking books are produced exclusively for the blind. It is more than likely that this device may be extended in its usefulness to all classes of readers. More important and hopeful portent is that it will be a boon to the illiterates. The ears will absorb what the eyes cannot decipher. Moreover, as fashionable society women knit while they are listening to a lecture or concert, poor manual labourers and women engaged in routine household duties can listen while they are working. The "hum of the charka" can be silenced by the "voice of human experience and knowledge." It is refreshing to notice that alongside of the destructive use of scientific inventions proceeds the socially productive side as well. Sympathetic attention to the handicapped bring into existence devices which ultimately become a boon to the non-handicapped as well. When books can be enjoyed by the simple process of sitting back in a chair and listening to them, reading—for pleasure—may be the exception rather than the rule.

RACE HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH IT

"IF we speak of fitness and efficiency we shall have to ask ourselves : Fitness and efficiency for what? A man may be fit as a paper hanger without being fit to decide the destiny of a continent A man without legs is unfit for walking but may be an outstanding fighter pilot." These challenging questions and answers were made not long ago in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* by two South African doctors, Drs. Ernst Jokl and Eustace Henry Cluver of Johannesburg. To determine the physical fitness of thousands of their countrymen, they carried out many and varied experiments. Some of their findings are interesting and revealing.

Recently they rounded up 32 young men from the "poor white" class. Since these men had no major diseases, most doctors would call them physically fit. But they were dull, undernourished, sluggish, plagued by colds, rheumatism, headaches. No employer would hire them. Drs. Jokl and Cluver sent them to a Government-sponsored camp, gave them food, exercise, recreation. In six months they produced an improvement "truly remarkable". Soon after the training period, most of the men found good jobs.

During the last few years, Drs. Jokl and Cluver have made 20,000 tests on children between the ages of 5 and 20. The children were of many different groups :—"English, Afrikaner (native Dutch or Huguenot), Jewish, Bantu, Cape Coloured, Indian and Chinese." They had to put a ten-pound shot, run 100 and 600 yards, at any pace they pleased. After each child finished, the

doctors made careful notes on how tired he was. Amazing were the findings: All racial groups of the same age had the same endurance. Said the doctors: "No more impressive evidence for the basic equality of man has ever been adduced."

"In sharp contrast to what is generally believed," the doctors found that "working endurance" is greatest in young children, and the age of greatest physical stamina is at about 6. In all children, the onset of adolescence causes a tremendous physical strain. From the age of 13 on the physical efficiency of women does not increase, may even decline. Girls of 18 were exhausted by the 600-yard run, although children of 6 took it in their stride. The physical efficiency of boys continues to rise after 13 but at a much slower rate than before. "An important biologic hint: During puberty, unnecessarily strenuous activities such as rigid drill . . . must be avoided."

Few Scientists know anything about the effect of food on physical efficiency. Drs. Jokl and Cluver compared the athletic performance of two sets of children:—a "poor" group which ate mostly carbohydrates, a few vegetables; a "rich" group which had plenty of vegetables, meat and dairy products. When both groups were put through their paces, there was no difference in efficiency before adolescence, between the "poor" and "rich" children; after adolescence, the poor children dropped far below the others.

Prowess in athletics has always been considered a sure sign of physical fitness. But not to Drs. Jokl and Cluver. They have collected case records of scores of athletes who suffered from major disease:—a champion swimmer with a form of insanity and paralysis caused by syphilis, a first-class ski-runner with a wooden leg, a shot-put champion with a congenital deformity of his chest muscle. Prize specimen was the "iron man of South African Rugby", who died after a game. Both his kidneys were diseased, and he had an enlarged heart, hardening of the arteries, glandular trouble.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST MALARIA

IN World War I the total killed and died were 8,538,315, and that means there was an average of about 2,135,000 deaths and nearly 5,303,000 were wounded every year of the war. Malaria kills 3,000,000 beings yearly in an unending world-wide massacre. What is India's share in this human sacrifice at the shrine of Mrs. Mosquito? Two lives per minute, or 2,880 persons per day or 1,036,800 persons every year is the heavy toll taken by Malaria in this country. If over a million persons die annually of malaria it is reckoned that the number of persons attacked by this disease every year is 100,000,000. When more than a quarter of the population of this country is

attacked yearly by such a debilitating disease, it is too much to expect that this country can be progressive or prosperous. In India malaria is primarily a rural disease. From a survey of the burden on the ryots caused by this disease, it is estimated that malaria costs them each year directly over Rs. 400,000,000.

It is this appalling magnitude of the problem that brought into existence the Malaria Institute of India in 1927. The annual report for the year 1940 shows that the Institute carries on investigations, and systematic research ; assists in carrying out anti-malarial measures in any part of India ; undertakes clinical work on malaria, including treatment ; teaches and trains officers and others in practical malarial work ; publishes scientific-results, useful guides, bulletins etc., keeps alive interest in malaria study and prevention, and sees that such interest wherever present is nursed and assisted.

The Institute has a distinguished staff of highly trained officers, research director as well as assistants, through whom these high aims for the complete eradication of malaria are sought to be fulfilled. Many visits and tours were made by the Director, Lieut. Colonel Covell, Dr. Puri, Majors Afridi and Jaswant Singh during the year throughout the length and breadth of India for the purpose of fulfilling the various above mentioned functions, and twenty-four students, drawn from different sources such as the Defence Department, Air Force in India, Provincial Governments and Indian States, were given instructional courses, 17 of whom passed the examination held at the end of the training period.

Besides this valuable work, the organization publishes several reports, articles, bulletins, papers and journals which later serve as a textbook for the various courses in malariology. The Institute also has good libraries at Kasauli and Delhi and a museum which is now very well equipped. Many interesting field and laboratory researches have been and are being carried on in Delhi, Wynaad (South India), Orissa and Bazpur and the report of the Entomologist is replete with tests of insecticides, Indian grown pyrethrum flowers, mosquito repellents, larvicides and ovarian development. One of the most significant of the Institute's activities, however, is the starting of the rural anti-malaria schemes under the guidance of the officers, and during the year, such schemes have been in operation in Delhi Province, the United Provinces, Madras Presidency and Bengal.

All the major efforts in India so far are on one side to destroy mosquitoes and on the other to cure malaria. Mosquito control is attempted by insecticides, limitation of mosquito breeding places and such other mechanical means. Cure of malaria is generally effected by the use of quinine. So far the use of the more effective weapon " atabrine " has not become popular.

This complicated drug keeps malarial patients from infecting mosquitoes and thereby spreading the disease.

Malaria spreads in just one way and that is through the bite of a particular kind of she-mosquito. This insect sucks the blood of an infected person; then she bites and spits the microbes back into healthy people. The effective control of malaria depends upon the breaking up of this man-to-mosquito-to-man chain. Quinine cures individual cases wonderfully. But in many advanced cases the curative doses doctors have to use are so terrific that they are dangerous. Many prefer the disease to the cure. Thus the chain of infection survives, and malaria continues in the community.

In 1925 a team of German microbe hunters cooked up a new coal-tar chemical—"Plasmoquine" which was real poison for male and female malarial microbes. Here was power that quinine lacked. But there are two kinds of malaria microbes, sexual and sexless neuters. These neuters are the real killers. Yet strangely, it is the male and female microbes that perpetuate the chain of malarious death. It is these that a mosquito sucks into her stomach where they beget myriads of malaria-microbe children which Mrs. Mosquito injects into the blood of healthy people. Plasmoquine was feeble against the murderous sexless microbes. Quinine could cure malaria but could not powerfully prevent it. Plasmoquine could prevent malaria from going *via* mosquito from man to man, but could not cure it.

The searchers struck off on a new chemical trail—something that would kill these sexless microbes. And in 1930, they developed a drug which they called "atabrine". Compared to quinine, these little yellow pills were harmless. At worst, they coloured some people's skins yellow for a while. Babies could take them safely. Most malarious people could be cured by little quantities of this drug—one little pill by mouth, three times a day, for five days or at the longest seven. In some counties of Georgia in the southern part of the U. S. A. atabrine has been tried and proved amazingly effective. Some optimists are saying that it is no longer a question of whether we can wipe malaria out, but it is a question—will we? No amount of money spent will be extravagant if we can wipe out this ancient, perennial, life-sapping plague.

THE DISTRICT AFTER-CARE ASSOCIATION, POONA

THE Sixth Annual Report for the year 1939-40 of the District After-Care Association, Poona, reveals how much good can be done through voluntary efforts in such a short period of time. The activities of the Association are defined as "life saving work". In the Report it says: "Young twisted lives have to be straightened out; neglected children have to be given due protection and young offenders have to be rehabilitated in society." The

few cases cited certainly justify the objectives and claims of the Association. Technically, the work of the Association falls under two Provincial enactments:—The Bombay Children Act in respect of boys and girls less than sixteen years of age and the Bombay Borstal Schools' Act with reference to the after-care of adolescent lads released on license to homes in Poona. To carry out this work, the Association employs two paid Probation Officers and maintains a Remand Home and After-Care Hostel for working boys.

The report gives illustrative case summaries, and a classified list of the annual return of Juvenile Court Cases. The total number of children's cases dealt with by the Poona Juvenile Court in 1939-40 was 368, of which 326 were cases of arrest within the year, 295 were cases placed on remand and 31 on bail. The number of new cases has trebled within four years, and the ratio of boy and girl delinquents is 4:1. As against 70% of neglected children requiring protective treatment, only 20% of young offenders were arrested. The work of the Association seems therefore to be largely preventive. Four Certified Schools in Poona and its vicinity receive the bulk of the children requiring institutional treatment. The total number of children committed to institutions in the past year amounted to no less than 112 as against 51 in the previous year.

There are two full-time paid Probation Officers, and 93 children were under their supervision. During the year 69 cases were closed, of which 51 were successful and 18 failed. Seven public-spirited citizens of Poona have offered their services as voluntary Probation Officers. After-care work is also carried on and adult probation work is contemplated. The Association is financed by voluntary subscriptions and donations, and also grants from Government and local bodies. It deserves to be congratulated for the excellent work it is doing. Those who visit the Poona Remand Home always come out with a new outlook and a new faith in the treatment of our unfortunate youngsters. Other cities and towns can very well emulate Poona in starting such associations for the care of juveniles in their respective areas.

ABORIGINES

SOCIAL slavery and economic poverty have been the lot of the Untouchables in India on account of the caste system. Even worse seems to be the lot of the Aborigines. And their number is not a negligible figure either. According to 1931 census, it is 22,407,792, *i.e.*, 6.5% of the total population, or half that of the depressed classes. Recently, in his Kale Memorial Lecture, Mr. A. V. Thakkar dealt with the problems of the Aborigines at the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, in which he analysed the problem under the major divisions of poverty, illiteracy, ill-health, inaccessibility

of the areas inhabited by tribals, defects in administration and lack of leadership.

Since the Aryan invaders drove them to mountain-fastness, they have remained there in pre-historic civilization, the rest of India calling them in contempt the "Kali-Praja" or the dark race. Hitherto they have been completely neglected by rulers and their civilized brethren who usually attribute their poverty to laziness and to their crude form of agriculture which is called "shifting cultivation". Many tribes do not use ploughs at all. But some do; for instance, the Chakmas of Bengal, and the Savaras of S. Orissa. Many thousands of aborigines are found working in the coal mines of C. P. and Bihar, and on the tea gardens of Assam and N. Bengal.

In many places the zemindars and their unscrupulous rent-collectors exploit these poor people. Many of them are reduced to the position of serfs. *Bethi* or forced labour is exacted from them without any payment or with only a nominal payment by the zemindars. Mr. D. Symington, I.C.S., of Bombay Province, who was appointed in 1937 to inquire into the conditions of the Aboriginal and Hill tribes of the province, reveals that "all jungle tract tenants are liable to be called upon to work for their landlords. This forced labour is demanded for as many days as are necessary for the landlord's requirements. If they refuse or procrastinate, they are liable to assault or beatings. I was told, on creditable authority, of men being tied up to posts and whipped. There are also rumours of men in the past having been killed. The maximum remuneration of forced labour is one anna per diem. More often rice is given, barely sufficient for one man for one meal. If the landlord is also a forest contractor, he will use his tenants labour by *Veth* for working his coupes. Landlords will not scruple to use their power in fulfilment of their purposes; for instance, the use of their tenants' womanfolk for the gratification of their lust."

Then, there is the drink evil which is another cause of poverty among many of these tribes. Most of them are illiterate. In the 1931 census, for a tribal population of 76,11,803 (for which the literacy figures have been extracted) only 44,351 were literate. That means a literacy of 0.58%, or one in 172 persons was literate. They are also exposed to diseases which play havoc with them. Malaria, Yaws and such other debilitating and disabling diseases are too prevalent. Their primitive treatment consists mainly of exorcism; now and then they have recourse to some herbs administered by quacks.

Many of these tribes live in inaccessible areas thereby minimising contact with outside world. The administration of tribal areas is more autocratic than sympathetic. Lack of knowledge and understanding of the tribal laws and customs lead to many anomalous injustices and injuries. Rao Baha-

dur S. C. Roy writes : "The British system of law and administration has further tended to impair the social solidarity of these tribes and has weakened the authority of the social heads or *Panchas* and the respect they formerly commanded. Until recently, when Government orders validating tribal customary law regarding succession and inheritance were promulgated, the Courts often disregarded the custom against inheritance by daughters and applied to them a Succession Act quite inconsistent with the fundamental social structure and ideas of kinship of the tribes. Until recently, when rules against alienation of ancestral lands were promulgated by Government, the ancient tribal custom against such alienation was utterly disregarded."

The backwardness of these tribes is in one way due to the lack of leadership among them. In another sense, it is their backwardness that is responsible for this lack of leadership. Their interests and cause are today presented to the public by third parties. However disinterested and noble these outside efforts may be, nothing can help these tribes so effectively to get out of degradation and primitivity as leadership from within.

In a nation-building process the question of "isolationism" *versus* "interventionism" does not arise. All peoples in the land are necessarily to be "assimilated" into a common culture, loyalty, and standard of life. The test of a true democratic way of life is how far society ensures opportunities for all to develop their faculties to the utmost. The more backward the group, the greater is the need to promote its status and culture. Unstinted support to all endeavours to improve its health, education, wealth and culture is not optional but obligatory. In this process, it can never be over-emphasized that imposition of standards which are alien to the tribal culture without making their value clear to them will lead to disorganisation and still further backwardness.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN U. P.

THE annual report on the working of the Department of Rural Development, U. P., for the financial year 1940-41, reveals how much can be done by organised effort in Indian villages. Programmes of improvement have been drawn up for each village under the Rural Development Department of the U. P. Government. Setting up of definite tasks to be performed, has made it possible for the Department to show some concrete results within the year. The activities consist of village organization, educational expansion, medical aid, cottage industries, agricultural improvement, co-operative schemes, veterinary aid, cattle welfare and forest schemes, together with the main scheme of rural development. The total budget provisions for the year amounted to Rs. 3,240,656.

A large number of Better-Living Societies have been formed and registered and are continuously stimulated to activity. The programme of agricultural improvement embraced the following activities :—the running of special rural development seed stores for the distribution of pure improved seeds, implements and manures; demonstration of the improved methods of agriculture and conservation of manure; distribution of breeding bulls in the Rural Development areas; formation of co-operative better-farming societies, and running a co-operative farm. The co-operative farming scheme is worthy of special note. It is run by settlers from among the criminal tribes. The successful working of this farm is sure to have wide and lasting influence in other parts of India.

The medical aid and public health division has been one of the most effective sections. There are 48 fixed and 14 travelling dispensaries, 146 *Ayurvedic* and 47 *Unani* dispensaries, 21 maternity centres, and a large number of trained village *dais*. Some 4,289 medicine chests were distributed in villages, and 21 Eye Relief Camps were organised. A large sum of money was given on a contributory basis for the improvement of water supply in various districts. Thus improvements in sanitation and housing conditions are carried on in villages.

The Adult Education scheme has established already 720 schools, and Rover Scouts are trained to do all sorts of improvement work. The Education Expansion Officer through his departmental scheme has made 229,572 persons literate during the year. This Department has 3,600 rural reading rooms and 1,000 libraries in addition to the 250 libraries run directly by the Rural Development Department. In Fyzabad, young women from villages are trained in various branches of homecrafts, girl guiding, welfare work, handicrafts, care of children etc. After the completion of their training, these women are sent back to their villages to open women's centres there.

Motor vans are utilized for publicity and for carrying educative propaganda in rural areas. The Lucknow All-India Radio gives a special rural broadcast every evening and on Saturdays a special programme for women is broadcast. The monthly magazine of the Department, *Hal*, is very popular in rural areas. The *panchayatghars* established in these villages correspond to the Community Centres and Neighbourhood Houses in western countries we hear so much about. The possibilities of development of such centres are great. No other institution can help so well towards the development of a local community spirit, and cut across communal and caste barriers.

The function of Rural Development, as stated in the report, is not "to provide amenities in the shape of more wells, roads, schools, buildings, hospitals, improved seed, better cattle etc.; the real object is to change the attitude

of the villager towards life and to persuade him to improve his general condition and to make him realize that the advice and guidance of various existing departments are available to him whenever he chooses to ask for them." Here is a good philosophy of rural development with some concrete achievements and genuine effort. Our hearty congratulations to Rai Bahadur Pandit Kashi Nath, the Honorary Rural Development Officer, and his associates for demonstrating to the rest of India as to what can be done under proper guidance and enthusiasm. The U. P. Government deserves praise for the continued interest in this field of activity. What is being done in U. P. can be done elsewhere.

ALL-INDIA COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SERVICE AND CENTRAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

AT its fifth annual meeting held in May 1940, the Central Advisory Board of Education appointed the Social Service and Public Administration Committee to investigate the advisability and feasibility of establishing a centre or centres in India for study in social service and public administration. The Committee submitted their report in January 1941 with the following major recommendations :—

1. That a centre for social research should be established.
2. That the centre should have closely associated with it, if not under the same direction, a training school for social workers.
3. That there should be Provincial Schools of Social Service affiliated to the Central Institute.
4. That training in social work should be given to officials of public departments concerned with the social services as well as to the workers of voluntary bodies.
5. That extramural social work under the direction of a qualified officer should be introduced into every University in India.
6. That training in rural and urban social work should be given at these centres.

The Board at its sitting in January 1941 accepted the main idea of the need for an All-India Council of Social Service with a Central Research Institute. They also decided that before implementing the recommendations of the Committee Provincial Governments and voluntary agencies of all India character should be requested to furnish detailed information regarding existing agencies engaged in social service in their areas (including universities), the scope of their activities, their relation to one another and the means adopted to co-ordinate their activities. At the instance of the Board, the Directors of Public Instruction in all Provinces are soliciting information on

the above lines from various agencies. Many agencies are responding to the call. The Social Service League has published in their Quarterly¹ the reply their Committee sent to the Director of Public Instruction, Province of Bombay. In reference to the establishment of All-India Council of Social Service with a Central Research Institute, they observe as follows :—

“My Committee heartily welcomes the idea of establishing an All-India Council of Social Service with a Central Research Institute, the need for which is under the consideration of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India, as this step is likely, in my Committee’s opinion, to be conducive to a better coordination of efforts which are being made through official or non-official agencies and to making the progress in different items of social work in different provinces uniform as far as possible. It should be the business of the All-India Council of Social Service to see to it that the social problems are dealt with, and social work in respect of them is carried on in all provinces in accordance with the basic principles of social service in general and the commonly accepted principles or conclusions in different social problems, although latitude may be allowed in details. This Council may review the progress of social service in the country from time to time and direct the attention of the provincial authorities to such social problems as seem to have been totally neglected or not to have received sufficient attention in spite of their urgency. The Council may also undertake inquiries with regard to the problems in which all or several of the provinces have common interest.

“Training is quite necessary for social workers. Mere good will, a desire to serve the people and active habits are not enough. A social worker must have a thorough grasp of the principles of modern social service, a knowledge of the conditions of the people whom he has to serve, and he must know the right way of approach to the class of people among whom he has to work and he must cultivate tact and patience. Thus he must receive training in theory and practice of social service. A central institute can provide facilities for training. However, if there is to be one school or college for all the provinces, my Committee would like to suggest that instead of starting a new school or college for this purpose, the Government of India should take full advantage of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work in Bombay by asking the Provincial Governments to send students to that school with scholarships. Also, by moving the different Universities, post-graduate courses in social service may be instituted. It may also be one of the voluntary subjects which a student who desires to study for his degree in Arts may take up. Such a proposal has been passed by the Bombay University. In all such courses, an acquaintance with sociology and social psychology is necessary as background.

¹ *The Social Service Quarterly*, October 1941, pp. 79-83.

The Central Government and the Provincial Governments should provide facilities to the students for observation and research, be they studying in any of the Universities or at a reputable institution like the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work. Special courses may be instituted according to the Government requirements.

"It is true, as stated in your letter, that practically all the subjects covered by the term "Social Service" are included in the field of provincial administration, and therefore it would be easier to impart practical training at provincial centres. In this connection it must also be remembered that some provinces have some special problems to deal with. Some have a large population of aboriginal tribes, some have a number of criminal tribes, some have a large number of factory or mine workers, and some a large number of labourers employed on plantations. It will, therefore, be desirable for the Provincial Governments to have a sufficient number of social workers according to their needs, and to carry on or encourage research in their special problems.

"In addition to the highly qualified social workers responsible for organisation and supervision of social work, in each district, a large number of social workers to work in talukas or groups of villages will be required for rural uplift. The educational qualifications of those workers need not be very high. These will have to be trained properly before they are given actual work. They must know the principles and methods of social work and must be able to organise literacy and post-literacy classes, co-operative societies, especially better living societies, to carry on propaganda for sanitation and health, to communicate to the people the results of the latest researches into dietetics (for example, the researches made at the Research Institute at Coonoor) and methods of agriculture. They should also be able to organise sports and to impart general information to the village people. A course should be prepared extending over a period of a year or two. Young persons of active habits should be selected to go through this course. This training may be given at two or three centres in each province."

In reply to a similar letter from the Director of Public Instruction, the Ag. Director of The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay, has, among other things, made the following suggestion:—

"As regards the training of social workers, I am of the opinion that the time is not yet ripe for starting centres of training in each Province. To begin with, the principle of professional training for social workers has not yet been commonly accepted, and the idea that any person can do social work

is still dominant. Under these circumstances, if social workers are trained in the several Provinces they would only aggravate the problem of unemployment. Even in our institution, though it is the only one of its kind in India at present, we admit only 20 or 25 students every two years. As a result, we are able to place practically all our graduates in suitable places. In view of this situation, it would be better, at least for the time being, to make the Tata Graduate School of Social Work an All-India institution. It is really functioning as such. The Provinces could easily subsidize the institution by a special grant and send their students to be trained here. By doing so they will avoid duplication of work and unnecessary expenses."

Recognition of the value and importance of Social Research, howsoever belated is a welcome sign. Its urgency cannot be overemphasized. There is no doubt that facts are better than oratory, and so far in India in the absence of the former, social workers and reformers were relying mainly on the latter. The dearth of data pertaining to pathological conditions in Indian society make it difficult to tackle social problems in any wide organized manner. Social diagnosis through research is accepted today as equally valid and indispensable a pre-requisite in social work as medical diagnosis based on research has come to be accepted in the medical world. If social work programmes are to be operated in a thoroughly effective manner, it is essential that they be planned on a basis of adequate knowledge of existing needs, trends and changes, available services and resources, and the organisation and functioning of already existing agencies in applying resources to needs.

It has yet to be consciously recognised in India that professional training in social work is as essential as in any other profession. Just as we discountenance quacks in the medical field we must deplore quackery in social treatment. Social work is not merely disbursing charity, and efficient administration of institutions and agencies. In the last analysis the main task of social work is rehabilitation and reconstruction. The two primary questions, which every social worker has to ask himself are: "What is wrong?" and "What ought and can be done?" To answer these, an intellectual discipline and orientation in the general field of social sciences, a thorough grasp of the nature and meaning of social work and acquaintance with techniques that are employed in other countries to meet such problems are essential. Social sciences on a more extensive scale need to be introduced into the curriculum of Indian Universities. Governments and private agencies have to be persuaded not only to insist on professionally trained social workers, but also extend social services in all directions to meet the pressing needs of the poor. We do hope that what the Central Advisory Board of Education has accepted in theory will soon mature into some concrete expression.

FAMINE IN SHERTALLAY—TRAVANCORE

THERE is war in Europe, and consequently there is famine in Shertallay. Coir industry, the mainstay of the inhabitants of Shertallay, has failed because coir made there is no longer exported to foreign countries. *Arunodayam*, a monthly magazine, has issued a Famine Special Number in which are given facts revealing the tragic plight of the people of Shertallay and what the Travancore public and Government are doing to alleviate their suffering. Shertallay, a taluk with an area of 117 sq. miles, is in the extreme north of the narrow strip of land lying on the west coast of Travancore, Alleppey forming its southern boundary. It has a density of 1,746 persons per sq. mile according to the 1931 census. A survey has been made of 500 families in the famine stricken area and the findings are appallingly tragic. Due to deaths, fall in birth rate and migrations on account of famine conditions the average persons per family has fallen from 5'82 in 1939 to 4'7 in 1941. The fall in percentage of school-going children is 63½. There is not even one piece of cloth per family on the average, and what they have the different members of the family use by turns. As against the income of 6 Annas 2½ pies per day for a family in 1939, the present income is only 8'8 pies. The average number of people employed in factory work in 100 families in pre-war time was 134, and now it is only 18. While the average income per family from coir yarn spinning was 1 Anna 5 pies during pre-war days, it is only 4'6 pies now. The average expenditure of a labour class family in Shertallay during pre-war days was 4 As. 8 ps. per day, and the present average is only 9 pies. Indebtedness per family has gone up from Rs. 12/6/- to Rs. 18/6/-. Out of 500 families surveyed there were only 12 families where 3 meals were served every day. Those taking 2 meals a day were 116, one meal a day 217, 1 meal in 2 days 60, one in 3 days 85, one in four days 2, and one in five days one family. In the vast majority of cases an average meal consisted of half a pound of tapioca or rice. Malnutrition, disease, death and all other concomitant havoc of famine are increasing day by day.

Voluntary bodies, religious, secular and political are doing relief work. Special mention must be made of the most active group, the Youth Christian Council of Action,—a body of active young men, noted more for their social idealism rather than for any theological beliefs—which has raised and used Rs. 12,000/- for feeding starving children in the famine stricken area. The Government also have been giving some work relief. There has come into existence a new Committee, the Coastal Reconstruction Committee, whose aims are to introduce new cottage industries and develop agriculture in the area. They are hoping to receive from the Government Rs. 2,000/- for every

Rs. 1,000/- they raise from the public.

Commendable though the efforts are, the urgency of the problem demands more radical action on the part of the Government. The state as the guardian of her citizens is bound to mitigate the evils resulting from such poverty. Famine situations call for liberal and immediate action. Voluntary efforts are slow and stunted even in such a crisis. The appeal for voluntary contributions comes from Mr. M. P. Job, General Secretary, Shertallay Famine Relief Committee, Kottayam, Travancore, and Mr. N. R. Krishnan, M.L.A., Shertallay, Travancore.

HOUSING OF THE POOR IN INDORE

INDORE is the premier city of Central India with a population of nearly 2,00,000. It is a major trade centre and has many Textile Mills. As in the case of any other city with a large labour population, the housing problem has become acute. The gratifying feature is that Indore is not sleeping over the problem in callous indifference.

To the west side of the city on an expansive 10 acre plot of land stand 13 blocks of buildings. In these blocks are housed 91 families of sweepers and the colony is "Harijan Colony No. 1". The rooms are spacious, airy and conveniently planned; there are open spaces for outdoor recreation; roads, drains, latrines, water supply and other modern amenities and sanitary arrangements are all up to the standard. There is a common hall erected in the colony, which is to be utilized under the guidance of the Indore Harijan Sevak Sangh for conducting Bhajans, Kirtan, Day School for Harijan children, Night Class for adults, a co-operative grain shop and general store. The Government have sanctioned the construction of a second colony to the south of the city to house 56 families of sweepers, and a third one is proposed to house another 56 families which when completed will solve the housing problem so far as the sweepers are concerned.

All these have been made possible by the generosity of His Highness the Maharaja Holkar, the activities of the Indore Harijan Sevak Sangh and the executive ability of the Prime Minister. His Highness sanctioned a yearly grant of Rs. 1,00,000 from his private purse for the housing scheme. Money is spent both by the Government and the City Municipality. Colony No. 1 has already cost Rs. 87,000/-. The second will cost Rs. 51,000/-. The problem of housing the labourers who also are mainly drawn from the Harijans is the next one to be tackled. The local Millowners' Association has decided to keep aside 5% of their war profits for the construction of houses for labourers. Against the total estimated cost of Rs. 20,00,000/- this 5% seems too low to

meet the need. The City Improvement Trust Board has already reserved certain sites for such housing schemes to be eventually developed.

Peons, domestic servants, low paid clerks, teachers and others find it very difficult to get decent dwellings at rates which they can afford. For the lower middle class, it may be advisable to have houses built at public expense, and then by arrangement have the cost paid back by them in easy instalments so that after a time they will be the owners of the houses. Such schemes are very popular in western countries and have been found to be extremely satisfactory to all parties concerned. We hope that this good start will continue to develop and result in an adequate provision of housing for all poor people in Indore. A city with sanitary dwellings ensures efficiency, good health and prosperity.

R. K. YARDAY

Harijan Sevak Sangh, Indore

OUR STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION

OUR Students' Association has been singularly active during the last three terms. Every term a new executive committee was elected with sub-committees for debates and lectures, games and socials. The general secretaries for each term were Messrs. P. P. Antia, K. G. Dighe and M. J. Cherian respectively.

Our intellectual activities consisted in arranging debates, and lectures at the social hour every week. Some of the prominent guest speakers were Mr. N. M. Joshi (M.L.A.), Mr. Verrier Elwin, Prof. O. V. C. Wystimsky (Director of Pioneer Research Institute, Poland), Mr. M. M. Rasool (Kisan Sabha), Dr. P. A. Dalal, Dr. Atal (Leader of the Congress Medical Mission to China), Mr. Ashok Mehta, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarcar of Calcutta, Mr. Yusuf Meher Ali, Dr. K. B. Menon of the Civil Liberties Union, Miss K. Khandwalla, Prof. Radhakumud Mukerjee of Lucknow, Dr. Suman Mehta, Miss Godavari Gokhale, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Prof. G. N. Parekh of Ramnarayan Ruia College, Dr. Ida Scudder of Vellore Medical School, Dr. Hewat, Miss Margaret Moor, Mr. P. Kodanda Rao and Mr. N. A. Dravid of the Servants of India Society and others. The topics discussed were as diverse as the speakers themselves. The meetings were attended by members of the faculty, alumni and guests. Our debates were mainly on the political situation in India.

On 8th August, 1941, the following condolence resolution was passed on the death of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore: "We the Faculty and the students of The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work are grieved at the death of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. World has lost one of its greatest artists

and philosophers. India has lost a noble patriot. As a social worker he was our beacon light; as a philosopher, he was our guide; as a poet, he inspired us; as an artist, he interpreted life to us in various dimensions—through his fiction, drama and paintings. His universality has made us detest narrow nationalism. His godliness has made us all humble. His is the peace and ours is the loss.’’

The School remained closed as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

An emergency meeting of the Association was called on August 21st to condemn the treatment meted out to the students of various colleges by the Bombay City Police on 19th August 1941 on the occasion of the University Convocation. The following resolution was passed by a majority of votes:—“We, the members of the Students’ Association of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay, strongly condemn the brutal treatment meted out to students of various colleges in Bombay, by the Bombay City Police on 19th August, 1941, on the occasion of Bombay University Convocation.”

As regards recreational activities it may be pointed out that excursions, visits to places of interest, group exodus to movies of social significance were arranged, and the keen interest evinced by majority of students in these activities revealed that they were out to get a diploma as well as an education. Graduate students and prospective social workers—did the maturity of our status and the burdens of Mother India wear us down? No. Indoor and outdoor games, intramural tournaments and matches with alumni had their legitimate place in our extra-curricular activities. In fact, we believe in recreation to such an extent that we do not even think of it as extra-curricular. Along with an all-round education we are developing wholesome personalities. We have to thank all our guest speakers and the faculty for their interest and co-operation in our activities.

J. V. BHAVE
General Secretary

BOOK REVIEWS

Children Are People. By EMILY POST. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1940. Pp. 383. \$ 2.50.

Emily Post is a well-known and popular American author. In the volume under review, she writes about children, their daily life with parents, elders, and nurses. As an artist in human relations, she devotes the first portion of her book of family guidance to the "Child's Etiquette." The idea of etiquette for young children may sound ridiculous or quite artificial at the outset, but the way in which the author presents it soon convinces one of its need. Why should not little children be taught the value of a decided "No", of consideration and courtesy, tact, politeness and other amenities of life from the moment they are old enough to understand?

Those harassed parents possessing "brats" with whom they can do nothing, or those parents who gather few plums from over-indulging their youngsters, often wonder at, and secretly envy, the mother who has a completely enchanting child with delightful manners. Perhaps they think she was "born just like that", and resign themselves to their fate. However, this is not so; in nine cases out of ten, the enchanting child is the result of enchanting training though, of course, good inherited qualities help in producing the total result that is so much appreciated and admired! Emily Post says that "child training is part instruction, part a game, but in the greatest part, a slowly developing and ever more beautiful comradeship".

"And Ideal Parents Are Comrades" is very appropriately added by Mrs. Post as the subtitle of her book. By striking examples and illustrations, she shows fathers and mothers how to cultivate this most valuable home relationship between their children and themselves. Furthermore, she stresses that this relationship will take root only if based on mutual understanding, trust, and a worthy example set by the elders. Wanting the child to be polite, when the parents themselves are discourteous, is to ask for the well-nigh impossible; for, the child is inclined to do *as you do*, and not as you *tell* him to do.

According to the precepts set down in this informative book, the parent teaches the child and the child teaches the parent, thus making it a two-way affair of mutual benefit. It is quite easy to understand the author's insistence that the happiest homes are those in which comradeship exists, and at the same time children are taught the principles of good behaviour which every lady or

gentleman is expected to possess, and made to understand that though their fathers and mothers are their pals yet there are boundaries which they may not cross.

Children must, says the author, be taught early that rudeness, intruding on others' privacy, or inconsiderate behaviour will not be tolerated, and that the adage "do unto others as you will have them do unto you" is a very apt one which few people thoroughly understand, and hence are upset when others hurt them in any way. But this does not mean that the child has to be repressed and "seen but not heard". It only indicates that children must learn that though they are important members in the family, yet their parents' universe does not revolve around them only, but that they have other interests which exclude them.

Mrs. Post's book is a very comprehensive one. She writes in detail about every phase of home life, all of which she considers important. Some of them are speech, table manners, responsibility attached to one's possessions; daily manners at home, in company and when out in public; the influence of clothes; how to answer children's questions; teaching them how to be truthful and yet tactful so as not to wantonly hurt other people's feelings; encouraging their special talents and so on. In other words, the purpose of this book is to teach the child to have an "Educated Heart" as Gellert Burgess would say. Then too, the shy child, the stubborn child, and the spoiled child also come in for special consideration, and Emily Post has much to say about them.

In reference to the importance of clothing in child behaviour, she remarks that since a large part of every child's day is spent in rough clothes and in an informal atmosphere where behaviour is apt to become careless, this tendency should be off-set by a short period each day when the child is expected to appear neat, clean and behave well—thus putting into practice the little niceties that constitute gracious living. She emphasizes the fact that a mansion magnificently equipped and unlimited wealth are not necessary in order to give children a fine upbringing. Understanding, cultured and wise parents can do all that is needed in a cottage and upon a small income! Their home should be one in which people, and children especially, feel quite at home in and love to come to because of the atmosphere of "you're welcome, and we like you" that pervades it.

The points the author stresses most in *Children Are People* are that children should be brought up with such fine manners in every day life that they will become so finely ingrained in their personality as to be second nature to them as they grow up, and that children *are people* and *must* be treated as such. This book is a reliable guide for character training in which the parent teaches the child and the child teaches the parent. The author's style is charming;

the book is instructive, and written in simple and popular language. It should prove useful to all those interested in the miracle of perfect training of children.

LALITA KUMARAPPA

Speech Training for the Deaf Child. By SYLVIAN M. MARTIN. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1941. Pp. 114. 3s. 6d.

Here is a hopeful, encouraging, and simple hand-book of speech training for the parents of the deaf and the partially deaf child. It is the outcome of Miss Martin's extensive experience at the Infants Hospital Clinic for the Deaf and in the Speech Clinic at the West London Hospital, and as such, should prove an invaluable guide in fulfilling a long-felt and genuine need in this connexion, particularly as it is written in a very direct, straightforward, and non-technical manner. As Miss Martin herself observes in the preface, this book "is written to help the parent of the deaf mute child who is unable to attend a deaf clinic. Since such clinics are extremely few and far between, the greater majority are in this condition. When the child reaches school age, he will of course receive speech training at school, but it is a great pity that the pre-school years should be wasted It is with this idea in view, and because we have from time to time to turn children away from the clinic—chiefly on account of the distance to be travelled, particularly in these war days—that I have decided to write this book."

Though the primary object of the book is to help the child over the first difficult task of learning to speak during those first precious early and very receptive years, which are usually entirely wasted for want of training, it will also serve the need of many children who have passed that state, and there is no reason why even adults should not gain by this admirably direct and simple book. The author, however, warns the reader that in cases of defective speech and word deafness the work should not be attempted by the parent, but the child be taken to a speech clinic or speech therapist.

In the first nine chapters of Part I dealing with "The Deaf Mute Child", Miss Martin attempts to guide and initiate the parents into the problems presented by the deaf child and gradually introduces them to the first steps of speech training such as formation of sounds, words, sentences, tone and inflection, and gives valuable hints for stimulating the residual hearing. All this she accomplishes without going into etiologic, diagnostic or therapeutic technicalities, and thus succeeds in making this highly technical subject intelligible to the lay public. In the next ten to fifteen chapters forming Part II entitled "The Slightly Deaf Child," she gives sound practical suggestions. The exercises in vowels, consonants, and combination of consonants given in

Chapters 12, 13 and 14 have been found to be useful not only with the deaf mutes but also with speech defectives, and if they are followed and practised in the right manner they will bring a new ray of hope and success into the lives of those afflicted with fractional hearing or speech in the early years. This book should be a valuable possession not only of parents of deaf mute children but of teachers and speech therapists as well.

K. H. CAMA

A Study of Jealousy as Differentiated from Envy. By T. M. ANKLES. Boston: Bruce Humphres Inc., 1939. Pp. 109. \$2.00.

This book is the outcome of a study undertaken by the author in partial fulfilment of the examination for the Academic Postgraduate Diploma in Psychology at the University of London. It was, as the author puts it, motivated by the constant observation of "easily avoidable unhappiness amongst my friends and dear ones due to this scourge of humanity—Jealousy," and is based on the assumption that "Jealousy is susceptible to treatment and can be eradicated."

The method, as in all psycho-analytical investigations of this nature, is subjective, and hence in spite of the author's sincerest attempts to be as scientific as possible, is fraught with the usual limitations of the subjective approach, and the book leaves one with the feeling that the author has waded through rather than made an inexhaustive study of a highly intricate and complex subject like Jealousy. The method employed is that of personal interview followed up by a written questionnaire and confirmed by interrogation. This is done with the purpose of analysing jealousy so as to find its exact components and its internal mechanism. Such a task is not by any manner of means easy; for, as the writer himself admits, "... in trying to get at these mechanisms, man's innermost thoughts have to be investigated, and we find the secrets of the emotional life to be the most closely guarded of all," and in spite of the precautionary measures of the additional written questionnaire method followed up by interrogatory questions to clear up misunderstandings, it seems highly improbable that the investigator could have gained a thorough insight into all the internal mechanisms of jealousy.

Apart from the choice of the subjects on whom the investigation was carried out—and the author gives his reasons for rejecting certain types of people—the number seems rather limited to warrant any authentic conclusions. Thirty subjects are selected and divided into three classes: (1) the professional, (2) the University, and (3) the business and working class, each class having ten subjects. These subjects are again classified according to Jung's and Kretschmer's "Types" and Adler's "Life-Style", and the interview with

each together with the answers to the questionnaire and oral questions are discussed in order. This forms the most interesting part of the book as the mechanisms of Sadism and Masochism and the Sado-Masochistic impulses are very clearly brought out. The author then goes on to discuss some literature on the subject of jealousy and ends up with very helpful suggestions for eradicating "this scourge of humanity". After all that is said that can be said for or against it, the book will certainly prove popular; for, it deals with one of the most baffling and fundamental problems of human nature, and the author is certainly to be congratulated for having attempted such a difficult task.

K. H. CAMA

Holidays and Timings. Edited by KALI DAS KAPUR, M.A., L.T., R. N. BHARGAVA, M.A., B.Sc., LL.B., B.T., and H. S. JAUHARI, B.A., L.T.; Education Office, 2, Sunderbagh, Lucknow (U. P.).

This extra-special issue of *Education* for the year 1941 deals with the vital problem of the reform of holidays and school timings. A statement of the plea for reform appeared in the January 1939 issue of their official organ, *Education*, and a restatement of the problem was made in *Education* of November 1939. Now we have this extra-special number giving us the views, messages, statements and opinions of eminent personages, statesmen and educationists with a glimpse into the world's system of holidays and timings. The following list of the sections under which several aspects of the problem are treated is suggestive of much stimulating and thought-provoking material :—

- I Statement of the Problem.
- II Messages and Statements.
- III Holidays and Timings Systems in Foreign Countries.
- IV Past and Present.
- V System of Holidays and Timings in India.
- VI Bombay and U. P. Government Circulars.
- VII Editorial Notes and Comments.
- VIII Reforms in Different Types of Institutions.
- IX Aspects of the Problem.
- X A Summing Up.

This is indeed a right step in the direction of a reform that was long overdue, and the Editors are to be commended for their untiring efforts in inviting the opinions of Education Ministers, past and present, Inspectors of Schools, Directors of Public Instruction, Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors of Universities, Professors, and Statesmen so as to get together the judgment and views of the best qualified persons on the subject, and thus expedite the insti-

tution of reform that will fulfill a long-felt need of Indian children and teachers alike for a more rational system of holidays and timings based on our actual needs and environment. It may interest the Editors to know in this connection that one of the progressive girls' school in Bombay, The New High School for Girls, has already adopted the change in timings and the school hours are from 8 a.m. to 12 noon for the elementary classes and 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. for the high school. The actual school work as well as extra-curricular activities are included in this time-table, and though at first there was a little opposition from the parents, and the measure was adopted provisionally as an experiment, it is now a permanent feature of the school as it has proved beneficial both to the children and the teachers.

K. H. CAMA

Red Medicine: Socialised Health in Soviet Russia. By SIR ARTHUR NEUSHOLME and J. A. KINGSBURY. London: William Heinmann.

At a time when Soviet Russia is playing a very important role in world history, it is interesting to review the activities of the U.S.S.R. in an important field of Social Welfare and Public Health. This important book besides is no propaganda as it comes from the pen of the Ex-Principal Medical Officer of the Local Government Board of England and Wales and the Ex-Commissioner of Public Charities of the City of New York. The authors travelled six thousand miles and through most of the Republics that constitute the whole country; the pictures therefore do not typify merely great cities and certain important regions. The book is mainly descriptive, explaining innumerable institutions dealing with Health Care and Protection. The authors pay their compliments to some of Russia's great institutions with their network of organised branches like the Institute of Health in Moscow—the planning centre of the entire health administration—the Institute for the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood which enunciates policies regarding maternity work, the Moscow Institute for Skin and Venereal Diseases controlling the anti-venereal organisations, the Night Sanatoria Organisation for Workers, Anti-alcoholic Stations, the Central Tuberculosis Institute, the Polyclinics of Leningrad etc.

The authors describe the Ambulatorium, one of the eight Polyclinics of Leningrad, as the largest they had seen anywhere. It treats free all workers of the Volodarski District and is manned by 128 doctors. As the clinic was found to be insufficient another one was then under construction. The Leningrad Institute for Protection of Motherhood and Childhood had a birth control department which had as members 90% of the mothers of the adjoining district.

The authors unfortunately do not give details about the innumerable

places visited, naturally because of the immense area and population they covered; nevertheless, there are many glimpses of the great strides taken by the youngest country in the world in providing measures which stagger us by the boldness of their expanse and the thoroughness of their organisation. For example, the book mentions that the entire population of Kaza was vaccinated twice in one month because there were 12 cases of smallpox in the city.

Medical science in Russia is almost completely socialised, but private practice yet exists on a small scale. For example in the Ukraine private practice comprised 10% of the total medical work. The descriptions of Industrial Conditions and Health are interesting. Probably in no country of the world are such extensive measures taken for the protection of health. Factories have their own kitchens to give cheap meals to workers, and each factory has a special kitchen to give meals to workers under medical care. Special chapters are devoted in the book to measures taken by the Soviet Union for the care of Tuberculosis, and the treatment and prevention of venereal diseases. In conclusion, the authors, after quoting the ideals of medical practice as contained in "Medicine and the State", conclude that in many points Soviet Russia is nearer the achievement of these ideals than many other countries.

B. H. MEHTA

Gramism: The New Renaissance of India. By RAM RAI MOHAN RAI DOLAT RAI, B.A., LL.B., with an Introduction by Dr. A. B. DHRUVA, D. LITT., M.A., LL.B., Pro-Vice Chancellor, Benares Hindu University and Lady Nilkanth, President, All-India Women's Conference, 1932. New Book Co., Bombay, 1941. Pages 260.

Gramism is another example of the thinking that pervades the field of Indian reconstruction. In the Preface the author says, "I venture to offer to India and her multi-millions of village peoples a new synthesis for national unity, national solidarity and national authority. The Gramist synthesis is a call to life and a message of resurrection. Its mission is renaissance."

The author of this valuable work is not a novice to the problems he has tackled with a vision which is born of experience and knowledge. Mr. Ram Rai has been a student and a worker in the cause of the Indian Kisans for two decades, and in this work he presents that *synthesis* which he has reached after original thinking and practical application to problems. Being a politician, Mr. Ram Rai's vision is naturally tinged by considerations of forms of governments, but his politics, like his study of the Indian rural problems, is sound and motivated by a broad outlook. His solutions appear revolutionary, but in reading his conclusions we find that he seeks to destroy no one. His syn-

thesis is based upon inter-communal harmony and friendly Indo-British relations.

The First Chapter of the book is meant to be an extremely brief survey of the past—of the long course of history—which is naturally meant to serve as the background of future reconstruction. In the Second Chapter is another brief attempt to obtain a pen picture of the Indian village. The seven laes of Indian villages do not present a simple common, uniform pattern; consequently, the author's task is difficult, and in reaching a final description he seems to have overestimated the importance of political forces. The next four Chapters deal with contemporary politics, and especially the British government and the Congress, and the story of their mutual conflicts and their consequent reactions on the peasant masses. Naturally, the author gives his own point of view; there will be people who will both agree and disagree with him.

The real worth of the book, however, begins from Chapter VIII in which the author gives a very readable and original version of the synthesis he calls Gramism. Here the Indian village is practically resurrected from its oblivion to become the real force guiding the destiny of Indian history. In his own words Gramism "is a conception of a nobler humanity functioning through the State in a social order based on justice and equity, and not exploitation and privilege." If the author's definition of Gramism gives the reader any impression of Utopianism, the impression is considerably removed in the very realistic and practical suggestions that follow. After twenty years of hard work, the author has reached a very clear and concrete meaning of Gramism which he has intelligently evolved in a definite scheme with a well thought out programme.

Part II and III of the book which give the thesis, aims and programme of Gramism deserve to be read by every student and worker interested in rural India as a refreshing and concrete expression of study and application to some of the most fundamental problems of Indian life. The pages inspire thought more than anything else, and they deserve sympathetic consideration and experimentation before any criticism or judgment can be passed on them.

The latter portion of the book deals with several special aspects of important and less fundamental problems. On the whole the book is extremely readable and useful, full of original ideas, and ideas based on political and social ideologies of other countries at the present day. It is truly a synthesis, and thus it takes a colour of idealism which seems to be difficult to be achieved in practice. But no programme is capable of being worked out in its entire details, and therefore Gramism serves a very important and useful purpose. It stresses the urgent need of radical reconstruction of Indian village life to fit into the pattern of the Indian Renaissance, and it gives a general direction on

lines on which thinking and practice can be directed to solve the many and intricate problems of Indian rural life.

B. H. MENTA

Peach Path. By KUO CHIN CHIU. London : Methuen & Co., 1940. Pp. 240. Price 8s.

This is a very light readable book by a young American educated Chinese woman. A victim of Japanese aggression, in flight from China, she gives a picture of the life of the average Chinese woman to her non-Chinese readers. She says: "This is a woman's book, written by a woman for women" but it will prove of perhaps greater interest to men curious. Further she declares: "I am a Chinese, a fragment of old China come West". On the contrary, Miss Chiu is a true representative of China today, awakened, enlightened, educated, with an outlook that is severely national and yet bristling with international camaraderie. She says that she is a fragment of Old China but she is not willing to disown China, and she does not find enough in the West to be a willing convert to western civilisation.

The book begins with a vivid description of the Chinese woman's life, and also gives glimpses of the lives and outlooks of some of the great women of China. Here even she is modern and a critic of Old China, for to her Hszi Hszi, the "Queen Victoria of China" is but an "inglorious" example of Chinese history. The Second Chapter is an autobiographical sketch of the author's life. Incidentally it opens the window for a brief picture of Chinese education.

In her chapter on Marriage we are reminded not of marriage in old China, but of some of the pages of "The Women in Soviet Russia". In China "where marriage is inevitable and desirable", there is a distinct and characteristic attitude of the women towards marriage which is so well described in the book, and which is so different from Western standards. As interesting as the pages on marriage, are the clearly phrased chapters on Motherhood and Children.

The book is not merely a splendid, flashy, readable piece of work on Chinese Sociology; it is one of those examples where the non-English is able to write better English than the average English man or woman. The language is racy, free and full of satire. There are some good hits in many places. For instance, she writes, "Incidentally may I say, for the benefit of the English, that we *do* use chairs, and have used them for centuries. Sitting on the floor, which is doubtless an excellent and economical pastime, we leave to the Japanese."

The book must be welcomed as another contribution in English by a typical child of a great nation who today lives to revel in the greatness of Confucius and the wisdom of Taoism. Imperialism and conquests will not

succeeded to destroy the rich flower of human culture which are imbedded in the deep soil of Time; indeed, they will only help to stir the past and help to create a richer civilisation than the one which was lost for a while. Kuo Chin Chiu may not confess it; her natural contempt for the Japanese may make her believe in the incapacity of little Japan to contribute anything to Old China, but we can discern behind the pages of *Peach Path* the Old China brought to life, stirred to the depth of her soul, by the grim realities of Japanese aggression.

B. H. MEHTA

Wolf Child and Human Child. BY ARNOLD GESELL, M.D. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941. Pp. 107. \$2.

It is now maintained by social psychologists that some means of symbolic communication is necessary for the development of human nature. "Without communication," says Cooley in his *Social Organization*, "the mind does not develop a true human nature, but remains in an abnormal and nondescript state neither human nor properly brutal." The reported cases of feral men are generally cited in support of this thesis. However, no authentic account of feral men was available hitherto to the social scientist to prove his case. Only some four years ago, *The Illustrated Weekly of India* published a series of articles on the "wolf children" of Midnapore by Bishop H. Pakenham-Walsh who was then Bishop of Assam and had actually seen one of them being brought up in the orphanage. Naturally, therefore, he vouches for the authenticity of the story.

The story is that these two human children, girls, one about eight years and the other no more than a year and a half, were living completely feral lives with a wolf family. The late Rev. J. A. L. Singh rescued them some twenty years ago and brought them up in his orphanage at Midnapore where he carefully subjected them to the ways of humanity. The baby, Amala, died a year later. The other wolf child, Kamala, lived to be 17 years old, and was slowly weaned away from the life of the wolves' den to the life of the human community. During these years of her changing life cycle, Mr. Singh kept a diary of her progress. With recourse to all the available sources, Dr. Gesell, Director of the Clinic of Child Development at Yale University, has now produced a most interesting study of Kamala's life—the most singular and perhaps the most remarkable story, the author says, which has ever been told of a human child brought up in the company of wild animals.

Wolf Child and Human Child challenges intense interest on two counts—as an authentic story of a feral human being and as the basis for discussion of the influence of heredity and environment in producing human nature. And in the record of Kamala's development the two points of interest actually

meet. When found, the little girl lived as a wolf and had acquired certain bodily characteristics of feral existence:—she ran on all fours, and her knees, hands and feet were calloused; she lived largely in the dark and her eyes fared better in darkness than in light; she could not use her hands as hands; her sense of smell was highly developed; her social sense was not developed—in fact, it was almost non-existent. But in spite of these other evidences of wolf “culture”, (she gave the wolf howl three times each night, as the pack’s greeting), she was not basically de-humanized; her brain tracts were largely unorganized in human patterns but her brain remained human. She was not feeble-minded. She grew mentally, and learned not only to walk and talk but to take a natural human child’s pride in her new achievements. She came to love the other children whom at first she had feared and hated. Under human care and training, she became a “sweet and obedient child.” Though her progress was necessarily retarded, it was normal.

“The career of Kamala,” observes the author, “teaches us that the relationships of heredity and culture are extremely interdependent.” Dr. Gesell tells this story as a thrilling true narrative, and then he discusses the conclusions to be drawn from it. Photographs of Kamala at various stages of her progress add their own interest to the book. This volume is a valuable contribution to an understanding of the importance of human society to the development of social habits and attitudes which characterise human nature.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

How to Win Friends and Influence People. By DALE CARNEGIE. Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1941. Pp. 312. Rs. 2/8.

The one problem which is of greatest concern to most people is that of dealing successfully with others. Psychology has much to say about human nature and why people behave the way they do, but psychologists have given little help in making their findings popular and available to the average man. In recent years a number of books have been produced on the subject of applied psychology. Most of these books, however, cover a number of different topics that appeal primarily to special groups, and so do not contain adequate material for people in general on how to deal with others.

And yet the problem of winning friends and influencing people in everyday business and social contacts is the biggest problem facing most adults. A survey conducted by the University of Chicago and the American Association for Adult Education revealed that the subject of how to understand and get along with people was of greater interest to adults than any other subject with the single exception of health. Searching diligently for a practical textbook on the subject, they found not a single one. It is this situation

that led the author to produce the volume under review.

Dale Carnegie has been for many years President of the Dale Carnegie Institute of Effective Speaking and Human Relations. This book therefore has grown out of his long experience in conducting a laboratory of human relations—perhaps the only one of its kind in the world. Naturally, it contains valuable suggestions on successful methods of dealing with people. The first American edition of this book came out in 1936, and by June 1939 some 12,00,000 copies were sold. The first Indian edition was brought out in 1939 and since then several thousand copies have been sold in India.

A careful reading and application of the principles enunciated in the book will, maintains the author, help the reader to get out of a mental rut, to make friends quickly and easily, to increase his popularity, to win people to his way of thinking, to increase his influence, prestige, and ability to get things done, to win new clients and new customers, to increase his earning power, to handle complaints, avoid arguments and keep his human contacts smooth and pleasant, to apply with ease principles of psychology in his daily contacts and arouse enthusiasm among his friends.

The average man, according to William James, develops only ten per cent of his latent mental ability. "Compared to what we ought to be," he remarked, "we are only half awake. We are making use of only a small part of our physical and mental resources. Stating the thing broadly, the human individual thus lives far within his limits. He possesses powers of various sorts which he habitually fails to use." The sole purpose of this book, says the author, is to help the reader to discover, develop and profit by those dormant and unused assets. The book is based on Individual Psychology and can be of real help to all those interested in dealing successfully with people but it should not be utilized for selfish ends; for, insincerity will soon be found out. It will prove very valuable to those who use it judiciously.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

Psychiatric Social Service in a Children's Hospital. BY RUTH M. GARTLAND,
The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

This book is an account of the service given mainly by psychiatric social workers to children in the Child Guidance Clinic of the Bobs Roberts Hospital of the University of Chicago Clinics. While good books on psychiatry have been comparatively common and there has been no lack of books on general social work, it has been a very recent development to publish in book form accounts of the actual work done by the psychiatric social worker in the different fields of psychiatry. This volume is to be welcomed therefore as one of the very few books describing in detail the various aspects of psychiatric

social case work in a child guidance clinic attached to a pediatric hospital. But apart from being a rare kind of a book, it is valuable in that it contains an excellent account of very worthwhile studies in psychiatric social work. The emphasis in clinical psychiatry has shifted more towards the treatment of early cases and aspects of prevention, and it is only natural that with this shifting of interest clinical psychiatry has been getting increasingly interested in work with children.

An account of the actual psychiatric social work done in a child guidance clinic is therefore an excellent method of acquainting the social worker with the essentials of clinical psychiatric work of a preventive kind, and this book will be found very useful not only to psychiatric social workers but to all social workers in general. Indeed as social case work techniques have developed and as the value of psychiatric study in dealing with almost all kinds of maladjusted individuals has been gradually realised, it becomes impossible to draw a distinction between social workers and psychiatric social workers. For example, probation workers dealing with delinquent children need to be psychiatric social workers in reality if they are to render maximum help to the children under their supervision. This book will therefore commend itself to social workers in general and to those dealing with children in particular.

The First Chapter of an introductory nature deals with a description of the actual work carried out and the methods followed in making a child-guidance-type of service available to a hospital for children. The author states that the purpose of the survey of the work she has attempted is to determine the value of psychiatric social service in a children's hospital through a study of the patients referred by the physician over a period of 2 years, and of the treatment rendered, during the 1st and 2nd year, to the 132 patients referred during the first year; while the problem involved in the survey has been the examination of the needs of the patients referred as revealed to the physicians and to the psychiatric staff, and of the extent to which these needs have or have not been met.

Chapter II is concerned with statistical data concerning the patients referred and treated, and would be found to be of particular interest to psychiatric personnel in child guidance clinics while Chapter III gives a good idea of the various types of difficulties and concerns of patients and of the parents, these latter being particularly interesting to the reader and indicating how large a share of the clinic's efforts has usually to be allocated to dealing with the personality problems of the parents themselves.

Chapter IV and V represent the core of the study. Chapter IV deals with the different types of service rendered—Treatment, Diagnostic and Con-

sultative. The author describes the distinctive and essential features and indications of each type of service, and gives a survey of the utility of the different types. Much useful information will be gathered by the readers concerning psychiatric social case work methodology and techniques. The discussion is as interesting to read as it is informative in content. Social workers engaged in actual case work will find the more common situations and problems they have to deal with discussed in a detailed and intelligent way, and the changing basic concepts and ideals of social case work are made readily understandable by illustrations from actual contacts with clients. In this connection verbatim reports are usually given which naturally enhance the teaching value of the book. In this Chapter, as also in the next one, on "Changing Treatment Trends", given over to an actual Case Record followed by a discussion of the case, the value of the quality of the relationship between social worker and the patient or parent is repeatedly stressed and exemplified, and the limitations or uselessness of an approach is illustrated by the social worker characterised by intellectual understanding only of the meaning of behaviour, without the ability to feel with the client. To feel with the client is obviously a matter of the emotions rather than the intellect but a distinction has to be made between an attitude on the part of the worker of a subjective emotional involvement of a sentimental or unhealthy nature, and the ability to feel with the client while preserving objective scientific attitudes and techniques. These broad aspects of case-work approaches are illustrated again and again while dealing with numerous detailed types of situations and help that are given by the social worker.

The case described in detail is well selected both from the usualness of the complaint of scholastic backwardness coupled with personality deviations, such as nervousness and shyness, as also from the point of view of the ramifications of treatment measures to the child's mother, her father and some of the school staff, not to speak of the additional help derived by the exploration of special interests of the child and the provision of facilities for their expression such as nature study, dancing, swimming, piano playing, attendance at a country camp etc.

In this chapter the difficulties of human relationships which made the child a "problem" are described fully and the methods of handling the various personal problems are illustrated with a wealth of detail. In the discussion at the end the limitations of superficial approaches again become evident, and the author indicates the nature of many of the deeper issues involved and the necessary approaches to them.

Finally, in the concluding chapter the author discusses the implication of her study for future clinical procedure, for teaching and research, and for clini-

cal service in the community. In regard to implication for clinical procedure the author states the need for increasing demand for psychiatric social service. In India for a long time to come this need for an adequate number of duly trained psychiatric social workers will remain imperative. The author's belief that a children's hospital is a strategic place in which to render such psychiatric social service is one which would be shared by most psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers. Her statement of this belief will make the reader painfully aware of a lack of such facilities in any of the children's hospitals in our country. A children's hospital is an ideal place for a child guidance clinic as not many parents can accept having a "problem" child and apply to a special clinic for behaviour problem children whereas they accept more readily service in a clinic attached to a hospital where sick children usually attend, so that the parents do not feel that they are to blame in any way for the child's disorders. However, for such a clinic to function efficiently the need for adequate funds is indicated for such activities as health care for adults, and for vocational and recreational facilities for children.

Regarding implication for teaching and research, the author points out that students of the School of Social Service Administration have begun to use the records of the psychiatric unit for their theses. Such records in a children's hospital could also be used by physicians and psychiatrists for postgraduate theses and researches. Also from the teaching point of view, in the spontaneous expressions by patients and parents of their concerns, the author finds excellent material for teaching directed to an understanding of the casual factors of illness, of behaviour difficulties and of school maladjustment. The author feels also that because of its function the psychiatric clinic should be in a strategic position to interpret to the community the effects of the social order upon the individual but she mentions the difficulties and the disinclinations on the part of the community to gather and to act on such information. In this connection the author stresses the need of a flexible approach on the part of the clinic staff, and a predominant interest on their part in clinical treatment rather than on study and research. This is closely related to the quality of the personnel of the clinic, and she ends by making an appeal for the authorities concerned to spend less money on buildings and more money for the careful selection, training and qualitative education of the workers. This is a book which all social workers will enrich themselves by reading. Others such as teachers, doctors, superintendents of institutions and other individuals who have the welfare of children at heart will also find it valuable.

K. R. MASANI

The Unwanted Child. BY PETER CONWAY. London: Faber & Faber, 1941. Pp. 300. 7s. 6d.

The Unwanted Child! Is it another book pleading for scientific birth control? No; it is not dealing with "Unwanted Children" but "The Unwanted Child." It is a novel written with fine skill and delicacy, and with unusual technique discussing the problem of abortion. But many might exclaim in "righteous indignation": "Abortion! Books on such subjects! What is this world coming to!" Yes, Abortion—an ugly "backstairs" word, is it not? But does it do good to ignore a problem because it is too ugly? At least the author does not think so. Peter Conway, a doctor, has taken up a pen instead of a lancet to deal with the problem of abortion, because he is a conscientious doctor who could not use the lancet to solve the problem cases that come to him and forget all about it. The author has tried to avoid the pitfalls of partisanship, and therefore has chosen a simple narrative in which he brings to the attention of the reading public so serious and controversial a subject.

The story is of a married woman who finds that she is with child by a man other than her husband, and appeals to the doctor to help her. What is he to do? The various possibilities are dealt with in a series of chapters in which the story moves in different directions. To any reader, conversant with literature dealing with such problems and who knows the facts, these possibilities are not merely hypothetical but actual. But the solution (not found in the story) is elusive and complex. Abortion is not a problem that can be dismissed as unimportant any longer. Despite the refinement and technique of contraceptives and their popularity, we do face problems as portrayed in the book. It is a knotty problem but a real one. Discussion of it is still "tabooed" in "decent" society. Hence the importance of the book. The author is to be congratulated for his clever but clear way in which he has discussed the problem looking at it through the eyes of different groups of moralists, scientists, religious heads and laymen.

P. M. TITUS

Programme for Victory. By HAROLD J. LASKI and others. London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1941. Pp. viii, 187.

The book under review contains a collection of essays based on a series of lectures delivered under the auspices of the Fabian Society whose main aims are the furtherance of socialism and the education of the public on socialist lines. It contains six essays written by six different authors—two of them are professors and two are M. Ps.

The first and by far the most important, radical and outspoken is the essay of Professor Laski on "The Need for a European Revolution". There

is no doubt in his mind as to the absolute necessity of destroying Nazism and Fascism for the salvation of Europe. But he analyses the European situation in a larger perspective of socio-economic process rather than merely viewing it as the result of the malevolence of two evil men. This war, according to him, is "the second act in a vast world-drama on which the curtain went up on 4th August 1914". This is not merely an imperialist war, but also the declaration of bankruptcy by capitalist civilization. So it is not enough to want victory, but it is essential to want it for ends that make possible an enduring peace. Those ends involve the need to reorganise the foundations of the present social order. This offer of the prospects of a new just social order will release new energies and enthusiasms both from the fighting masses of the democracies and the oppressed masses in the dictatorial countries. Revolt against dictators will not come if the prospects after are to be the resumption of the old order. An equalitarian internationalism and a socialistic reorganization of society are the two measures advocated by Laski. His analysis reveals the major contradictions in the post-war era and castigates the hypocrisy and selfishness of the privileged groups in all countries of Europe. In a post-war peace conference, he wants Great Britain to come with clean hands. But, he says, "we do not do so while India is a plaintiff before the bar of history demanding a right to self-government which we persistently refuse to recognize it is not easy to distinguish the characteristics of British rule in India, at least in their essentials, from those of Nazi rule in Czechoslovakia." He pleads strongly for a constituent assembly procedure in drafting a new satisfactory constitution for India.

Within Great Britain he advocates reforms on two levels: That of immediate satisfaction and that of long-term preparation. On the first level, he includes more compensations and securities to be provided to workers, aged etc., and also a better handling of the educational problems set by the war. For the long-term preparation, he deals with the recognition of five principles: nationalization of that sector of industry vital to the national life; a radical transformation of the educational system abolishing the class division of the schools, and granting free secondary education for all; a great extension of the public health system; a sane housing programme for post-war era, and a planned economic order where mass-unemployment and misery will not recur. It is extremely doubtful whether the privileged classes will endorse such a programme, but he says, in such a case there are the prospects of a revolution which is inevitable but the outcome of which is not predictable. Here is an Englishman capable of looking at contemporary problems objectively and not through the green glass of prejudice and bias.

The essay on world government by Harold Nicolson, M. P., even though

touching on the fringes of a genuine international order does not go far enough. Yet he challenges the so-called democracies to live up to their own magnificent opportunity. Hitler's New Order is to be beaten by a genuinely democratic non-imperialistic New Order. Along with the providing of material advantages to all people, there should be retained the spiritual advantages of liberty and self-respect. The author seems to be labouring under the age-old illusion that setting right matters in Europe will solve the world problems.

Herbert Read's essay on "Culture and Liberty" is the reflections of an artist. He says: "As in economics, so in art: *laissez-faire* within a capitalist economy merely abandons art to the chances of unrestricted competition and the devil take the hindmost". Under such circumstances art must practise all the wiles of salesmanship and that is what is wrong with contemporary culture. He advocates guild socialism and confesses that he is its sole surviving advocate in his country. That spirit which brings into cities and dwellings love and brotherhood is the spirit of liberty, and its presence anywhere is the evidence of true culture.

Prof. Macmillan's essay on Freedom for Colonial Peoples strikes a new note of imperial policy. He pleads for the democratization of the two opposites. He is visualizing a gradual development of the colonials and making them fit for true independent democracy. Coming as it does from a Fabian, we may take these as sincere opinions and not mere rationalisations.

The last two essays: "Social Justice" by Ellen Wilkinson, M. P. and "A Socialist Civilization" by G. D. H. Cole are clarifications of the live issues of the day, examination of the inner contradictions in a capitalistic society, and a reasoned plea for the adoption of socialistic organizations. Miss Wilkinson says that the present struggle for power is not so much for territories and for oil, but is even more a struggle for the control of minds. Nazism is the Big Business reply to the unanswerable arguments of Socialism. Granting that legal and political equality exists in Great Britain, she says that economic inequality is very much in evidence. Political equality and economic inequality cannot exist side by side. "Taking the 1929 figures, 17½ million out of 20 million incomes in this country were under £250 a year and nearly 12 million were under £125 a year. 1½% of the population took 23% of the total personal incomes (1929-35). In 1860, wage-earners took 55% of the national income; in 1935 they took only 40%. In the 1924-30 period—six years—6% of the population held 80% of the property in this country and under 2% of the population held 40%." These facts are quoted to show the economic inequality that exists in Great Britain. A radical revolution of ideas and social order are the necessary requisites to justify the claims Britain is making in this war.

Cole argues that the New Order can be beaten only by a Newer-Order and

that must be a "highly centralized and basically planned order". Conserve the gains of the past and create new values for the present—these are the tenets of faith which Cole advocates. The Right to Work is the corner-stone of Socialism. "A Socialist civilization is one in which the past victories of humanity are not thrown away, or bombed into unrecognizable fragments because they have been misapplied, but are used as a basis for further conquests in the interests of ordinary, decent people."

As in the case of individuals so also in the case of nations, crisis leads to a critical review of the past and a wholehearted dedication for the future. The evils exposed in these essays and the remedial measures suggested are neither new nor original. But they have particular significance now because the memory of the World War I and its after-effects are fresh, and people do not want to reap the same harvest after this war too. This programme for victory is not only for Great Britain but for all countries. Out of the throes of agony will be born a new vision and new mood. The sooner they come the better, and the wider their scope the more stable will the New Order be.

P. M. TITUS

FOR YOUR BOOK SHELF

The Adolescent Personality. By PETER BLOS. (Prepared for the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum of the Progressive Education Association). D. Appleton-Century Company, 1941. 558 pp. . \$3.00

Four cases selected from hundreds studied by the Committee on Adolescents are analyzed in detail to show how adolescent personality develops and how it may be studied. Rewarding for the serious student.

Children in the Family. By FLORENCE POWDERMAKER, M.D. and LOUISE IRELAND GRIMES. Farrar and Rinehart, 1940. 410 pp. . \$2.00

The day-to-day problems of living with children discussed in simple concrete terms and with real understanding of the emotions of parents and children. Shares the Parents' Magazine Award for 1940.

Community and its Young People. By M. M. CHAMBERS. (Prepared for the American Youth Commission). American Council on Education, 1940. 34 pp. (pamphlet).

A call for constructive community action in meeting the problems of youth, making concrete suggestions to local groups.

Criminal Youth and the Borstal System. By WILLIAM HEALY, M.D., and BENEDICT S. ALPERN. The Commonwealth Fund. 1941. 251 pp. \$1.50

An important British experiment in the retraining of youthful offenders is evaluated for its contribution toward developing more effective methods of dealing with young delinquents. Includes a discussion of the model Youth Corrective Authority Act proposed by the American Law Institute.

Delinquency Control. By LOWELL JUILLARD CARR. Harper and Brothers, 1941. 447 pp. . \$3.50

A survey of delinquency as a community problem with descriptions of some current attempts at solution through community organization.

Education for Family Life. By COMMISSION ON EDUCATION FOR FAMILY LIFE. American Association of School Administrators, Washington, D. C. 1941. 253 pp. . \$2.00

The nineteenth year-book of the American Association of School Administrators urging that education for family life be included as an integral part of the school programme and offering concrete proposals.

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THE GANDHIAN APPROACH TO PLANNED ECONOMY

J. C. KUMARAPPA

In this article the author explains in some detail Gandhiji's programme of social and economic reconstruction, and points out clearly that in our attempt to rebuild our society we must neither imitate the West nor ignore the fundamental and abiding elements in the genius and culture of our people.*

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LARGELY since the revolution in Russia, planning and planned economy have been in the forefront of topics for discussion. Although planned economy is new to the Occident it was the rule in the Orient. The whole of the Indian social order is a planned economy that has been functioning for centuries. It was designed to fulfil the requirements of people thousands of years ago and naturally it appears a misfit in certain places to meet the requirements of today. It is a monument to the far sight of the conceivers and to the soundness of the eternal principles upon which it was based. That it should have served us in good stead these many centuries is a matter for wonder. While the Russian plan was purely economic, ours has many facets to it—political, social, religious, economic. In fact, it covers all phases of life. The inauguration of the Russian plan was child's play when compared with the stupendous difficulties of communications in the days when our many-sided plan was launched over a vast country like India.

The Objective.—Planning connotes a definite objective towards the attainment of which we direct all activities of the nation. Therefore it is

*In connection with this article the reader's attention is called to a book entitled *The Redemption of Democracy* by Hermann Rauschnig, reviewed in this issue, wherein the author clearly shows the evils of planned economy as it operates in the West. It leads one to a better appreciation of the Gandhian approach to planned economy which is diametrically opposed to the Western plan.—Ed.

imperative that we should have our goal clearly before us. In the Russian experiment, because of the background of the Czarist regime, the goal set was the material well-being of a certain class. All other considerations were subordinated to this one idea—living in plenty like the old aristocrats.

In our country we have a double background—a philosophy of non-violence, on which the old plan was based, and the bondage of British Imperialism. As a resultant of these two factors, we find Gandhiji battling for freedom through non-violent means. Freedom for the individual means freedom to do what is right, to think for himself and express his thoughts, and to work for himself as and how he likes. In human society, freedom is not a license to act any way one wishes; it implies duties, rights and limitations. Our rights are curbed by our duties to others. When the curbing is done by an external force we have a society based on violence depending on the army, navy, air force and the police. But when the curbing is from within, we have a society based on non-violence and the sense of one's duty towards one's neighbours.

In a society based on violence there is really not much freedom. The lathi is held over the head of the citizen if he fails to obey the mandates of a central authority. Such obedience as is obtained through this means is the outcome of fear which ultimately leads to hatred and suspicion. In the modern highly organised states, like Germany and Italy, citizenship is a form of slavery—slavery not to individual owners but to a glorified state. Instead of the state being an instrument to serve the people, the people are impressed into the service of the state. True freedom cannot thrive in an atmosphere of fear, hatred and suspicion.

True freedom should be conducive to the growth of the people. Under it man will become less of a beast and more human, less selfish and more social, less violent and more dutiful, less materialistic and more humane. This indeed is a test of true freedom. Any organisation, which depends on the regimentation of the people, hampers their growth and retards their evolution. However attractive the immediate effects of hothouse growth may seem, it is at best unnatural and will vanish the moment the artificial environment is removed. If we want the genuine article we shall have to have the patience to allow it to evolve in its own good time. Violent methods may produce results quickly but such results are not lasting, they are ephemeral. India has a foundation laid through centuries for the building up of a non-violent society. If we rebuild our society on this foundation, our civilisation will be real. It is to be regretted that a civilisation similar to ours in Japan has been abandoned in favour of a flashy cultivated barbarity. Do we want to go that way? Or, shall we proceed to find the freedom that Tagore visualised in the following lines?—

“ Where the mind is without fear
And the head is held high,
Where knowledge is free ;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments
by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way
into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening
thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father,
let my country awake.”

The Means.—How shall we attain the above objective ? In the previous paragraph we have considered that our goal should be the emancipation of the individual in a non-violent society. The people have a certain background of non-violent culture behind them and we have to find the means of developing them farther. Violent methods are precluded to us. Hence, we have to use cultural means to develop the individual. Self-discipline and self-control are the pivots on which such a society can work. We have therefore to devise such methods as will be conducive to this end. These qualities cannot be attained without much effort. People have to be drilled into them. Instruments, like the radio and the cinema, however efficient they may be as means of propaganda and amusement, will fail us in developing culture which to achieve the best results demands that the subject must actively co-operate with the instrument and not play merely a passive part. A musician cannot be produced by making him listen in to the best of music on the radio. The subject has to battle with his instrument for years and years before he can appear before the public as a good musician. Superficial experience and knowledge do not produce culture; it comes only with the permeation of experience into the subconscious self. It takes time, it takes trouble; but it is lasting and worth all the effort. If the nation is to have a non-violent culture or civilisation, it would involve considerable conscious effort.

In an imperialism evolved out of piracy, it has been necessary to glorify the men trained in the art of violence by giving them the highest status in society. In a non-violent society we have to hold before the people the ideal of men who have renounced violence and all property, and have dedicated themselves to service. We have to produce a cultural standard based on eternal values. Money values can be of little help when our struggle is to rise above the material world of selfishness and ostentation. We must guard against the great

temptation of mistaking the means for the end.

If we obtain political independence and we are left without the ability to use it for the benefit of the people, such independence will be meaningless to us. If to maintain such independence we have to keep up large forces under arms, we shall be not only depriving the freedom of the persons in the fighting units but defeating our own purpose. Hence we have to scrutinise the choice of the means very carefully. Naturally, Gandhiji has found, in alignment with the past, the necessary training ground for freedom in constructive work in the fields of Politics, Economics, Social Reform and Education.

I POLITICS

Gandhiji's advent into public life has been through clashes with the powers that be. Therefore it is that we take up the political aspect first. With most politicians politics is an end in itself, usually culminating in a political career and enjoyment of power and patronage. With Gandhiji political power is a means to serve the masses better. Great many of the differences that rise between Gandhiji and the other political leaders are largely due to this approach not being fully appreciated. Prior to Gandhiji's entry into the political arena, it was a preserve of the intellectuals and city folks who desired to oust the Britishers and place themselves on the pedestal of power. There was much of the ego in their politics and it often began and ended with platform oratory. Gandhiji brushed these ornate personages out of the way, and sent the roots of politics into the villages. This awakened the masses, dispelled their fear and brought out their self-confidence and self-respect. The call was responded to by an army of young men with a desire to serve the country without any selfish ends. Even women forsook their age-long seclusion and came out to take active part in public work, facing imprisonment and other hardships.

True Democracy.—Democracy, as we find it in the West, is a delegated autocracy and differs little from the organisation of totalitarian states. They are all in effect complete dictatorships, masquerading under variegated colourful names. The essence of democracy is that the executive and the legislative power must be vested in the people—in each individual. In an enlightened sense, each citizen must be capable of being a law unto himself. This endows him with the power to act not only rightly but also wrongly. For such a state to work for the common good of all, a high standard of moral development in each citizen composing the state is an essential prerequisite. Everyone should be keenly conscious of his duties rather than his rights. The present so-called democracies are based on rights. An emphasis on rights leads to conflict ultimately. Insistence on rights is a primitive stage of evolution. Animals know no other relationship. But the more evolved man

displays a keener sense of duties. Carrying out one's duties, even when irksome and against one's natural inclinations, calls for a high order of self-discipline and self-control. When each citizen is so disciplined as to act on what is right taking a detached view of affairs, he can be entrusted with the executive and legislative powers without fear of his misusing them. In such a state there is no place for the army, navy, air force or the police as each citizen will act on the square, and his conscience will be his own policeman and legislature. If our effort in the political field is to ennoble man, we should aim at lessening the power of the executive and legislative delegates, and increasing the discretion of the individual.

Satyagraha.—The commonplace muddy politics were spiritualised by the use of direct action through *satyagraha*. By the use of this instrument to settle disputes one tries to win over one's opponent by persuasion, and failing that one invites suffering on oneself to draw out that which is highest in the opponent. In this method there is no room for the play of the baser elements of human nature. Anger, hatred and jealousy, often resulting even in murder, used to be the order of the day in political life. But now an attempt is being made to appeal to the higher nature in man to settle differences amicably.

Government.—We have already pointed out that the aim of politics is to serve the masses. By political means we get control of Government and use Government functions to serve the needs of the people. In the matters of State there are many things that call for a long view of affairs, which are naturally opposed to short-sighted interests often governing the decisions of individuals. Therefore, such items which have to be undertaken in the common interests of the nation, though in some cases these may be directly opposed to individual interests, have to be detailed out to a group of men who can be relied on to do their duty by the nation as a whole.

The members of this group will not attempt to exploit their position ; they will be paid an allowance not based on the fabulous profits made by merchants of rare ability but on the earnings of the average citizens in the village. According to the Government Industrial Survey of the Central Provinces and Berar the average income of a villager is about a rupee per month. From the taxes drawn from such persons it will be iniquitous to pay thousands a month to those who are supposed to serve him. The best of village industries cannot pay more than about Rs. 75/- per month per family. Hence, even a salary of Rs. 200/- per month for a Commissioner of a Division would be on the liberal side. That being so, all other emoluments will be scaled down accordingly. The fees of lawyers, doctors, etc., and the remuneration of engineers, teachers and other public servants will also fall in line. At

present the princely salaries of Government servants are setting a standard completely out of keeping with the country's capacity to pay. It is this anomalous standard that is responsible for driving all the educated into clerical jobs. If we would have the educated to take interest in the villages, we have to alter this glamorous attraction to the desk. The Government being the largest single employer and spender, it has the responsibility of directing employment to desired channels by its planned expenditures. Our National Government has to take this into account. The Congress Government made a good beginning by limiting the highest salaries to Rs. 500/-. The full implication of this step is not often realised. It has far reaching consequences.

Functions.—Apart from efficient administration, the Government has to play the important role of the chief partner in the business of the people. The economic activities of the nation can be controlled for better or worse by the organisation of Forests, Minerals, Power Resources and Communications.

Forests.—The forests represent the perennial reservoir from which the people will draw their raw materials for their industries. Our country is rich in forest wealth but it is not planned so as to supply the materials as and when the people need them. When a carpenter needs wood, he buys what he can in the market. Such wood is not seasoned so the article he makes cracks or warps. Seasoning wood takes time and no carpenter can afford the capital to stock logs long enough to season nor would he have the space. It, therefore, falls to the lot of the Forest Department to season the wood in the forests before unloading it on the market. Similarly, there are thousand and one articles from the forest which can be controlled and regulated to supply the needs of the people and keep up the level of their economic activity. This aspect of the forest management is more or less ignored today. That which weighs with the government is the revenue yielding capacity of forests.

Minerals.—Mines and quarries are the treasure trove of the people. Unlike the forests, these are likely to be exhausted by exploitation. Hence, great care must be taken to make the best use of them. They represent potential employment for the people. When ores are sent out of the country, the heritage of the people of the land is being sold out. It is the birthright of the people to work on the ores and produce finished articles. Today, in India most of the ores are being exported. We are therefore not only losing the opportunities of employment for the people but impoverishing the land. Minerals, like other raw materials, have to be worked into consumable articles and only after that can the commerce part of the transaction commence. Any government that countenances a foreign trade in the raw materials of a country is doing a disservice to the land. A Swaraj Government will not only organise the exploitation of the raw materials for the people but will

help them to use these in their industries. Here is the rightful place for large scale industries under the control of the Government. A steel plant may produce steel bars and plates but not bolts and nuts. The latter should be the preserve of the village blacksmith as we shall see later.

Power.—Supply of cheap power and light can be undertaken by Government by harnessing the water power in the land. This, too, has to be directly under Government control.

Communications.—Roads, canals, railways, shipping and the like have to be provided by the Government. Apart from the paucity of canals, the railways have had a monopoly of transport for long distances. The flow of goods has been controlled by carefully scheduled discriminating special rates. This must be done in the interests of the people. Today such railways as we have have helped to drain raw materials from the land, and to bring foreign manufactures into the remotest villages. This policy has been one that has brought about the ruin of industry in India in no small measure. To give only one instance in connection with the oil-pressing industry which is one of the large industries of India : If one takes 100 maunds of Mohua seeds to Bombay from C. P., it costs Rs. 46-6-0; but if the oil is pressed at Akola, C. P., and the oil and cake from 100 maunds of Mohua seeds are transported to Bombay, it costs Rs. 77-15-0. This means that the tendency of the seed is to go to Bombay and that the oil press in C. P. has a handicap of Rs. 31-9-0 per 100 maunds on the freight alone. There are over ten thousand such special rates. A National Government will undo this injustice at the first possible moment, and control the traffic in the interests of the villagers' economic activity. The railway may be a good instrument but can be used effectively to impoverish the people by depriving them of employment.

Taxation.—To carry out their work the Government has to find the wherewithal. This comes from taxation. We have to be careful to see that the incidence of taxation does not fall unduly heavily on the taxpayer who is below the subsistence level. When the taxes are collected, the expenditures of Government should be so made as to increase the taxable capacity of the citizen. When the taxes are gathered from the villages, and expenses which benefit the towns are met out of it, impoverishment of the people results. We have already seen one safeguard in the scale of salaries; another important safety valve is in the collection of taxes in kind. However inconvenient it may be to gather taxes in kind, such an exchange prevents marginal loss in the national income. The allowances to officials can be met partly in kind. This old system still prevails in most of the Muslim countries. In the Pathan states of the N. W. F. P. it is working well to this day.

Expenditures.—When taxes are received from one area and much of it is

spent in another, impoverishment of the former takes place. If money received from the farmers is spent on buildings in New Delhi, the country is the poorer for it. As far as possible tax moneys must be spent as near the place of collection as possible. Cheapness of a foreign article may be a consideration for a private citizen but not to the Government. If the Government spends tax money for paper from Sweden, it is against the interests of the taxpayer if paper made locally can be obtained. If the Government pays one anna for foreign paper and the local paper can be had for one and a half annas, even this higher price is more economical from the country's point of view. In the first case one anna goes out of the country; a local purchase, on the other hand, gives employment to the taxpayer and keeps the money in circulation. Hence, all Government expenditures must as far as possible be spent within the "catchment" area of taxation.

Large Scale Industries.—Large scale industries control the life of several individuals. In a true democracy no private citizen should have this power. Therefore, all large scale industries must be State owned and State managed. Most such industries cannot run without various forms of help from the Government. We have already mentioned discriminations in freight rates. For large scale productions various conveniences, such as ports, quays, docks and railways, are needed. When these are provided at the expense of the taxpayers' money, such benefit, if extended to private concerns, become subsidies out of public moneys to concerns run for private profit. This cannot be allowed. Tax money must be spent for the general benefit. From this point of view also all such large scale industries must be run by the State.

Large scale industries are needed in exploiting natural resources which should form the raw materials of the peoples' industries. Control of such raw materials cannot be left in private hands. Therefore, all such industries should also be under the State. Large scale industry in economics is the antithesis of democracy in politics. It is not by chance that the Western nations have come by their economic organisation. It is a result of their way of thinking in terms of autocracy. They find themselves with dictatorships in political organisation and centralised industries in the economic field. These two go together and we cannot have the one without the other.

If we aim at true democracy, we have to abandon centralised production in consumption goods. This does not preclude all centralised industries. As we have already seen, there is a definite field for such, though restricted. Within those limits of Government controlled and owned industries supplying raw materials to the people, providing public utilities and manufacturing instruments etc., there is a large field of work for such units. Just as certain chemicals used in minute quantities may prove to be healing potions and when

used in large doses may prove fatal poisons, so also centralised units can be a blessing to the people when properly coordinated with the people's economic activities and not used for the exploitation of the masses. This can only be done when such industries are run on a service basis even at a loss. Therefore, their natural place is only as a part of the Government organisation of the country.

II ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

People should have freedom to occupy themselves in supplying their own demands. How this can be planned is simple. Restricted profit motive is a good regulator of industries. The problem before the world today is not one of production but one of distribution. Hence any method we decide on has to be a good distributor.

Distribution.—The wealth of a nation consists not in what a few possess but in the extent to which the great majority can satisfy their daily wants, especially needs. Looked at from this angle, increase in the number of millionaires in a country need not indicate increase in the prosperity of the nation. Indeed, it may indicate the opposite if the accumulated wealth was occasioned by restricted distribution. When judging the well-being of a nation, our consideration should centre round the way in which purchasing power is distributed among the citizens. If we adopt this criterion then industries which distribute wealth are better for the masses than industries that help a few to accumulate a great store of riches. This means that mills, which being centralised assist in accumulating wealth, are detrimental to the interests of the mass; and cottage industries, which distribute wealth, are by far the better method to adopt, especially in our country where we are faced with a shortage not of labour but of capital. Therefore, the method of economic organisation we choose must be one which takes this factor into consideration.

The centralised methods of production accumulate wealth and power in the hands of a few, and require considerable amount of accumulated capital to start with. This last factor removes such methods from within the reach of the masses, and does not fulfil our requirements as a distributor. Capitalistic systems and centralisation are based on the presumption of capital being available. In our country where such accumulated wealth is scarce and poverty is widespread, we have to found our organisation on revenue. That means that the whole system must depend for its efficient working on the day-to-day labour of the people. A palace built with high skilled labour has to be repaired and kept in order by skilled labour, but a hut built with mud can be kept clean by the inhabitants themselves with their own labour. The former presumes availability of capital but the latter is based on the availability of labour.

Division of Labour.—The work a person is engaged in and the daily duties he performs must be such as to contribute to the fullest development of his personality. Sub-division of processes, which is necessary for standardised production under centralised methods, provides no scope for originality nor for the play of initiative. The worker in a centralised industry becomes a mere cogwheel of the huge machine. He loses his individuality and freedom of action.

The people of our land are extremely poor. Labour is plentiful but capital is scarce. A non-violent society must therefore be based on revenue and not on capital. These considerations lead us to advocate methods of production which involve little or no capital, and for which raw materials and a ready local market for finished products are easily available. However much we may desire it otherwise, we cannot change these factors, and any planning which ignores these will not succeed. Therefore, we are logically driven to the position which envisages village industries as the central occupation of the people. For these and other reasons we had cited under "Large Scale Industries" in Section I, we cannot recommend the centralised methods of production for the masses.

Ahimsic Swadeshi.—Formerly, apart from speeches, the real economic drive began with the Swadeshi Movement, following the partition of Bengal. At that time the idea of Swadeshi was purely political, *i. e.* Indian made articles as against foreign made goods. Gandhiji was quick to discern that the downfall of India was due more to economic causes than political ones, and he bravely shouldered single-handed, the burden, ridicule and ignominy of the Charkha Movement. This watered the seed of life in villages and bound him with hoops of steel to the heart of the masses. When, as a consequence of the Charkha Movement, boycott of foreign cloth began, people became accustomed to self-denying ordinances which were stronger and more formidable than any tariff that can be imposed by the might of Great Britain. The Big Bertha of non-violence knocked the base out of Manchester more effectively than any long-range gun yet conceived by man.

Political Swadeshi may mean goods produced within certain political or geographical boundaries. In this there may be no need for moral values and it may lead to hatred when foreign goods are boycotted from such considerations. Refraining from buying goods which are not manufactured by one's neighbours carries no such hatred but is a sign of one's own limitations. The political boycott may lead to war but true Swadeshi will knit neighbours together. True Swadeshi seeks to discharge the responsibilities of a consumer or buyer as a trustee. A business transaction does not begin and end with the transfer of goods and payment of money; in addition, it involves the consideration of one's duties to one's fellow-men.

Centralisation is nothing and decentralisation is nothing, if we have not the love that binds man and man. We are often told that Japan uses the cottage method largely. We have to see if the final effect is for the good of all people. If Japan uses the cottage method to exploit China, we can no more tolerate that than centralised industries. Recently Gandhiji issued a warning to the public not to buy Khadi from uncertified dealers. What is the difference? Materially there is no difference, but viewed from the moral and humane standpoint there is a world of difference. The A. I. S. A. insists on a subsistence wage being paid to the producers. Therefore, the Charkha Sangh Khadi is honest cloth, bearing its cost, while the other may be the result of exploitation and hence may be said to include human misery in its composition. Hence, we must beware of even decentralised industries. One who would want to be sure of the moral purity of an article should buy articles manufactured under his range of knowledge. This is the Gandhian interpretation of Swadeshi.

Costs.—A great part of the money spent on cottage-made articles goes towards payment of wages. The materials themselves cost very little, but in mill-made articles while the least expense is on labour the bulk is for overhead charges, sales organisation and materials. Economics of the manufacturers of the West are dictated by low prices, but for the prosperity of an agricultural people high prices are welcome. High prices of cottage industry products also help in the distribution of wealth which means it contributes largely to the welfare of the people.

Self-help.—The capitalistic system depends for its development on the helplessness of its customers. The more helpless the customer the more sure it is of its markets. It seeks to kill all initiative in the customer. Indeed, the capitalistic structure is raised on the foundation of tombstones of the initiative of the consumers. In cottage industries the principle desideratum is the consumer's initiative; we expect every one to be resourceful.

Exhibitions.—Under capitalism, exhibitions are organised to attract sales, i.e. to increase the demand after the supply comes into existence. This is putting the cart before the horse. The Gandhian scheme would transform exhibitions into a form of adult education by placing before the public the various stages of production during which raw materials get transformed into finished goods. Such exhibitions should also demonstrate improvements made in processes and instruments. Ultimately, such temporary exhibitions should become permanent *Sangrahalayas*. Capitalist producers carry on their own experiments and keep the results as their own secrets, but we have to strive to disseminate such knowledge as we possess to the producers by means of exhibitions.

Business transactions do not begin and end with the transfer of goods and payment of money. One who buys an article takes it with all the moral values attached to the goods. If one buys a stolen article one becomes party to that offence. This is the responsibility and trusteeship of wealth. So it is the duty of every consumer to know the conditions under which things he needs are produced. If he patronises goods made under objectionable conditions he becomes a party to it. Hence, it is necessary to organise such exhibitions also from the point of view of the consumer. When properly arranged, they should also educate the public to realise the duties of a purchaser and consumer, and enable the latter to fulfil his duties by placing before him the chances of getting goods he needs produced under conditions which would meet with his approval.

Every person, whether interested in the production of an article or in its consumption, should be aware of the possibilities in village industries. Life is one whole. Division of labour there must be, but dissection and division of processes leads to unmitigated drudgery. Proper work, when intelligently carried out, is an aid to culture. It brings out all that is best in an individual and helps to develop his faculties. Exhibitions should be so arranged as to reveal the opportunities an industry presents for meeting the need of diversion, leisure, initiative and artistic expression. Any industry worthy of our support must afford all these opportunities to those who practise it.

The Programme.—Economic reconstruction to be of abiding value should view the benefit of the masses as the heart of the country and the distribution of wealth as the circulation of blood to bring life to the villages. With these ideals the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A.¹ began working, not as producers competing with the artisans but as organisations to promote research and experiment needed in pioneer work.

Till now markets were said to be controlled by prices. These two bodies made a bold bid to fix prices not from the top but from the bottom, allowing for a subsistence wage. They took up industries which have a direct bearing on the welfare of the masses—affecting their food, clothing and other necessities—and expanded them not to satisfy the gallery but according to the power they were able to generate. And work thus found its legitimate niche as food for the well-being and development of men's faculties.

Cow Protection.—No consideration of village industries can be complete without dealing with the main source of power. Bullocks form the engines with which we go to work. *The Go Seva Sangh* exists to produce dual purpose animals—for draught and milking. This is the link between man and

¹ For further information in regard to their working, the reader is referred to the Annual Reports of the two Associations.

beast and represents the acknowledgment of man of his dependence on the lower orders.

III SOCIAL

The planned programme of Gandhiji includes the solution of many problems which affect the relationships of man and man.

Communal Unity.—The question of communal unity has been a live issue. The various minority communities which look upon the major communities with suspicion have to be won over. A spirit of good will should govern their relationship.

Untouchability.—To restore the equality and dignity of all men and remedy the injustice to the Harijans, *The Harijan Sevak Sangh* was started and is working for the social, educational and economic uplift of millions of our brethren.

Prohibition.—Although strong drink had no social distinction in our country, yet many of the depressed classes are addicted to this great evil. The eradication of this forms a distinct plank in the Gandhian programme.

Sanitation and Hygiene.—As a nation we are one of the cleanest as far as personal cleanliness is concerned but the social aspect leaves us at the bottom of the scale. Every village is known by its stench at the approach. We have not developed that civic sense that will make our villages beauty spots to dwell in. The high death rate in India is due to our ignorance of rules of hygiene and health. No doubt, the insanitary condition of the villages is largely responsible for this state of affairs; the personal and social habits of our village folk leave much to be desired. With the introduction of education these may be changed but it will be a slow process.

Women.—Since the advent of Gandhiji a great deal of emphasis has been laid on restoring to the woman her rightful place. When half the nation is in ignorance how can we expect the homes to be anything but pigsties. With the introduction of Satyagraha many women have come forward to take part in public life but as yet the problem is not fully tackled. Nevertheless, Gandhiji's political programme had produced one of the few women Ministers of State in the world. The hope of our country lies in the hand that rocks the cradle.

IV EDUCATION

If education means literacy, then there is only a very small percentage of persons who can read and write. Without a cultural education even this literacy has become meaningless. Graduates, who are turned out by the Universities in the thousands, drift about in life like rudderless ships as their education has not developed their personality. If we wish to make men of them we have to harness the cultural aspect of work, and teach children from

the very start to live a rich life appreciating their environment. This is sought to be provided through the system of Basic Education. *The Hindustani Talimi Sangh* has been started to provide the organisational part of this item on the programme. The Sangh aims to educate the children not through the medium of a language, as hitherto done, but through a craft which affords points of coordination for the various subjects to be taught.

Mother Tongue.—A study of the mother tongue is essential if true culture is desired. Unfortunately, most of us have wasted much time in acquiring a foreign language as an investment to make money. This has necessarily stultified our growth.

Hindustani.—To enable persons from all parts of India to understand each other it is necessary to have a common medium of communication. Hindustani has been chosen as the most easily understood language and *The Hindi Prachar Sabha* is detailed out to spread the language throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Conclusion.—Within the limited space at our disposal it has not been possible to give a full life-size picture of the planned activities of Gandhiji but it has been possible only to introduce the subject to show how we are to obtain freedom for every individual, and use political power to harness Government functions towards the improvement of the economic condition of the people by the supply of good raw materials, tools and dissemination of scientific information. The people in their turn occupy themselves in industries of their own without exploiting their neighbours. Such contacts as we have with sister nations will be cultural and commercial as it was in the past, and will not be through political domination.

It is only through such means that we can all dwell in peace. It may not be possible for us to maintain such a high standard of living as some classes in the Western nations have attempted to do, but we shall be able to obtain all the comforts and even luxuries necessary for us without living on the oppression of those who happen to be weaker than us. This is the only way to obtain peace and goodwill among men. These methods may not appeal to some of us but we have to think out fully the consequences of other ways suggested. If such alternatives fail to achieve our objective, we shall have no other course left. If we take to this Gandhian programme, India will have the proud privilege of giving the lead to humanity at large to live together amicably in the mutual enjoyment of peace, contentment and prosperity.

VENEREAL DISEASES AND THEIR PREVENTION

SOCRATES NORONHA

Of the several forms of venereal disease, syphilis and gonorrhœa are the worst. The former is responsible for a large percentage of infant deaths. It is an outstanding cause of insanity and the most important cause of spontaneous abortions and stillbirths. Similarly, gonorrhœa is the purveyor of many serious disabilities. It is an important cause not only of blindness in new-born babies but also of inflammatory diseases peculiar to women. In this article the author deals in detail with their social and economic consequences and outlines a programme for the control of these diseases which are spreading rapidly in India.

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HYGIENE is preventive medicine and social hygiene deals with the prevention of social diseases. We live in the midst of many social diseases but the greatest of our day is *venereal disease*. In 1917 when I started this work of Social Hygiene in Bombay, my attempts at bringing this subject to the fore were met with an attitude of resentment. There was a conspiracy of silence over a scourge whose roots went down deep into the life of men and women. But a persistent campaign has roused social conscience which is now waking up to the need of an effort to grapple with this problem.

VENEREAL DISEASES

What are venereal diseases? They are diseases which in almost all cases are acquired by sexual exposure to infection. Two principal diseases, running two entirely different courses, are included under the heading "venereal", namely, *Syphilis* and *Gonorrhœa*. There are others which are not of great importance medically. Syphilis is also inherited from diseased parents. The manifestations of syphilis are characterised in the primary stage by a sore at the site of infection which is usually on the genital organ; in the secondary stage, by rashes on the body, and in the tertiary stage, which may develop many years after the infection, by ulcers, tumours, necrosis of bones, severe deformities, heart diseases, nervous diseases, blindness, paralysis etc. There is no part of the body that syphilis does not attack and destroy. It is considered to be the third killing disease! The early symptoms of gonorrhœa manifest themselves by means of a discharge from the private parts and if this stage is not promptly and efficiently attended to numerous complications follow.

Incidence.—It is now common knowledge that the incidence of venereal diseases is appallingly high in all countries of the world and that no nation is immune from its ravages. An authoritative statement pointing to the univer-

salinity of these diseases emphatically records that syphilis alone affects 5 to 20 per cent of entire populations. When we know that gonorrhœa is three times more prevalent, it is not difficult to calculate the entire dissemination. Very informative figures have been worked out in Western countries, but it is to be regretted that no detailed survey has been undertaken in Indian cities on lines which have done much to clarify the position in Europe and still more in the United States. However, all evidence as regards their prevalence in a city like Bombay confirm their widespread distribution *among all classes of all communities*. It is possible that there is a greater dissemination among the poor and uneducated who are ignorant of the methods of prevention.

The Bombay Social Hygiene Council has endeavoured to collect some information, and its predecessor, the League for Combating Venereal Diseases, has left some figures which are very elucidative. In 1921, the League for Combating Venereal Diseases conducted a special investigation at the J. J. and allied Hospitals in Bombay by sorting out the case records, and examining clinically and serologically the outdoor patients. The J. J. Hospital case records showed that 18.7 per cent of the indoor patients suffered from venereal diseases while of the outdoor patients 29.8 per cent had evidence of venereal diseases in an active or quiescent stage. At the Female Outdoor Clinic of the Motlibai Hospital 29 per cent of patients were pronounced infected.

In September 1929, we helped the British Social Hygiene Council with the necessary information to enable them to submit to the Royal Commission on Labour in India a written statement which was likely to contribute to the objects of the inquiry. In the Memorandum which the Council submitted definite statements for Bombay are lacking, but the nearest authoritative estimate is that of the Certifying Surgeon of Ahmedabad which *mutatis mutandis* would hold good for Bombay. He has submitted a general return for some 40,000 work people (men, women and children) employed in 32 mills in that city and reports that 6% are infected with syphilis and 8% with gonorrhœa.

Two of the most tragic aspects of venereal diseases are to be found among the innocent women who acquire these diseases from their husbands, and the innocent children who inherit them from their parents. At the Municipal Anti-Venereal Clinic 48% of the infected males are married and 50% of the female patients who come for treatment are married women infected by their husbands. No wonder therefore that the delegates of the British Social Hygiene Council, who visited Bombay in 1926, found that at the Petit Hospital for Women, Bombay, close on 50% of the patients suffer from the after-effects of venereal diseases and that the incidence is high at the Cama Hospital. It is a well known fact, to which Bombay is not an exception, that about 25% of all inflammatory conditions of the genito-urinary organs of women are due to venereal diseases

and that more than 50% of sterilities in them are attributed to it.

As a part of the investigation into Maternal and Infant Mortality carried out in Bombay by Dr. Margaret Balfour and her colleagues in 1930, it was found that out of 100 normal cases of delivery 15% showed positive blood tests for syphilis, while out of 122 unselected cases of labour 18% gave the same result. In another investigation carried out at Haffkine Institute, in 250 consecutive pregnant women at one hospital 9.2 were found to give a strongly positive test for syphilis. Taking the two sets of comparable unselected cases the average percentage works out at 13.6. This is not surprising. It is a finding all over the world. Reports from England state that nearly 10% of mothers of the hospital class give a positive Wassermann Reaction.

In the matter of children the tragedy of destruction is still greater. We have in Bombay an amazing number of abortions and miscarriages of which there is no exact record, but we can reasonably assert that the figure runs into thousands a year and that 50% of such cases are due to venereal infection. Again, the number of stillbirths in Bombay is about 2,000 every year and it has been calculated, according to the findings of an inquiry held by Dr. Christine Thomson, that about 18.5% of these are due to syphilis.

Nearly 9,000 children die annually in Bombay within the first year of life, and out of this total about 3,000 die of congenital debility before they are one month old. These 3,000 lives of potential citizens that Bombay loses every year constitute 30% of the infant mortality of the city, and this appalling loss of infant life is in most cases due to syphilis. Another venereal disease, known as gonorrhoea, is the cause of 25% of all blindness in children.

The toll that infant life pays to the early ravages of these diseases may be taken as a measure of the total number of innocent children who, tainted with the germs of venereal disease, grow up to a miserable adolescence. About 30% of children in our blind schools, about 25% of children in our deaf schools and about 50% of the mentally deficient (idiots and imbeciles) who crowd our hospitals and asylums are calculated to be living results of venereal diseases.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

It is our considered opinion that in the matter of venereal diseases much remains to be done by the Government and the Municipality in the field of medical relief. We commend this problem to the industrial organisations of the city as well. It is both *humanitarian* and economical, and therefore *wiser* to put a fence at the top of a precipice than to maintain an ambulance at the bottom. Cure of advanced diseases is expensive and uncertain, while prevention is cheap and certain.

The Children.—Apart from the suffering caused by venereal diseases, it

is important also to bear in mind how heavy a toll these diseases levy on the national economy of India. Infantile mortality is a loss of workers to the State and, if these innocent victims escape early death, they form a very large proportion of those who, by reason of blindness and mental deficiency, swell private and public expenditure in the maintenance of hospitals and asylums, and add to the expenses incurred in their treatment the extra cost of their education. The cost of educating a deaf child is ten times as great as that of a normal child ; a blind child costs seven times more than an ordinary child to educate !

A stitch in time is all that is needed to avert this national calamity. It is an imperative necessity therefore that special provision should be made with enhanced expenditure in the existing Ante and Post Natal Clinics of the City for the treatment of luetic mothers and infants, and that some more such clinics should be brought into existence where necessary. The splendid results obtained from ante-natal treatment may be illustrated by the report of a treatment centre in London which shows that in 300 untreated syphilitic mothers there were only 41 healthy children born of every 100 pregnancies, and that of the same 300 mothers, after ante-natal treatment had been instituted, there were 91 healthy children born of every 100 pregnancies. Our results in Bombay are similar in those institutions where such measures are in operation. We also recommend very strongly a venereal service in the school medical examinations and early treatment of the congenital cases.

The Adults.—In the matter of adults also, apart from physical miseries and domestic tragedies, again the short-sighted policy of spending large sums on cure and stinting small amounts on prevention is a glaringly defective system. The cost of medical relief incurred by Government in the City of Bombay is Rs. 19,29,913 while that borne by the Municipality including statutory contributions to medical institutions amounts to Rs. 13,91,187. Many private institutions spend large sums for the same purpose. A very large proportion of this expenditure—in fact the lion's share—is being spent on hospital beds, and it is calculated that while an in-patient costs on an average Rs. 45-8-2 per head, an out-patient costs only Rs. 1-8-3. The early treatment of venereal diseases is an out-door department work, and granting that it costs 3 or 4 times more than an ordinary out-patient, still looking at it only from the economic point of view, many beds in the hospitals could actually be closed up, instead of new ones being opened as is done at present, by increasing anti-venereal work in Bombay for preventive disinfection and early treatment.

It does not need investigation nor any stretch of imagination to realise what is a very simple premise and a still simpler conclusion : Syphilis is responsible for a third of pathology and gonorrhœa for half gynæcology. The late manifestations of venereal diseases therefore occupy at least one-third of the

number of hospital beds in the surgical, medical and gynaecological wards.

Untreated syphilis is the most common cause of nervous diseases. It is the chief cause of diseases of the circulatory system; it is often a factor in the etiology of diseases of the kidney and liver, and it predisposes to cancer and tuberculosis. Untreated gonorrhoea in women is the chief cause of half their pelvic ailments. It has been calculated for England and Wales that every 100 cases of untreated syphilis give rise to 6 cases of nervous diseases and 16 of sudden death by heart failure. Major General Sir Leonard Rogers gives it as his considered opinion that the elimination of syphilis would reduce organic diseases of heart and large blood vessels in Bengal and probably in the greater part of India to negligible proportions.

An Industrial Problem.—Venereal diseases cause considerable diminution in man power, both physically and mentally. The reduction of professional capacity resulting from syphilis alone has been calculated at 15 to 25% in the Western countries, and there is no reason why it should not be as much or more in India. This is a severe loss to industries and commerce in efficiency and working capacity of the individual. Skilled workers are insidiously rendered inefficient by venereal diseases, and the output of workers is lowered over long periods of time as their energies are sapped by their after effects. Major Hassan Suhrawardy, late Deputy President of Bengal Legislative Council, writing to the Imperial Social Hygiene Congress in London, considers that it is not the enervating climate and working conditions of India which cause neurasthenia amongst workmen but in a large number of cases the determining cause is badly treated venereal diseases.

As evidence of what can be effected by realising that industrial inefficiency from the effects of venereal diseases is an economic problem, we quote the experience of a large industrial firm in the United States of America which installed in its work facilities for diagnosis and treatment of these diseases. As a result, labour efficiency improved by 33% in one year and the firm estimated that it had gained 40,000 dollars from its investment in an Anti-Venereal Clinic.

Inroads into Villages.—There is another problem which is not merely the concern of industrialists but much more a problem for Government to face. India is a country of 7,00,000 villages and a few industrial towns. The incidence of venereal diseases in rural districts is probably small just now but there is a danger of its spreading there because of the gradual absorption of men from country districts by industrial towns. If these men contract venereal diseases and the condition is untreated or improperly treated, they carry infection back to their wives and families so that venereal diseases must spread slowly but surely throughout the entire population.

Among the returns which we received in connection with the question-

naire issued for the purpose of collecting information for the Labour Commission, it is significant to note that in Bombay out of 5,44,624 workers, 46,905 are returned as immigrants. Of these, 30,184 are men of whom only 9,311 are accompanied by their wives. Opinions have been expressed that venereal diseases are being disseminated in rural districts from which migrant labour is recruited for this city, and that what mainly contributes towards it is the practice of attracting labour to industrial cities under conditions which necessitated a man leaving his wife and family in the village and thus being forced to live under social difficulties which make him fall a prey to venereal diseases.

A Problem for Insurance Companies.—Assessing the economic burden carried by this country to insurance companies, we should like to draw their attention to the facts that no blood tests are done here on the insured and that this is a serious drawback to their financial stability. In a survey held in Germany, Dr. Karl Vajda found that 10% of the insured were syphilitic, and when it is recognised that there is an excess mortality of 68% among syphilitics, it is easy to calculate the loss that a Company is likely to incur due to lack of this preliminary precaution.

The problem does not end at the initial precaution. Venereal diseases are acquired at any time during the life of an insured, and it is to the advantage of these companies to interest themselves in public educational campaigns whereby the dangers of these diseases are brought home to the insured, and to work towards the attainment of a large network of disinfection and treatment centres where policy-holders may obtain the desired measures to prolong life.

The Taxpayers' Problem.—Venereal diseases account for a considerable proportion of the total cost to the country. Expenses incurred in educational establishments for the defectives, homes for the crippled, asylums for the lunatics and much more unnecessary hospital accommodation are all important financial aspects for the taxpayer to consider. But more important than this is perhaps what the taxpayer has no means of realizing, namely, the gradual fall in the efficiency of all public and private services. A national wastage, which involves monetary losses amounting to astronomical figures and deaths numbering hundreds of thousands, is borne by the taxpayer meekly since he seldom understands the situation. It is time the public should know more about it and opinion roused to demand effective public measures.

MEASURES OF COMBAT

In dealing with the social and economic consequences of venereal diseases, I have made pointed reference to the advantages of *preventive disinfection* and *early treatment* as measures of combat. I shall now describe these measures more in detail and discuss correlated problems. As regards the choice of the

measures of combat, while there is a divergence of views on different matters, there are obvious items of universal agreement. The fight against commercialised prostitution is always on the forefront; the inclusion of Biological Sciences in all educational systems on which to base effective teaching of personal and social hygiene is considered today a measure which aims at bringing up a new generation with new ideals, and is finding favour in many countries. Professional education is vigorously pursued everywhere. Public education and early treatment, preventive and curative, are decidedly universally recognised weapons of combat.

Compulsory Measures.—The principal deviations in opinion and practice centre round the themes of personal liberty versus compulsion whether on the ground of prevention or cure. The country which represents freedom is Great Britain where there are no laws of constraint. Similarly, France and Belgium adhere to the policy of personal liberty except in regard to what concerns prostitution which is regulated and controlled. The U. S. A. advocate legal compulsion and in the majority of States treatment is obligatory, prostitution is prohibited and marriage is regulated by pre-nuptial certificates, whereas Germany and Czecho-Slovakia have laws of constraint but do not forbid prostitution. In Germany, anyone who marries while in a condition of contagion without acquainting his future wife beforehand is liable to imprisonment. In Sweden, Denmark and Norway the pre-nuptial certificate is required. In Holland, the certificate is not obligatory but there are organisations for giving advice. In Vienna, there is a municipal bureau for pre-nuptial consultations. In France, there are clinics which undertake this duty.

In a Memorandum submitted to the Government on the Bombay Bill No. XXIX of 1939 for the Prevention of Venereal Diseases, compulsory notification and treatment were opposed by the officers and legal advisers of the British Social Hygiene Council on sound grounds. It would have been to legislate on compulsory lines under conditions of ignorance in India. Also it would have been disastrous to enforce laws before facilities for diagnosis and treatment were available, before the profession were fully prepared to give effective treatment and before measures were taken to check treatment by unqualified persons.

Education in all aspects—school knowledge, public enlightenment—and ample facilities for professional education and are the prime necessities which must be met first. We are of opinion that in time, as people become more and more sensitive to the evil of venereal diseases, they will respond to the call and demand measures not only stringent in character but compulsory in nature. For the present a few measures of a persuasive nature could be introduced to prepare the ground for

future legal enactment. The first which is most needed is a small stereotyped warning in the local press against quack advertisements in general.

Marriage certificates were first introduced in America. In some States venereal diseases are included among other matrimonial bars such as tuberculosis, insanity etc. We do not advocate for India just now regulation of marriage by obligatory pre-nuptial certificates, but we do think that Government and Municipal Venereal Disease Clinics would render a great service if they undertook to give such certificates to those who ask for them on the lines of the Municipal Bureau for Pre-nuptial Certificates in Vienna.

Educational Propaganda.—Since compulsion in the matter of treatment and liabilities for wilful transmission of venereal diseases are not legal enactments of our country, our system must be based for the present on the voluntary principle, and therefore education and enlightenment of the public is of paramount importance. It would not be of any great use to provide preventive and curative facilities unless the infected were induced to use them, and unless they were sufficiently impressed by the necessity of remaining under treatment until no longer infective. We admit that the attainment of such a stage is unfortunately long and tedious but success depends on the conviction of the patient as to the necessity of undergoing complete treatment. And this conviction can be driven home only by incessant public education.

Medical Prophylaxis.—More prophylaxis obtained by an intensive and persistent campaign of education is a desideratum worth striving for. But as continence and restraint cannot, under the modern stress of life, be expected from everyone, an anti-venereal campaign has to be modelled upon actual facts which have to be faced and countered as we find them. It is necessary to offer the public facilities for medical prophylaxis. In Bombay, Government and Municipality have started Prophylaxis Centres for those who expose themselves to the risk of contracting venereal diseases and the Government is trying to realise the advantages of these Disinfection Stations. It is to be hoped that this scheme will be adopted in other parts of the country.

Treatment.—It is hardly necessary to reiterate what has been said previously in dealing with the economic aspects of these diseases, namely, that extensive and very accessible treatment facilities should be offered to everybody. It is our opinion that in the matter of venereal diseases much remains to be done in this country by both government and local bodies. We also commend this problem to our industrial organisations. It is both *humanitarian* and *economical* and therefore *wiser* to put a fence at the top of a precipice than to maintain an ambulance at the bottom.

Prostitution.—The evil caused by prostitution in propagating venereal diseases is of appalling dimensions and has far reaching effects on the indivi-

dual and the race. About 96 per cent of prostitutes are venereally infected—both the professional and the amateur. Whether in brothels where commercialised vice plies a high trade or in the ambulant or clandestine performance of this vile profession, prostitutes are a perpetual source of danger to the national health and man power of India. There are two methods of dealing with the problem of prostitution :—Regulation and Abolition. Regulation is toleration of prostitution by subjecting it to certain rules—a license to practise prostitution subject to these rules. Abolition does not mean abolition of prostitution, but abolition of regulation as it refuses to countenance prostitution as a recognised means of livelihood. Regulationists and abolitionists agree that prostitution is an evil to be combated.

The regulationist favours license of prostitution which means that a regulated woman applies to the police, registers her name, agrees to sign a bond of good conduct and promises to present herself at regular intervals for medical inspection. These rules aim at the preservation of public order and the promotion of public health. But this system has failed in all countries in Europe, and therefore has been abolished in most. It is on its last legs in France and some other Latin countries. Regulation cannot be effective because, in the first instance, in all regulated countries only a small fraction of prostitutes are regulated, 1 in 20 probably. In Bombay, for example, only 3,000 prostitutes stay in the old tolerated area and probably 15,000 are disseminated all over Bombay. Also the bulk of prostitution is ambulant and wise enough to escape the vigilance of the police. A system which only controls a minority cannot be held effective.

For similar reasons segregation becomes a farce—it is only the stupid woman who comes into a segregated area. On medical grounds regulation is a failure because all prostitutes are not medically inspected and there are technical difficulties in the case of the rest. The success obtained in a few cases does not compensate the enormous outlay in money for the provision of a band of doctors, inspectors, special police, lock hospitals etc. Regulation was tried in Bombay in 1880 and given up as a failure after five years' trial. We therefore advocate *Abolition* and the Bombay Prostitution Act of 1925, which needs modifications to be effective, is a step in the right direction. It provides for the elimination of commercialised prostitution.

Professional Education.—A good medical service is essential for mobilising all forces of combat against a fell disease. Until recently very little was taught to medical students and courses of specialisation in venereal diseases hardly existed. Times are changing and the medical institutions in this country, as all over the world, are providing efficient courses of instruction for both under-graduates and post-graduates of the medical profession.

It is today a recognised fact all over the world that success in handling the problem of venereal diseases is very largely achieved by practical co-operation in the general scheme on the part of the nurses, midwives and health visitors. Theoretical lectures and practical demonstrations on these diseases are now included in almost all training schools for nurses in Europe and America, and in the syllabus for examinations by the General Nursing Council of England and similar organisations in other countries. Special training and experience is offered to those who wish to qualify for posts in Venereal Disease Hospitals or Clinics but the main idea is that all nurses should be given all the *medical* and *social* information regarding venereal diseases for reasons which are perfectly obvious. A nurse is in a privileged position with regard to a patient, and her point of view, like that of a teacher, carries considerable weight with the public with which she comes in contact. The midwife, who enters so freely into the homes of the people and is in the position of a trusted friend and adviser to many families, can give most valuable assistance if her training has included both social and medical aspect of venereal diseases; the Indian Nursing Associations have not as yet grasped this fact.

Biological Knowledge.—The measure, which to our mind strikes at the root of the problem, is the necessity of making provision in the curricula of every type of school and college for the biological sciences. Public health is founded mostly on personal conduct. Until man understands the effect of conduct and environment on individual health and efficiency, it is not possible to attain progress in preventive medicine and much less in the control of venereal diseases which are largely acquired and disseminated by voluntary individual action. A grounding of biological sciences, on which effective teaching of personal and social hygiene can be based, is therefore essential for the youth. This should be acquired before the age of adolescence through graded courses of evolutionary biology which includes the laws of life and reproduction, and afterwards this may be developed through physiology, physics and chemistry.

A foundation is thus laid on which personal teaching of social hygiene can be effectively added when the appeal to the sense of social and racial responsibility in the individual is reinforced by knowledge. Given such background of biological sciences, it remains for the educationists to decide on the methods of presentation to the adolescents of the ideals of citizenship and public health which include direct information as to the dangers of venereal diseases. This is a measure which is being adopted in Europe and America, and has already given good results in Scandinavian countries. In Sweden, it is a legal enforcement for all children. We hope that our educational authorities will take this matter up seriously as this is the most effective method of combating the menace of venereal diseases.

STORY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN IN WESTERN INDIA

R. P. MASANI

In view of the Silver Jubilee of the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India and of the growing interest in the care of neglected and destitute children, this article is reproduced with certain changes from *The Child in India* with the kind permission of the author.

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INCREDIBLE though it sounds, it is no exaggeration to say that until the inauguration of the Society on 16th January 1917, the citizens of Bombay, famous for their public spirit and philanthropic institutions, cared more for their kittens than for their urchins. For the rescue of neglected, abandoned, or ill-treated animals there was in this hospitable city the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, armed with legal authority to institute proceedings against their callous or cruel owners. There was, however, not a single organisation whose duty it was to extend a helping hand to forsaken, maltreated, or exploited children. Nor was there any piece of social legislation under which the offenders could be brought to book. There were, no doubt, the Penal Code and the Police Act, under which cases of exposure, abandonment, or sale of children could be dealt with, but for other offences against children, such as neglect, cruelty or exploitation, there was no legal remedy.

Charitable people gave away thousands for the amelioration of the condition of their fellow citizens, but the care and attention devoted to the needs of children was in inverse proportion to their importance as the finest asset of the country. There was accommodation in several homes and orphanages for some of the homeless and helpless juvenile population of the Presidency. There were also a few institutions for the blind and the deaf-mute ; but a large number of children stood outside, or were kept outside, because, forsooth, it paid their parents or so-called guardians, or expert operators in the slave markets of Bombay to whom they were hired out, to exploit them. Nothing sadder in our social system could be thought of than such nefarious traffic in innocent children.

In addition to the unfortunate children mentioned above, there were hundreds of tiny toilers slaving in the factories and workshops of Bombay and other industrial centres for twelve hours a day, or even longer. The legislature had, doubtless, prescribed certain statutory restrictions on child labour, but the strong arm of the law had not yet reached the juvenile workers. Worse

still, neither the innocent little slave nor the adult and astute slave-driver appeared to be conscious of the heart-rending iniquity, cruelty and barbarity of the system under which they were working.

Then there were numerous street arabs, ill-starred victims of parental penury or folly, ancestral disease or degradation, social injustice or indifference, requiring institutional care. The woes of these children also cried out to heaven for redress, but the citizens as a class did not appear to have had the faintest idea that it was a sacred civic obligation, not merely a matter of personal inclination or clemency, that they should protect decrepit, destitute, deserted, feeble-minded, ill-treated and exploited children—including the naughty little boys and girls unconsciously qualifying themselves in the streets, or deliberately trained by their exploiters for a career of crime and degradation. There was, forsooth, a reformatory to which delinquent children were committed after they had been branded as offenders, but the problem of reclaiming them, before the general environment sealed their fate, had as yet received no attention.

Bombay the Backward.—During the early years of this century my mind was considerably agitated over the pitiable plight of such children. As a civic officer, I felt particularly ashamed that one of the primary duties of citizenship should have been thus ignored. Luckily, I soon got an opportunity to unburden my mind on the subject. In his annual report of the Bombay Jail Department for the year 1914, the then Inspector-General of Prisons, Col. J. Jackson, deplored the indifference of the public in regard to the welfare of juvenile offenders, and in a leading article on the subject the *Times of India* pointed out how much remained to be done in dealing with the young offender. While reinforcing that appeal, I raised the wider issue of child protection generally. The burden of my plea may be gathered from the following extracts from my letter, which appeared in the *Times of India* of 13th April 1915, under the caption, *Child Protection: Bombay the Backward*:—

"A reformatory, though intended to be a preventive measure, is after all a curative one and deals simply with the result of parental neglect or incompetence. Why not deal with the cause, as best we can, and reduce the number of children passing through the court to the reformatory? Why not extend a helping hand to children before they swell the forces of myriads of street arabs who, in the words of Dickens, 'awfully reverse our Saviour's words and are not of the Kingdom of Heaven but of the Kingdom of Hell'? Even the most casual observer must have witnessed the ghastly spectacle of juvenile beggars cold-bloodedly deprived of eyesight, or maimed, crippled, or otherwise disabled for work with the object of qualifying them for a successful career of pauperism; also of able bodied urchins escorting decrepit beggars on public thoroughfares, little ones who remain up to the age of adolescence mere crutches for aged paupers and, thereafter become professional beggars or confirmed criminals. Cannot anything be done to recover these children? Cannot philanthropic societies, local bodies or Government take charge of them, teach them some craft and make them useful, self-supporting citizens? Thanks to the efforts of the Salvation Army and the

missionaries, a good deal is doubtless done in this direction, but what is needed is legislation to secure for every child the protection it needs and systematic measures for dealing comprehensively with all cases of parental neglect. Other civilized countries have already grappled with the question by an elaborate system of poor laws, juvenile courts, courts of domestic relations, reformatories and varied institutions for the care of boys and girls. Compared with what is being done elsewhere, how culpable seems our neglect of the children of our city?

"The other day there appeared in your columns an account of two Waghri girls charged with stealing a pair of shoes. One of these beggar girls was aged ten, the other six. It was reported that the girls were seen with two Waghri women shortly before the theft and that there was little doubt that they were put up by those women to commit the offence. Both the girls pleaded guilty to the charge. The younger one said that she knew it was wrong to steal, but that she had to do it to satisfy her hunger. Asked what she would have done with the shoes, she said she hoped to realize a pice in return and with it to buy some parched grain. She promised not to commit the offence again, and was warned and discharged. The other girl had previous convictions against her, but as she could not be sent to a jail or fined and as there was no reformatory for girls where she could be sent, she was ordered to be detained in Court during the day. Thus were those two unfortunates hurled back to the same environment and associates to complete their down-hill course and to drag with them other innocent children with whom they might come in contact. No more pathetic illustration could be given of the manner in which incalculable damage is thus being done to the children of the State. We do not know whether the learned Magistrate who tried the case has invited the attention of Government to the plight of such delinquent children who incessantly knock at our doors for institutional care but fail to get any. If not, we hope he will be good enough to put in a powerful appeal in their behalf."

Submitting that juvenile criminality could not be dealt with as an isolated phenomenon but must be considered in its relation to the intellectual, moral and economic neglect of the submerged classes from which it sprang, I concluded my letter with the query: "How long will Bombay, the first and foremost, Bombay the beautiful, remain Bombay the Backward in this respect?"

Not a day longer.—Such, I feel proud to say, while reviewing the situation today, was the City's emphatic reply to that question. It did not take more than a year to set up an organization to remove that blotch on her fair name and now, true to her motto, Bombay is the first and foremost in "mothering" her children. This does not mean that all the needs of the juvenile population have been recognized or satisfied. A good deal yet remains to be realised and accomplished. Nor should this reference to the humble part I played in awakening the public conscience to those needs be taken to imply that what was accomplished was the result of my endeavours. The rapid improvement in the situation during the last twenty-five years is due to the concerted efforts of a large number of public-spirited workers in the cause, particularly to the efforts of a high-minded Englishman who came forward to take the initiative in this matter. •

Among the earliest to support my appeal to the public were the late Miss Anna Millard of the American Mission School for the Blind and Lt.-Col,

Lloyd Jones, Chairman of the Committee of Management of the David Sassoon Industrial and Reformatory Institution. Some of the newspapers also supported the appeal. Heartened by such a response, I gave a lecture on "Child Protection" under the auspices of the Social Service League. Stressing the need for an organisation for the protection of children, I called attention to the fact that a Society had been actually formed before, but that for various reasons it had languished soon after its birth and that very few had heard either of its existence or of its untimely death. Dr. Harold Mann, who presided at the lecture, gave his own experience of child protection work in Poona, and observed that while there were orphanages in the Presidency for boys of different communities, there was no organization to look after and take charge of the boys who needed institutional care the most. Once more, the press very warmly endorsed my plea for co-ordinating the work of the institutions then in existence and for establishing a central organization for dealing with the problem of child protection. In the *Social Service Weekly* of April, 1916 I reverted to the charge and pleaded that the City should not be satisfied with merely a Society for the Protection of Children but that it should ask also for a special court for juveniles and a separate reformatory for girls. But who was there to take the initiative?

A British Benefactory of Indian Children.—One morning, a member of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay, Mr. J. S. Wardlaw Milne, now Sir John Wardlaw Milne, M.P., then a well-known figure in the civic and industrial life of the city, walked into my office. "You have been repeatedly harping on the need for an organization for the protection of children," he observed. "I shouldn't waste more time on propaganda. Let us start work. If you find workers, I will find the money."

Cheering, soul-stirring words these! While no Indian citizen had evinced any active interest in the problem, here was an Englishman, a member of the fraternity often slightly spoken of in the Indian press as "birds of passage", imbued with a high sense of civic duty and deeply concerned in the welfare of Indian children. I was overwhelmed with joy; instantly we put our heads together with a view to evolving a scheme for commencing operations without delay.

It was Sir John's suggestion that as a tentative measure a Children's Refuge might be provided in a central part of the City of Bombay, not a permanent home but a temporary one, to offer immediate shelter to destitute children picked up from the streets pending their admission to suitable existing homes and orphanages. It was to be a clearing-house, so to say, for those institutions. The main object aimed at was to collect facts and figures with which we could, with confidence, appeal to the public for support to establish,

or rather re-establish, a Society for the Protection of Children to provide for the juvenile population for whom the existing institutions could not cater.

An Experimental Refuge.—We soon set up a Committee consisting of Sir John Wardlaw Milne, Mr. Sorab P. N. Wadia, the late Dr. S. W. Mahatre, Mr. and Mrs. Baban Gokhale, Mr. A. B. Chothia and myself. Mr. Chothia officiated as Secretary to the Committee; he and Mr. S. P. Wadia devoted a good deal of time and attention to the day-to-day work of the Refuge which was opened in a house at Grant Road. The Committee also opened a creche at Tardeo. With the help of two agents employed by us and with the co-operation of the Police, we were able to reclaim from the streets 83 children by the end of December 1916. Several of these children were restored to their parents or guardians; some were adopted by citizens whom our Committee could trust; some ran away, and the rest were placed in orphanages in Bombay, Surat, Nadiad, Ahmedabad, Poona and other parts of the Presidency.

The following typical cases selected from those dealt with during the experimental period will give some idea of the exploitation of child life to which the Bombay public appeared to have been reconciled in those days :—

A Little Blind Beggar Girl.—A Hindu girl, only three years old, was made to squat every evening on a foot-path at the corner of Grant Road, absolutely uncovered. Incessantly beating her breast and crying piteously for alms, she earned more than a rupee every evening for the vampire who exploited her. When she was being taken to the nearest police station by our agent, a Muhammadan rushed up and claimed her as his own child and asked our agent, in reply to his remonstrations, to mind his own business. Not being armed with legal powers, all that we could do was to bring the case to the notice of the police. Such action, however, meant nothing to the class of bloodsuckers who lived on the earnings of the little ones. If the police were on their trail in Grant Road, they would migrate to Parel Road !

Brutal Exploitation.—Another girl, only six years old and totally blind, was found begging in the streets. She told our agent that she was an orphan and was brought to Bombay from Kathiawar by some persons who used to beat her mercilessly if the amount she collected by begging did not come up to the expectation of her exploiters. She consented to go to the American Mission School for the Blind, but as soon as she was placed there, some so-called relatives turned up and claimed her. No amount of pleading and persuasion on our part was of any avail. Nor could the police authorities prevail upon them to allow the child to remain in the school where she felt so happy.

Inhuman Exposure.—A third girl, also blind, aged ten, was made to beg for two years, on the Mazagaon bridge from early morning till late in the evening with a piece of tarpaulin as the only protection for her body against

the sun and rain. She was an orphan from Bhavnagar, pounced upon by a couple of Waghri. They administered opium to her every morning with a view to fortifying her for the day's ordeal. As none of her relations could be traced at Bhavnagar, she was placed in the School for the Blind whence, after nearly a year, her mother took her to Ahmedabad.

How Harpies Feed on Urchins.—A Muhammadan lad, also blind, seven years old, was prevailed upon by another elderly boy to run away from Jubbulpore to Bombay. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that such run-away lads swelled the number of ticketless travellers on our Indian railways. If a ticket-examiner detected and spanked them and turned them out from the railway compartment, they would walk to the nearest station and thence resume their journey, regardless of the prospects of another encounter with a ticket inspector. That little visitor from Jubbulpore was also pounced upon by a Waghri woman. She made him beg in the streets throughout the day; the average daily earning was two rupees, but he did not get even a pie out of it! Our agent took the boy to the Refuge followed by the Waghri woman. We repudiated her claims and managed to keep the lad in our custody, pending enquiries at Jubbulpore regarding his parents. He was subsequently sent to the Victoria School for the Blind but, confirmed truant that he was, he absconded from the School within a fortnight.

A Gold Mine for Waghri.—For the Waghri fraternity the waifs and strays of the Presidency constituted a veritable gold mine. Numerous children fell into their clutches and were callously exploited by them, unmolested by any one! When, however, the police authorities came to be informed of our organization for the rescue of such children, they passed on several such victims to the Refuge. One of them was a deaf and dumb cripple. Two Waghri, from whose hands the child had been snatched by the police, complained that they had been deprived of a large fortune! The greater the physical or mental deformity of a child, the greater was its value to those vampires.

Nowhere to Go.—One of the most pitiable cases that came to our notice was that of a lad who came to the Refuge of his own accord—a physical wreck. He had been taken as a pauper to the Sir. J. J. Hospital for treatment and was detained there for ten days. After that period he was discharged. He told hospital authorities that he was homeless and friendless and did not know where to go, but the authorities, according to his own statement, pleaded their inability to do anything for him and turned him loose into the streets. Luckily, some one guided him to the Refuge.

A Twice Blessed Mission.—The question of finding accommodation for the unfortunate children was not a difficult matter. Indeed, one of the interesting discoveries made by us during that experimental stage of child rescue work was

that while numerous children had no roof over their heads and were crying for institutional care, there were in the Presidency several sparsely-populated *Anath-Ashramas* and orphanages starving, as it were, for inmates. A connecting link between the two was badly needed. Our Refuge constituted that link. It was, indeed, a twice blessed mission. On the one hand, our Committee had reason to feel very grateful to those institutions for the favour of sheltering and feeding the children reclaimed by us from the streets; on the other hand, they regarded it as a great favour that the Committee was serving as a feeder to their institutions.

Despite all the available accommodation, however, the need for additional homes for a very large number of children who remained to be rescued—particularly for those who could not be dealt with in existing institutions owing to caste difficulties, physical or mental infirmities and other causes—was vividly brought home to us. The problem of girls removed from houses of ill fame or other objectionable surroundings, where they were exposed to the danger of being drawn down into the vortex of immoral life, presented the greatest difficulty. There was no provision, whatsoever, for such unfortunate girls.

Thanks to the financial assistance rendered by Sir John Wardlaw Milne and the honorary services of a devoted band of social workers, our Refuge had done what little it could to find shelter for a few such homeless children, but there seemed to be no limit to the good which might be done with a wider organization and a larger income.

A Resurrection.—It was thereupon resolved that the work should be put on a firm and permanent basis and supported by public funds. With that end in view a meeting of citizens interested in the problem was held on 16th January 1917 at the Municipal Office. At that meeting it was resolved to start a Society for the Protection of Children in Western India with its headquarters in Bombay. In moving the resolution for the formation of the Society the late Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar gave a brief account of a Society which had been started in Bombay in the year 1906 with the same name and almost the same objects but which had suspended its activities in a short time "owing to the members getting entangled with various things" and "the want of proper legislation to enable them to carry on their work efficiently".

The objects of the new Society were defined as under :—

(a) To prevent the public and private wrongs of children and the corruption of their morals;

(b) to take action for the enforcement of the laws for their protection, and, if necessary, to suggest new laws or amendments of the existing laws;

(c) to provide and maintain an organisation for these objects; and

(d) to do all other lawful things incidental or conducive to the attainment of the foregoing objects.

Those who had already signified their intention to become members of the Society and those who were present at the meeting and desired to join it were enrolled as members. His Excellency Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay, and Lady Willingdon were invited to accept the office of Patrons of the Society, and an Executive Committee was appointed.

As the Society embarked on its rescue work, cases of all sorts of outrages on child life came pouring in from all parts of the country, and even from Burma and Ceylon, illustrating the part played by poverty and unemployment, ignorance and superstition, greed of parents and guardians, and by tyranny of step-mothers and mothers-in-law, in the desertion of children by their parents or guardians, or in the abandonment of their children by their homes by the children themselves, or in their cold-blooded sales to harpies for a paltry price. A few typical cases may be cited to show how heartlessly children were bought and sold, waylaid and decoyed, enslaved and exploited; how indifferent the public was; how helpless or inactive the police authorities were during those days, and what an improvement has set in since the inauguration of the society, the passing of the Children's Act and the subsequent institution of the Children's Aid Society to undertake the special work entailed by the Act.

An Old Woman's Bargains.—A Hindu lad, age 11, the victim of a father's destitution, was made over to an old woman for a sum of Rs. 16/-. The boy's daily duty was to lead along the streets of Bombay a blind boy, another bargain in human merchandise struck by the old woman. On the earnings of these two little beggars the old fury lived a comfortable life. One evening our agent brought the two boys to the Society's Refuge. We traced Jaising's father, a lame beggar, to a den in 15th Kamathipura Street. It appeared that the boy's step-mother had a prominent hand in the transaction. Husband and wife were both taken to the Lamington Road Police Station, together with the purchaser, and all the three were ordered to quit Bombay.

Sold for a Song.—An ill-starred Hindu girl, age 10, victim of a father's greed, was sent to the Society's home by the Mahim Police. Poor thing, she was suffering from venereal disease and had acquired such bad habits that we considered it advisable to restore her to her father living near Igatpuri. On the understanding that the girl would be kept in the custody of her relations, we agreed to pay a small sum monthly for her maintenance. Within a short time, however, the girl was sold by her father to a Kolhatin, or singing woman, for a song. We could trace neither the girl nor the father, but we were informed that the father had passed away soon after pocketing rupees six as the reward for that nefarious contract.

How Bombay's Haunts of Vice are Filled.—A Hindu widow, converted to Islam in Poona, came to Bombay with two daughters, aged 8 and 10, respectively. Being homeless, they were straightway directed to one of those haunts of vice in the slave-market of Bombay—still a standing menace and disgrace to the City. The place was run by two Muhammadan women, each of whom had an unmarried son. With a view to obtaining effective control over the girls, the two women got the little ones married to the two boys. The mother of the girls was not, however, prepared to part with her treasure so easily. She, therefore, tried to leave the brothel with her daughters, but the two women asserted their claim over their daughters-in-law. The mother thereupon managed to have a complaint sent to the police authorities, charging the two women with the offence of wrongful confinement of the girls. The Magistrate, however, held that it would be dangerous to allow even the mother to take the girls away and directed that they should be sent to the Refuge.

From Bombay's Slave-market to Cantonment.—A brave and beautiful girl, aged 13, a native of Jodhpur, was accosted one morning by a man who told her she was wanted immediately by her mother. Taking her to a railway station, the villain brought her to Bombay. Here for a trifling consideration she was lodged in a brothel. Within two days, however, she was able to escape. Having reached Poona, she disguised herself in male attire and served as a messenger in a military camp for about two months. One day, she learnt that a medical examination of all the persons in the camp was to take place. Fearing detection, she returned to Bombay. Finding her loitering in the streets, the police authorities sent her to the Home of the Society. Our efforts to trace the villain of the story and the brothel-keeper, to whom she had been made over, proved fruitless. We had the happiness, however, to restore her to her mother and brother and the still greater happiness to hear soon afterwards that she had been married at Jodhpur.

A Devotee's Dependents.—A Hindu *vaid*, or medical practitioner, in Berar was suddenly seized one morning with the desire to renounce the world and spend the rest of his life in *Sanyas*. Deserting his wife and children, he left the house with a religious mendicant. A police officer suggested that the two children, a boy aged 7 and a girl aged 5, be made over to the Society and the mother trained as a nurse. We admitted the children to our Matunga home and arranged for the training of the mother in Dr. Popat Prabburam's maternity hospital.

Step-mothers Often Drive Children to Streets.—Ill-treatment by one's father, at the instigation of one's step-mother, throws many a child on the streets. In this case the father, living in a village in Gujarat, was warned, and his son, aged 11, was restored to him. After two years, the lad was again

found begging near Alexandra Dock. His excuse for coming back to Bombay was the same as before, ill-treatment. We communicated with the father once more; his elder brother came to Bombay to take him home, promising that he would live with his brother in a separate home so as not to expose the boy to the cruelty of the step-mother or of the father.

Poverty Not Always the Cause of Beggary.—Not all the juvenile paupers are orphans or offspring of destitute people. The father and mother of these three Hindu children, aged 6, 8 and 12, respectively, found begging in the streets of Bombay, were employees in the Maneckji Petit Mills. Their joint income was Rs. 50/- per month. Nevertheless, they asked their daughter to lead her two brothers in the streets for alms. The minimum daily collection expected of them was twelve annas. Starvation and castigation stared them in the face if the amount collected fell short of the minimum.

A grim reminder of the burning verses of Charlotte Gilman :

“ No fledgling feeds the father bird !
 No chicken feeds the hen !
 No kitten mouses for the cat—
 That glory is for man.
 “ We are the wisest, strongest Race—
 Loud may our praise be sung !
 The only animal alive
 That lives upon its young ! ”

We wished we had the authority to use the whip in a case like this; failing that remedy, we could only warn and persuade the parents to live a cleaner and saner life.

Demand for Special Legislation.—These few cases out of a couple of thousand dealt with by the Society during the last twenty-five years illustrate types of cases of daily occurrence. In dealing with such cases we were greatly handicapped for want of legal powers. The Poona Society, which was started as a branch of the Society previously founded in Bombay, and which had survived the shocks of time while the parent Society had found an untimely grave, laboured under the same legal disabilities. Before we moved in the matter, it had already approached Government for special legislation to prevent the ruin of minor girls. As, however, that question was then deemed controversial, a Bill to give effect to the proposal was held over during the War. Immediately after our Society was formed, a Sub-Committee was appointed to consider the question of sending a representation to Government for comprehensive legislation for the protection of children, and a representation was submitted on 28th February, 1918. In settling this representation the Committee had the advantage of the advice of their esteemed colleague, the late Sir Narayanrao

Chandavarkar, an ex-Judge of the High Court, and an ardent social reformer.

The Children Act.—The legal reform sought for brooked no delay, yet it took Government six years to set their machinery in motion. Worse still, having put the Children's Charter on the Statute Book in the year 1924, the pillars of the State fell into a stupor. Even the famous declaration of Geneva, drawn up originally by the Save the Children International Union and adopted by the League of Nations in the same year in which the Bombay Children Act was passed, could not rouse those Rip van Winkles from their slumber for three years. At last, however, owing to the powerful agitation carried on in the press and on the platform by several workers, the Children's Act was brought into operation in the year 1927. The new Act made new demands on the resources and public spirit of the people. A special machinery for assisting in the work of administration was needed; additional homes and organizations for the care of children dealt with under the Act, were also needed. It was, therefore, decided at the Conference of Social Workers, convened by Government, to set up a new society to act as an un-official auxiliary body for assisting Government in putting the provisions of the Act into operation and for co-operating with the existing child welfare institutions. Thanks to the efficient functioning of this new Society, named the Children's Aid Society, during the last ten years; thanks also to the band of zealous workers that have gathered round it, and to the contributions made towards its expenses by Government and the public, the work of tackling the problem of the children of the City has now been put on a satisfactory footing.

There is now a court for juveniles, and police officers have the authority to take to a place of safety any child in respect of whom a cognizable offence has been committed and to keep the child there pending orders of that court. Powers are given to the Magistrates to send children placed before it to certified schools or orphanages, and the Society for the Protection of Children has agreed to admit such children to its homes, up to a maximum number of one hundred, in return for a small financial grant from Government.

All the Police Court work is now done by the Children's Aid Society; the Society for the Protection of Children concentrates on the provision of institutional care and education for children committed by the juvenile courts, or sent to it through various other agencies from different parts of the Presidency and the Country, or picked up from the streets by its own members or staff.

The Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Home.—The Home of the Society is associated with the name of an eminent public-spirited Parsi citizen of Bombay of the last century—Byramjee Jeejeebhoy. The cost of building two separate blocks for boys and girls, the superintendent's quarters, the sick room and other ad-

juncts, including the price of the land, amounted to rupees three lakhs. Mr. Rustomji Byramjee Jeejeebhoy's liberal offer to provide land for the building enabled us to embark on the project for the construction of the buildings, and thanks to the willing assistance of Lady Carmichael, who was an active member of our Committee for several years, and of her husband, the late Sir George Carmichael, we were able to secure handsome donations from the late Sir Shapurji Broacha, who gave a sum of Rs. 60,000/- and from the philanthropic members of the public.

Provision was originally made in the home for giving primary education to the children and teaching them manual work. Now, however, with the various Municipal Schools round about the place, the residents of the home get free primary education in those schools, and a few children, who show special aptitude for higher studies, are sent to high schools. One of these is now attending a college. He is in the Inter-Science class and his ambition is to join a medical college. The less gifted boys are taught gardening, cane-work and carpentry; some are trained as mechanics in workshops. The girls are taught sewing, knitting and fancy work, and a good many of them go straight from our institution to their husbands' home.

There were 181 children in the Home, on the 5th February 1942. The following table gives the caste, sex and age of these children:—

Caste

Hindus...	...	...	134
Muhammadans	...	...	40
Bene Israel	...	...	4
Parsees	...	...	2
Christians	...	...	1
			<u>181</u>

Sex and Age

Boys under 10 years	...	45
Boys over 10 years	...	62
Girls under 10 years	...	25
Girls over 10 years	...	49
		<u>181</u>

It would be taxing the patience of the reader considerably were I to overlay this article with figures showing the cases dealt with by our Society during the last twenty-five years and by the Children's Aid Society during the last few years. Suffice it to say that it has been their good fortune individually and jointly to restore several hundreds of truants to their parents, to provide shelter for numerous neglected or ill-treated children, to prevail upon a large

number of callous parents to treat their offspring with consideration, to educate and turn out a large number of boys and girls as useful, self-supporting citizens, and to get several wronged and ruined girls married and settled comfortably in life. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that many a child that is hungry still remains to be fed, many a child that is sick still remains to be nursed, many a child that is backward still remains to be helped, and many a child that is exploited still remains to be rescued.

The Cinderellas of the Presidency.—There is one class of children, however, for whom no satisfactory provision whatsoever was then made, namely, the mentally defective. In the hospitable City of Bombay there was not a single institution to take them in hand. Ever since the Society for the Protection of Children was started, such children with their behaviour problems have given the authorities the greatest anxiety. They were found to be a positive danger to the other inmates of the home; but there was no institution to which they could be passed on. The same difficulty was subsequently experienced by the Children's Aid Society. A Home where mentally deficient children of the worst type, who are beyond hope of recovery, can be kept in comfort, and another where the improvable cases can be taken in hand and trained so as to develop their latent potentialities and wean them of faulty habits and tendencies, are urgently necessary. That a large number of children given up as mentally deficient are capable of improvement has been amply demonstrated by the special class for training manageable subnormal children, maintained at the Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Home. The class was started as an experiment, but the results have been so satisfactory that the management wish to maintain it on a permanent basis. The children in this class join in singing, musical drills, nature study, listen to talks on personal hygiene and engage in simple useful occupations such as sewing, knitting, paper-cutting, corn-cleaning and clay modelling. As a result they have been quicker, happier, more alert, more sensible and more useful than before and continue to show satisfactory improvement in their general appearance and behaviour as well as in the quality of work turned out by them. Some of them are now able to attend vernacular schools in the neighbourhood, and the exhibits of their work were much appreciated at the Exhibition held two years ago by the Bombay Presidency Women's Council in Bombay. It is also encouraging to report that recently a home for such children has been provided by the Children's Aid Society. This is an experiment in the right direction.

But alas ! as against this handful of children whose mental faculties are thus being improved, how many there are who receive no such training nor care and who gradually drift to mental hospitals as confirmed imbeciles. How long will society suffer them to be thus neglected ? A new organization,

backed by Government and public support, is urgently necessary to take care of these cinderellas of society. Whoever comes forward with a liberal donation for starting such an organization and the necessary homes and child guidance clinics will supply a want most keenly felt throughout India.

Victims of Modern City Life.—Before I conclude, I should like to call attention to an important aspect of the problem of juvenile destitution and delinquency. Why is it that so many organizations are called for in the great cities of the civilized world to cater to the wants of neglected, oppressed, feeble-minded and delinquent children? Those who have observed the dire distress, squalor and social isolation in which the submerged classes of our population live, the horrible handicaps which brutalise their senses, harden anti-social instincts and annihilate in many cases the natural feelings of parental tenderness and affection, need hardly be told where to look for the causes of that malady. There are, however, many who have no idea of the grinding poverty and wretchedness of thousands and thousands of their fellow-citizens, and they fail to realize how the children of the destitute become an incubus, rendering their parents and guardians an easy prey to the temptations that are held before them by the ruffians and social parasites who live on the exploitation and corruption of children. Such social parasites of both sexes are products, mostly, of our economic order which throws thousands on the street without any provision for their living. Dreadful destitution leads to their degradation, and when the homeless and workless become criminals, all that Society does is to send them to prison, thence to be thrown once more on the streets, only to be taken back to prison at regular intervals as habitual offenders. Unless work is provided for the workless and correctional institutions established for socializing the confirmed loafer, the drone and the able-bodied beggar; unless social justice long denied is vouchsafed to myriads of suffering people sacrificed on the altar of the Moloch of the existing economic organization of society, countless men and women will continue to stalk the land like brutes, constituting a menace to infant and adult life alike.

Such is the penalty humanity has to pay for the defects in the existing social order. Of the many victims of modern city life, the most pitiable are the street children and the slum children who, unfortunately for them, live to grow up dipsomaniacs, consumptives, or criminals. Indeed, in those public places infested by the scum of society, in those rookeries of our cities, in those dens of dirt and disease, in those horrid haunts of crime and shame, what can we hope to rear other than a progeny doomed to starvation and degradation, inebriety and insanity, delinquency, misery and ignominy? Therefore, in the midst of our efforts to extend a helping hand to children at every stage of their journey to adolescence, let us remember that we are thereby touching

merely the fringe of the problem. If we want to strike at the root, let us not forget that the social malady of juvenile destitution and delinquency is not merely an isolated phenomenon and that it has to be dealt with in relation to the larger problem of the city's starving and submerged population. So long as the souls of such down-trodden people groan under grievous social wrongs, so long as those wrongs remain unredressed, thousands of children will carry on their tiny shoulders the overwhelming burden of the handicaps of heredity, of the evils of environment and of all the sins and sorrows and sufferings incidental to the social diseases and economic disabilities which paralysed their parents and grand-parents in the past and which will continue to smit and cripple them with redoubled force in the future.

Such is the complex and confounding problem of destitute, defective and delinquent children, for which the entire civilized world has yet to find a satisfactory solution. But difficult as it is, the advanced nations of the world have been increasingly devoting their energy and resources to the task of dealing comprehensively with the problem. As the science of administration advances, it is recognised everywhere that the function of government is not merely to collect taxes and to spend the proceeds on the protection of life and property, or on the development of material resources. Its *primary* function is to develop the living forces of the country, the entire population, juvenile as well as adult. Recognising this sacred duty, let us individually and collectively resolve to do our best to improve the existing order. Let us tell our backward brethren and their children that, howsoever grievously they may have been neglected in the past, it will hereafter be recognised as the duty of the Government of this country and the public to lift them from squalor and misery, to open the prison door and to allow them entrance into the realm of opportunity and hope.

DO WE REALLY WANT TO KEEP THEM IN A ZOO ?

VERRIER ELWIN

In this article the author, who has been accused of advocating a policy of segregation with regard to the aboriginals, explains why such a policy is necessary at present to protect them from being exploited by callous, subordinate forest officials, police and excise officers, and others, and to enable them to become gradually adapted to the life of the outside world.

Mr. Elwin has for many years been working for the betterment of the Baiga and the Gond, living as one of them. His book, *The Baiga*, which is the outcome of his intimate experience and painstaking study, is a notable contribution to Anthropology.

ONE of the more puerile charges that is made against anthropologists in India is that they desire to keep the aboriginals in a sort of a Zoo in order to preserve them as specimens and material for the exercise of their science. Since this accusation has been made not only by reformers and politicians, but also by people of some intellectual standing, it is necessary to examine it.

By a curious coincidence, I have just opened a copy of a widely-read English periodical, *Picture Post*, in which precisely the same charge is levelled against Mahatma Gandhi who wishes, of course, to keep the whole of India as a laboratory in which to conduct his experiments in satyagraha. A series of pictures are published which illustrate the life, not of aboriginal India, but of ordinary Hindu villages and the letter-press describes how backward these are and how sunk in poverty and superstition. At the same time, it is explained that Mahatma Gandhi would keep these unhappy Indian villagers permanently in their backward condition through his dislike of modern medicine, modern industrialism and the ordinary fruits of civilisation. We see a telegraph wire running across a landscape and we are told that this symbol of civilisation strikes a jarring note in the Mahatma's mind. The anthropologist may congratulate himself on being found in such good company as the Mahatma, but actually neither can be called guilty.

For what does it mean to put an animal in a Zoo ? It means that you take it away from its traditional surroundings, you deprive it of its accustomed diet, you alter all its habits and you rob it of its freedom. But what is it that Mahatma Gandhi is fighting for ? It is to restore to the people of India their own home and enable them to live in it as their own, to preserve their own customs untainted by Western influence, and to win for them their liberty. The attitude of the anthropologist is the same. We would give our lives for the freedom of the aboriginals; we would fight to the last to

restore to them their ancestral hills and jungles. We desire nothing better than to see them living their own lives, following their own customs, preserving their own rules of food and drink, delighted with their own simple pleasures in the glorious freedom of their hills. No one believes more passionately in human liberty than the anthropologist, for he is the true student and lover of mankind.

But further it may be said that actually, even from the technically anthropological standpoint, there would be little scientific value in studying people who were artificially isolated in a sort of Zoo. The anthropologist—it cannot be said too often—is concerned with human life as a whole. He is not a specialist in primitive culture and the investigators of the last decade have tended to spend more and more time in the study of more advanced peoples. I need only mention the work of Mass Observation in England. To the anthropologist, indeed, the travail of peoples passing through a period of cultural change and the far greater complexity and interest of more advanced communities often seems of greater significance than the comparatively static life of aborigines, most of whom have now been fully studied and who generally present a considerable degree of sameness and monotony. If I wanted to have an Anthropological Zoo, I would not fill it with Marias and Baigas; I would have a very different company. I would put in one enclosure the whole of the Sevagram Ashram; in a pleasantly-furnished cage within speaking distance of the Mahatma I would confine the President of the Muslim League. Some way off the Office-bearers of the Bombay Purity League would draw crowds of sight-seers eager to watch them sip their lemonade. Elsewhere, carefully segregated, I would include a selection of Hindu Sanatanists as well as a sprinkling of the more diehard officials of the Indian Civil Service. Such types, which will soon be as extinct as the dodo, are of the highest sociological interest and certainly ought to be preserved. The mentality of Lord Linlithgow will surely be a matter of far greater interest and astonishment to the scientists of another age than that of some poor Santal. I would like to put Mr. Amery too in my collection, but such specimens are expensive and the cost of transporting him from England in wartime would be too great.

The position of the anthropologist in this matter is very widely misunderstood, and he has come to be regarded by many thoughtless minds as a sinister person who desires to deprive the aborigines of the blessings of civilisation and is primarily interested in sex. But the anthropologist is simply someone who observes more carefully, takes better photographs, travels more widely and works harder than other travellers and observers who have not had his technical training. Owing to the length of time he spends among his people and the intensive character of his observation, he

generally becomes devoted to them and desires to see their highest interests preserved. It is a significant fact that all over the world these people, who presumably must know what they are talking about, are unanimous in declaring that unregulated and hasty acculturation has a degrading and ruinous effect upon primitive people. The spread of English Missions, English business, English imperialism and English drink in Africa and Australia has had the most devastating results on the primitive inhabitants of those countries. In India, where the less-educated Hindu or Mohammedan villager is only very slightly advanced beyond his aboriginal brother, the process has been slower and is less obvious, but it is no less certain. When the anthropologist, therefore, wants to protect the aboriginal, he has a very good reason for doing so. Contact with the people of the plains in India invariably has the worst possible effect upon them. I will summarise briefly what I have written at length in my *Loss of Nerve* on the result of these contacts:—

1. The people of the plains invariably trick and deceive the simple honest aboriginals out of their land.

2. The people of the plains lend the aboriginals money or goods and thus get them completely into economic servitude.

3. When aboriginals from the hills come in contact with the people of the plains, they get venereal disease. In Bastar State it is a most striking fact, as the Chief Medical Officer has told me, that after 30 years' experience among the aboriginals he has not known a single case of venereal disease among real hillmen. The only aboriginals known to have suffered from it are a certain number of boys who have been educated and by going to school have been thrown into contact with the outside world. Yet, while in Bastar we have a great hill area completely free from these horrible diseases, you have only to go down a little into the plains to find as much as 80% of the population infected.

4. Contact with the plains people results in the hillmen losing their great qualities of honesty and simplicity. Ask any lawyer who has practised in Courts on the boundaries of aboriginal country and he will tell you how honourable a real hillman is and how utterly untruthful and deceitful he becomes after he has been to school or after he has had much contact with the outside world.

5. Aboriginal culture is quickly destroyed when it comes in touch with extrnal influences. The aboriginal loses his religion, his morals, his artistic sense, his poetry, and sinks down into a sort of untouchable without life, without colour and without beauty.

6. Perhaps one of the worst results of mixing up hillmen with the plains people is that the hillmen learn to believe in utouchability, to practise

child marriage, and to put their women in purdah, things of which they are mostly innocent in their wild state.

Now among those who think that this is all nonsense is Mr. A. V. Thakkar. Mr. Thakkar is one of the heroes of humanity. He has devoted the greater part of a long life to the service of the poorest in the land. The Bhil Seva Mandal that he founded in Gujarat is a monument to his genius for taking pains. The work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, which has been largely inspired and almost wholly controlled by him, is one of the noblest enterprises now being conducted on this planet. His goodness and great-heartedness are known to all. It is, therefore, doubly unfortunate that in regard to the aborigines he should have taken up an anti-intellectualist policy which cannot fail to lead to the unhappiest results. Mr. Thakkar has recently expressed his views on this subject in a Lecture before the Gokhale Institute and in a communication to *The Times of India*, while the fact that he was Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Orissa Government to enquire into the affairs of the partially Excluded Areas of that Province suggests that we may find a key to his attitude in that Committee's Report. Mr. Thakkar's Gokhale Lecture is full of that love for the people and desire for their welfare that is characteristic of him, but it is based on a few fundamentally wrong assumptions which cannot fail to detract from the value of his conclusions. He regards as frivolous and imaginary any suggestion that there is danger in the unregulated contact of the aborigines with the people of the plains: "It is difficult for me to understand why people fear the contact with the Hindu and Muslim of the plains. It may be that in a few cases some social evils of the people of the plains are likely to be copied by the unsophisticated aborigines." Is Mr. Thakkar so ignorant of the state of affairs in aboriginal villages as not to know that it is not in a few cases but everywhere and always that these evils are imitated? Again Mr. Thakkar suggests that "a healthy comradeship should develop between the aborigines and each should profit culturally from the other and in course of time work hand in hand for the welfare of India as a whole." Here again, surely, Mr. Thakkar forgets his own bitter experience in running the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Does he really think that the more advanced sections of Indian society will treat the aborigines any better than they are still treating the untouchables? *Whenever the aboriginal and the non-aboriginal come in contact, it is the aboriginal who goes to the wall.* He is economically exploited, his religion, his character, his morals are ruined, and his land and property pass into the hands of the non-aboriginal.

Mr. Thakkar fears that to separate and isolate the aborigines will strike at the root of national solidarity. I do not think this is a very serious danger.

For no one suggests that the tribesmen should be permanently isolated. All that the anthropologist suggests is that for the time being, until we have a sufficient staff of workers like Mr. Thakkar himself to deal with the problem, we should go very slowly in promoting among them the process of cultural change and their contacts with civilisation. There is no possible idea of setting up a new minority, though the educated Gonds and Uraons, who are generally hostile to the Congress, are anxious to do this. My own view is that the aborigines should be classed at the Census as Hindus by religion, because their religion (though in many ways distinctive) undoubtedly belongs to the Hindu family. Indeed, the character of the great majority of them has already become 'more or less diluted by their contact with the outer world ; they have lost everything that is distinctive of their life and culture, and I agree with Mr. Thakkar that they should be assimilated into the larger community without delay.

The tribesmen who present a really serious problem—a problem which I think Mr. Thakkar and his friends have not sufficiently appreciated—are the five million or so really wild aborigines who still inhabit the utmost recesses of the hills, live by shifting cultivation, hunting and root-gathering and have preserved much of their old culture, religion and organisation. Unhappily, Mr. Thakkar desires to stop these people practising their traditional method of cultivation, a policy which will bring them to psychological despair and economic ruin. I have discussed this at length in my book *The Baiga* and I need not repeat here what I have said there. I know of Baigas who have taken to a life of crime because they have been prohibited from practising their shifting cultivation. Mr. Thakkar considers this method of cultivation a lazy one, but if he will read Mr. Grigson's book on the Marias, or my own on the Baigas, he will see this charge fully refuted.

To call the poor lazy is, of course, a common habit of upper-class English society. Mr. Thakkar considers that *bewar* or *podu* is an evil practice, a harmful habit and does not give good results, but the aborigines themselves believe that it gives better crops than any other form of cultivation, and often on the wild steep hillsides where they live, no other form of cultivating the soil is possible. It does a certain amount of harm to the forests (which, of course, ought to be preserved for the profit of the capitalists), but is Mr. Thakkar ignorant of the devastation of the forests to provide timber for the war ? Are not the great saw-mills of industrialism a greater danger to the forests than the few axes of the tribesmen ? I agree that the terraced cultivation of the Savaras and Nagas is excellent, but it is quite impossible to introduce this throughout the rest of aboriginal India.

Mr. Thakkar says, "I cannot agree with the opinion that *bewar* or *podu* is almost a religious necessity to some of the tribes." This is not the way

in which scientific work should be written. What it means is that since Mr. Thakkar (for whom, as a Hindu, the plough and the cow are almost fetishes) does not like shifting cultivation, since it outrages him that some people should believe it to be a religious necessity, therefore it cannot be a religious necessity. He might as well say "I cannot agree with the opinion that the Mass is a religious necessity to a Catholic or that the feast of Bakri Id is a religious necessity to the Mohammedan." I can assure Mr. Thakkar that this form of cultivation is a religious necessity to some of these tribes; that when they are prevented from practising it, they feel that they are living in a state of sin and have incurred the displeasure of the gods. Surely religious tolerance demands that we should respect the hopes and fears of simple people. It is a tragic thing to find the largely Congress Thakkar Committee in Orissa recommending a curtailment of the human rights of the tribesmen such as the "oppressive" Imperialist official has never advocated.

Mr. Thakkar regards the aborigines as living in "a slough of despond and ignorance." It must be several years, I think, since Mr. Thakkar spent any length of time in an aboriginal village. I am writing this article in the wilds of Bastar; I have never been among happier people. I have rarely seen people who, though ignorant of the violence and corruptions of modern civilised life, are more full of knowledge of trees and birds and animals, of the hills and of the sky, of all natural, good and simple things. I would not myself be so presumptuous as to suggest that I could lift up these people. It is from them that I have learnt many precious lessons for my own life.

One of the reasons why the idea has risen that administrators and anthropologists (though these two classes of people are not usually put together) desire to keep the aborigines in a Zoo has been the policy of Government to prohibit national workers and Congressmen from entering tribal areas. Mr. Thakkar himself has suffered badly as a result of this type of isolationism. So have I. When I first went to settle in Mandla District, I was ordered out of it by the Deputy Commissioner. My mud-hut was raided by the police several times. An application was made for my deportation from British India. The India Office cancelled my passport to try to prevent me being in India at all. For years I and my workers were persecuted by the police and forest officials and our work suffered greatly, and even my own health was damaged as a result of the annoyance and worry thus caused. I have every sympathy therefore with Mr. Thakkar's feelings. I agree also with him that it is monstrous that the very Governments which forbid national workers to work among the aborigines should freely allow Christian Missionaries to spread their propaganda among them. But Mr. Thakkar ought not to blame the anthropologist for this. No class of people have been more

severe in their criticism of the missionaries. Mr. J. P. Mills has said the most stringent things about the Baptist Mission in Assam. Dr. Hutton has long been of the same opinion. I myself have consistently urged that no missionaries should be admitted into tribal areas. Mr. Thakkar must know that and I do not think it is quite fair of him to suggest that the anthropologists are responsible for keeping the national workers out and getting the foreign missionaries in.

Mr. Thakkar adds a select bibliography to his Lecture which has been prepared (not very accurately) by Dr. Karve. Generally, when a writer places a bibliography at the end of his work it is assumed that the books contained in it give some support to his main thesis. In this case, however, the bibliography furnishes the most complete refutation of Mr. Thakkar's positions. There is indeed a very strong body of opinion, both Indian and European, which believes in the danger of allowing the wildest tribes of India to come too rapidly into contact with civilisation. This is very far from wishing to keep the people in the Zoo. It is very far from desiring to deprive them of the blessings of civilisation. It is simply a desire to save them from the psychic and moral decay that follows contact with the degraded adventurers, the sneaking lawyers' touts, the dishonest money-lenders, the grasping landlords, the exploiting merchants and the corrupt subordinate officials who are practically the only representatives of civilisation that they ever meet.

In a letter to *The Times of India*, Mr. Thakkar suggests that anthropologists are ashamed of their civilisation ; otherwise why should they not wish to impart it to the aboriginals ? I imagine that Mr. Thakkar must be one of the very few living people who is proud of our modern civilisation. But let us examine this civilisation to which Mr. Thakkar and his friends are so eager to introduce the aboriginal. Mr. Thakkar is Vice-President of the Servants of India Society, which is more or less responsible for a very good newspaper published from Nagpur, *The Hitawada*. Let us, therefore, turn to this journal, for surely it is here that we will discover what it is that Mr. Thakkar means by civilisation. Open its pages and see first and foremost vivid accounts of the divisions of mankind and their slaughter of one another. Study the prostitution of science in the interests of death ; watch the triumph of the aeroplane, tank and gun. To kill your enemy is the highest achievement of human life, to drown him in hundreds a noble act meriting reward. Then in column after column read of the chicanery of Municipalities, the corruption of District Councils, the hatred of the great communities for one another, the riot and looting in the towns ; watch the reports of cases in the Court, adultery, rape, theft and murder. Study again the almost incredi-

ble futilities of the politicians, the unimaginativeness and short-sightedness of great Governments, the wranglings and meanness of little men. Then turn to the advertisements, for here surely is civilisation at its highest!

One is headed,

**MEN ENJOY LIFE MORE
SEXUAL NOVELTIES**

and here is another,

**BREASTEE REGD.
BEAUTY DEMANDS A CLASSIC BUST
ACHIEVE IT THROUGH BREASTEE**

It develops saggy breasts to original and
firm condition giving them good formation,
alluring fullness and firmness of youth.

Then again we get :

**I.C.S. APPRECIATES NERVINUS
ELIXIR OF LIFE**

Simply an aphrodisiac!

Then there is the Hermit's message:

The unparalleled secret and select prescription given by a famous
Mahatma. Its very first dose produces fresh, rich racing blood; in 21
days eyes will sparkle and cheeks become like rosy apples. In 40
days it will secure complete victory over the loss of manhood.

So effective is this aphrodisiac that when a certain Swami of the Hima-
layas gave five or six doses of it to an old man who ignorantly took the whole
lot at a time, the poor fellow had to marry three wives at once.

And so on and so on.

I have known unfortunate aborigines who have learnt to read and
write, and having seen similar advertisements in the Hindi press, have
written in reply and been grievously cheated of their money.

But this is civilisation—not the whole of civilisation, but that part of
it we usually see. For remember, *The Hitawada* is not a bad paper: it is one
of the best papers. It gives a true picture. Our civilisation, both European
and Indian, for all its many noble qualities, is deeply scarred by a belief in
violence, complete indifference to truth, prostitution and other forms of
sexual vice, a lack of direction and leadership, inequality in the distribution
of property, and oppression and exploitation of the worker and the poor.
The best aboriginal society is based on communal living, perfect truthfulness
and honesty, ignorance of any form of sexual perversion or prostitution, and
fair dealing between man and man. It has its evils, cruelties and supersti-
tions, but those who would dare to try to improve it should look with many a
backward glance at the way of life of which they are representatives.

Let me now summarise the position of the anthropologist. He does not want to keep the people in a Zoo. It would be no use to him if he did. He is concerned with truth, and human beings are not like guinea-pigs that can be isolated in a laboratory. What he desires is the freedom and happiness of the people he has come to love. He recognises two types of aboriginal in India: one has already come too much in contact with the outside world that the only thing to do is to educate and develop him as rapidly as possible so that he will be able to fight the battle of life and win it. It is this which our institution in Mandla, the Bhumijan Seva Mandal, is trying to do. The other type of aboriginal, perhaps five million of them, who are scattered in the remotest hills and jungles and who still preserve much of their traditional religion, tribal organisation and recreations, present a far more difficult problem. It is no use saying that they should be given the blessings of civilisation while the rest of India lacks them. Mr. Thakkar has said he wishes to see the aboriginals educated up to the standard of the rest of India. At present over vast areas of our country the villagers are living drab lives of dirt, disease and ignorance and these are villagers who belong to what are known as advanced communities. Surely it is more intelligent to give these people, on whom it can have no possible bad effect, the blessings of civilisation first and then, when the standard all round has risen and there are plenty of devoted workers ready to go among the aboriginals their problem can be tackled. It is worse than useless to send out decadent, degraded, ignorant school-masters into tribal areas. A school may be a centre of darkness rather than light. Long ago I challenged Mr. Thakkar to say that he would refuse to send into the aboriginal areas any schoolmaster who believed and practised untouchability. I repeat that challenge now. If the Congress Leaders are sincere in their desire to abolish untouchability, then when they come back to power, one of the tests for appointing any man to teach in a school, and still more of appointing any man to act as Inspector of Schools, should be that he has abolished untouchability from his own house and his own belief. Otherwise we will conclude that it is the reformer rather than the anthropologist who desires to see bad customs perpetuated. The anthropologist desires to save the aboriginals from such abominations as child-marriage, the isolation and degradation of women, illtreatment of widows and, above all, the belief in untouchability.

But his attitude is not only protective. There is a great deal actually to be done. There is, of course, no such thing really as an anthropological attitude to politics or to social change and development. The anthropologist is concerned with facts and it is his business to produce a complete and accurate picture of the situation for other people to use if they so desire. But

still it is possible to speak, not technically but in a general way, of what the anthropologists want provided it is clearly understood that by this we mean what the majority of the people who happen to be anthropologists and have had that particular kind of experience do actually want. In this sense I think it is true to say that the majority of anthropologists today desire to see the economic position of the tribesmen improved before any attempt is made either to educate them or to alter their customs. I think that is undoubtedly the position, for example, of the London School of Economics, and Mr. Tarak Chandra Das has recently given weighty expression to a similar outlook in fully documented papers before the Indian Science Congress. This is, of course, the old Marxian attitude. First of all improve the prosperity, the health and material condition of your people and then you can proceed to the far more tricky business of cultural change and reform without doing them harm. But if you reverse that process you may cause nothing but disaster.

Aboriginal boys in India who go to school all too often lose the use of their hands. They become too proud of themselves to turn to the simple toil of the fields and live miserable and frustrated lives seeking for employment in Government service. Reformers who try to alter the diet of the tribesmen may simply succeed in depriving them of essential items of nutrition without giving them anything in their place. They forbid them to eat chicken, eggs and pork but they give them no vegetables, no curds, no ghee in substitute. Attempts to interfere with tribal religion may result simply in destroying any kind of religion whatever unless the change that is proposed comes after and not before economic improvement. None of the dangers to which I have just referred arise in communities *where material progress has preceded and not followed cultural change.*

It is obviously useless to expect a high standard of spiritual idealism from people suffering from diseases that torment their spirit and lower their vitality. In Bastar State there is an admirable example of how Government can help the people without in any way harming them. There the terrible disease of yaws has been almost banished from among the aboriginals, where formerly it was rampant, by the devoted service of the State Medical Department. This is the sort of thing that is well worth doing for aboriginals and about which there can be no possible controversy.

Mahatma Gandhi once said to a group of Christian missionaries that it was useless to offer their would-be converts the bread of the gospel until they had provided them first with their daily bread to eat. I would say exactly the same thing to the politicians and reformers who are interested in the Indian aboriginals. It is a mockery to offer them the bread of religious and moral uplift until you have first provided them with enough bread to eat. Here

again the policy of the anthropologist coincides with that of Mahatma Gandhi. That is what we would expect. A Grigson and a Gandhi are alike realist in their approach: they each know the actualities and facts of village life.

There is, therefore, plenty to do. There are the fifteen millions or so semi-civilised aboriginals to educate, to develop, to help. There are five million or so wilder aboriginals to be provided with medical assistance and to be protected from their foes. My readers will, therefore, see that the anthropologists' policy is actually the very reverse of trying to keep the aboriginals in a Zoo. Rather they would set the aboriginals free, restore to them the liberties of their hills and forests, save them from economic exploitation and moral degradation, and thus enable them to play their proper part in the India of the future.

OCCUPATIONAL GUIDANCE IN INDIA

KATAYUN H. CAMA

The need for occupational guidance is particularly great in the case of women who are neglected completely or shoved into the already overcrowded fields. In view of this situation, Dr. Cama makes a plea for scientifically planned vocational guidance programme to prevent the present criminal wastage of human energy by placing men and women into vocations for which they are best fitted by their technical skill and personality qualities.

THE quite general failure in India to recognize vocational guidance in formal education is due partly to our habit of partitioning life into separate water-tight compartments in which the individual is compelled to specialize in developing each phase of his personality, one at a time. The schools and colleges in India have more or less assumed that concentration should be focused on one particular phase at a particular period of life. It has been very complacently assumed that we should concentrate on play in childhood, on learning during youth or adolescence and on earning or making a living in mature adulthood. But life cannot be thus partitioned or restricted. Life is a unit and in each period of life there is a normal and natural functioning of all the phases of living. It is true that in childhood activity should receive greater emphasis as in adolescence learning, in adulthood labour and in old age leisure should be most prominent, but to entirely neglect all the other phases while training one at a time is to warp the individual, encourage artificial living and sacrifice a balanced development. We seem to have overlooked the fact that education must be mixed and seasoned with life experience of which labour is an essential part. Through all our formal education we have failed to secure the necessary balance by not including labour learning and leisure in the right proportion in the planning of a life programme. We have realized that learning is the key-stone of the arch of education, but we have forgotten that labour and leisure are the two important corner stones without which we are in danger of educating parasites, weaklings, pedants and snobs. If our purpose is to educate young men and women for life and not for passing examinations, we must give our youth an adequate and well balanced programme so that, even during the period of formal academic training there may be a full rounded and well integrated living. Thus, if education is viewed as a life-long process from the preschool period through adulthood to old age, it is obvious that occupational guidance is the primary concern of the school, and the first step in this direction should logically be taken by the school.

But before discussing the role of the school and other institutions in

this matter of guiding young men and women in the choice of a life career, let us first try and understand what we mean by vocational guidance. If we define vocational guidance as a two-fold plan aiming at (1) helping people to acquire information about occupations and to gain better knowledge of themselves, and (2) directing them in the ways of successful adaptation between themselves and the occupational world, it will be clear that vocational guidance is more or less a matter of occupational analysis, self-analysis and successful adjustment.

As no occupational or self-analysis can be undertaken without a careful consideration of environmental factors, it will be well for us to bear in mind the play of environment on the occupational world as well as on the personality of the individual. Indeed, considering the inordinate amount of caste and provincial prejudices and antagonism toward education of women in India, the importance of social and environmental factors in vocational guidance can hardly be overstated. The occupational opportunities of a country are determined mainly by its cultural, political, economic and social conditions, for it is on these conditions that the nature, kind and number of occupations depend. In a country like India, where the bulk of the population is primarily rural, where even small implements have to be imported from elsewhere, where those who know crafts have no capital and those who have capital are capital shy and extremely cautious of investing in new vocations, where there is a great lack of cheap power such as electricity, it is easy to see that the avenues for occupational opportunities are undeniably restricted, and that therefore the nature of the occupational avenues offered by the country leans obviously more toward the agricultural than the industrial.

The census report of 1931 shows that out of a total population of 353 million, 111 million are employed in agriculture or the production of raw materials, 17.5 million in industry, and 2.7 million are in the professions and liberal arts. Out of these 3.3 million women are in industry, 18.4 million women in agriculture and 270.3 thousand women in the professions and liberal arts. The implications of these figures for vocational guidance for women in India from the standpoint of environmental, social and economic factors are only too obvious. The task of the vocational adviser then is not merely to tell a person to do this or that in life but to make a realistic exploration of all the environmental possibilities, difficulties and obstructions. Secretary Wilbur quoting the 1930 United States Census in a speech on "Choosing a Job in 1732 vs. Choosing a Job in 1932" stated that there were 557 major occupations and over 25,000 single occupational designations. These figures indicate the complexity of the problem of vocational guidance, but out here in India so little serious attention is given to this subject that we are not even aware of it,

though daily we are becoming more and more conscious of the fact that the need for it is much greater here, particularly with regard to women.

Bearing in mind these salient features of vocational guidance problem in India, let us turn to the first element in a vocational guidance plan—namely, occupational analysis. Perhaps the best introduction to occupational analysis will be through a survey of the world's workers. The principal groups are:

1. Agricultural group
2. Manufacturing group
3. Trade group
4. Mining group
5. Transportation and Communication group
6. Professional Service group
7. Public Service group
8. Personal Service group
9. Clerical Service group
10. Religious Service group
11. Social Service group
12. War Service group.

Each of these larger groups may be again sub-divided into numerous smaller groups, and choosing a vocation from these groups is no simple matter. In fact, the task of the vocational guidance counselor is not so much the placing of individuals in the one and only right occupation for him as the finding of the correct group for each person and avoiding the wrong group, for the one great difficulty is that no person can be sure that his choice in any single occupation is final. It has been found that the many changes occurring in vocational life, the frequency of job-shifting, unemployment and the like make it advisable for the average person to have elementary skills in several occupations and expert skill in one, instead of specializing in only one. It often becomes necessary to turn from one employment to another quite different one, and so the ability to adapt and adjust oneself becomes essential. War time activities and occupations call for a tremendous shift of interest, and we begin to recognize that with conditions as they are at present, a necessary asset for success is a flexible and adaptable mind. Vocational guidance also must therefore be a continual process in order to meet the rapidly changing conditions in a rapidly changing world. It might be argued, however, that the bulk of the working people in India being engaged in agricultural pursuits, all this talk about the shifting character of occupations and need for flexibility in a vocational guidance programme applies only to the twenty and odd million men and women engaged in industrial and professional fields. But since the unemployment figures are greatest in the most highly industrial areas and

in the so-called professional and service groups, it is all the more necessary that we concentrate on these as early as possible. It is impossible to foresee the future in any very complete sense, but one can perhaps obtain some idea of what is likely to happen by observing the changes that have occurred in the past.

In the first place, in spite of narrow orthodox prejudices against education of women in India, there is definitely an upward trend in the number of educated women, particularly in those communities which have been least touched by these prejudices, and one may safely surmise that this trend is likely to continue in the future. But these women tend to follow the beaten track so that certain professions and service occupations are overcrowded while there has been hardly any exploration of new avenues or even of the comparatively uncrowded ones such as hair dressing, beauty parlour work, dress-making, tailoring, interior decoration, commercial art and the other lesser trades. The fact of the matter is, these women have received no guidance. The only consideration guiding their choice has been that it should be a respectable trade or profession approved of by their parents and yielding good financial returns. Thus education, medicine, commerce and law seem to them to be the only fields worth getting into while all the others are rarely even thought of. The newly opened field of social work in India with such tremendously vast possibilities and scope is barely known, while the world of business or entertainment for occupational purposes is hardly ever tapped. Moreover, these women take to those so called learned professions regardless of their fitness for them. Unfortunately formal education in India has fostered the tradition that the educated are freed from labour, and that toil is the common lot of the uneducated only. The very word we have used for the educational process school or schooling comes to us from Greece where from Pindar down it has meant "freedom from labour", "to be at leisure".

If, therefore, we are to do any serious vocational guidance work, we must start building an entirely new tradition. Until all of us do our share of the necessary toil of the world at the period of life when we are most needed and at the work we are best fitted to do at that time, we can never hope to have a true civilization. We can help substantially in building a new world civilization by the recognition of the place which vocation has in the life programme of every citizen.

What then are the factors which seem fundamental to the analysis of any vocation? The first step in guidance will be in the nature of helping the men and women to gather a general description of the occupation, covering the nature of the work, its activities, functions, organization, and some facts about its place in human needs. Secondly, they must be guided in the study of the advantages and disadvantages of the work. Too frequently speakers

and writers on occupational information give glowing accounts of the advantages and neglect to mention the disadvantages. This can be easily understood, as usually such statements come from men and women who have attained success in the field, which implies that they are rather well adjusted in their work, and to them the disadvantages do seem insignificant. However, those same disadvantages may be very important ones for some. Therefore, it is best to advise people not to set out to look for a vocation with no disadvantages, but rather to choose the one in which the advantages to *them* outweigh the disadvantages.

A third point is to aid them in the critical study of the qualifications and training required for a career or profession or trade or service. A knowledge of these requirements will also be of assistance to them in making a satisfactory self-analysis of their personal qualities and the training they possess. Then, through a critical balancing of the demands of each job against their individual skills, aptitudes, interests, and personality traits, they should discover a better indication of their probable success in each rather than rely on their subjective personal guess before making the analysis. Again, for those individuals who aspire to executive achievements in their field, it will be especially valuable to know the possibilities in the field and the line of promotion to them. This information should stimulate them to preparation for the position by additional efforts in spare time and any other means available to them.

The next point, remuneration or salary, is in danger of being a biased consideration because it is so often a primary and immediate need in our lives as soon as one can get a job. Therefore, it is likely to be a serious mistake in occupational analysis to consider it as the first point about an occupation, because it may colour all our judgments on the other factors in the study of that occupation or vocation. The sixth is to train them to make thoughtful observation of the common deficiencies of workers in each particular occupation. It is another element in job analysis which, if checked against their strong and weak personal traits as recognized through their self-analysis points out where they need to direct their first efforts toward self-improvement.

There are many other factors that should be considered in a complete occupational analysis, but as this is not a book on the subject but an article, these are some of the important points for which there is space to refer to at present. To attempt to answer the question, "What is the best field of work for which to train?" is inadvisable because danger lies in the temptation to place too much dependence upon the calculated vacancies in the field and to give insufficient consideration to personal fitness for a particular kind of work. During the War an unusual number of occupations of a practical nature are opened up but, as this is a temporary phase, there is an element

of insecurity as the very fact of their impermanence encourages people to take them up without sufficient preparation, interest or aptitude. But when working opportunities are normal again after the war, men and women can during summer vacations, or to some extent during the holiday recesses, try out some of the occupations they are still doubtful about deciding either for or against in the final choice of a vocation.

In this connection it will be better to give a few abstracts from an article in the Weekly Magazine Section of *The Christian Science Monitor*, July 12, 1941, by Karl Detzer as they serve to illustrate this point beautifully. "Parchment is a neat, well-painted town of 1,000, built around the plant of the Kalamazoo Vegetable Parchment Company. Six years ago Jacob Kindleberger, the company's founder and board chairman, heard that gangs of youngsters were hanging around street corners, occasionally getting into mischief. 'Uncle Jake', as Kindleberger is known to the town, called in a dozen of the youngsters and asked them if they would like to earn some money. The boys said they'd like to, and they were asked to come back the next morning. He then sent for the principal of the school and together they worked out a scheme, at first planning only for the old boys. Kindleberger appointed the principal supervisor, paid him two months' summer salary, told him to see that the boys kept busy at tasks which not only earned them a little money but taught them something worth while. Back in the shop of the Parchment Junior Furniture Company, 20 other boys, ranging in age from 12 to 14, were turning out the products of this successful concern. They were learning more, making more money, and having more fun in their summer vacation than do most boys. They were learning how to handle tools, read blueprints, figure costs, and manage a business. More important, instead of idly roaming the streets, they were spending their vacation profitably, discovering the value of a dollar in terms of hard work, the value of time in money, the value of co-operation. In these same vacation weeks 25 of their elder brothers, organized into the 'Home Works Corporation', were earning money at harder jobs. Last summer they washed 222 cars, mowed 328 lawns, repaired fences, hauled wood, cut weeds and spaded gardens. The 16-year-old president acted as job solicitor. The general manager was purchasing agent, timekeeper and paymaster. These two formed the office staff; the others went out each morning 'with brooms, rakes, spades, lawn mower and cleaning rags, worked five hours a day, returned to headquarters each afternoon to draw their assignments for the next morning. . . .

"Meanwhile 20 girls of Parchment, from 14 to 18, were busy running the 'Junior Baking Company'. They made and sold thousands of pies,

cakes, rolls, cookies, prepared one meal a week for a luncheon club, gave ice-cream socials

"The Home Works Corporation had been going two years when younger brothers approached Kindleberger and asked for work. The 'Junior Furniture Company' has operated vigorously ever since. Its members spend four hours a day either selling things or building them. The public school manual training shop is their factory, with the regular instructor in charge. Their material is scrap lumber bought at the salvage department of the Paper Company at current local prices. They construct bird houses, screens, trellises, clothes props, benches, ladders, lawn chairs, shoe boxes, doghouses. Net earnings last summer totalled \$ 435.67, of which the low boy, who worked only part time, made \$ 10.66, the high boy pocketed \$ 54.6. When the juniors' 13-year-old treasurer was asked what had been the hourly rate of pay last season, he studied his ledger a moment, then gravely gave the figure of 19.786 cents. *As the results of his summer's adventure, he plans to become an auditor; other boys look forward to becoming salesmen or mechanical engineers.* . . .

"No sooner had the younger boys gone to work than their sisters trooped into the Paper Company Office. Kindleberger turned them over to the Ladies' Aid of the Community Church and the 'Junior Baking Company' was born, with a woman Church Welfare Worker as supervisor. Last summer they prepared an average of 80 luncheon plates a week, bought the ingredients, cooked and served them, washed the dishes. They baked and sold 3,000 cookies, coffee cakes, pies, rolls. At two ice-cream socials they took in nearly \$100. They averaged \$ 21 each in profit, learned how to cook, how to set an attractive table, how to keep a tidy kitchen, how to use inexpensive cuts of meat and odds and ends from the ice-box. All discovered that money doesn't just happen, but has to be worked for."

This proves conclusively not only the fact that summer and other vacations can be utilized as a means for helping individuals to discover vocations and their natural abilities, but also the very essential point that the schools and other business and industrial concerns can be of genuine help to themselves and to the eager young men and women if only they will tackle the problem of occupational guidance cooperatively.

Let us now turn to the other phase of our definition, namely, self-analysis. A self-analysis will help to determine one's strongest and weakest traits provided it is carried out in the right, scientific manner. Here, it will be the business of the counselor to prepare a number of searching questions and give it to the persons who come for guidance. A thorough study of their answers to these questions should reveal a detailed understanding of their tendencies, peculiarities, aptitudes etc. The questions should be so worded

that their answers will constitute a careful analysis of situations in which they have met with success or failure. Before giving them these questions, they must be made to realise that successful men and women are not specialists in everything. Once they are convinced of this fact, they will not be unwilling to admit to themselves that some of their characteristics are of much less strength than others, and thus it will be easier for them to appraise properly their own talents.

This self-analysis, they should be reminded, is not a simple matter. It requires careful study and thought. It should not be rushed to completion, for too much depends upon the accuracy of the result. It should be spread over several days, or even better, weeks or months in order that sufficient time is allowed for seasoning the answers. Whatever time is devoted to this analysis will be well spent, for what do few days or even weeks amount to when one is bent on planning the basis of one's whole future happiness?

The dozen or so groups of the world's workers referred to above, fall into certain classes because of certain dominating personal characteristics. Psychologists have drawn four broad classifications of people. First, those who like to work mainly with ideas, words, symbols and to be less active with physical manipulation of the body, such as authors, scientists, research workers, philosophers. Second, those who like to work mainly with people, that is, those who enjoy assisting others mentally, emotionally, physically, morally, as doctors, ministers, lawyers, teachers. Third, those who understand and like to direct the processes of income and expenditure of individuals and nations, that is, those who have shrewd economic insight and can deal deftly with finances. The fourth group consists of those who like to work mainly in doing things with their hands as mechanical workers and those in the fine and applied arts.

Now if each of us were clearly within one of the groups, one big problem of vocational adjustment would be simplified. Unfortunately, most of us have some tendency toward all three with a small degree of dominance of one, and therefore this classification seems a theoretical one. But fortunately, it also happens in the complexity of industry and society today that most jobs call for a combination of the ability to grasp ideas, the capacity to work effectively with people, to handle finances skilfully and to accomplish results with mechanical devices all in the same day's task. Our problem then is to help young people to decide through analysis in which class their stronger tendency would place them and from which source could come their most permanent satisfactions in life—whether from working with ideas, with people, with finances, or with things, and to consider that discovery an important factor in their occupational choice.

What else should self-analysis include? It should include a detailed question-and-answer analysis of each of the major factors in human ability.

1. Physique or health
2. Mental alertness or intelligence
3. Skills
4. Aptitudes or capacities
5. Temperament or emotional tone

Printed blanks for such a self-analysis can be purchased, or one can work them out for oneself with the assistance of one or more forms printed in reliable texts on vocational guidance. It is important that the answers be recorded on paper, as they are much more helpful than answers in the mind when one comes to the balancing of the stronger traits and weaknesses against the requirements of specific occupations. There must be an accurate account of their past health, physical handicaps, intelligence test scores, school records of studies, extra-curricular activities, outside interests, hobbies, and home duties. They must also measure their skills, aptitudes and interests through past and present performance in shopwork, crafts, arts, etc., and through tests specially designed for that purpose. It is a commonplace of experience that people do those things best which they most enjoy doing.

Lastly, they must be enabled to measure or even to estimate, the quality and quantity of their characteristics and temperaments, sometimes referred to as personality traits. More accurately speaking, however, one's health, intelligence, skills, aptitudes, interests are all part of the total personality. In selecting those temperament characteristics upon which they are to rate themselves, guidance must be given, as they are likely to be confused by the number of different ones which each author of such a list may include. There are fifteen characteristics which seem to be more generally included in most lists, though sometimes under different names. And they are: Interest, Initiative or self-directive ability, Co-operation, Personal Appearance or impressiveness, Tact, Adaptability or flexibility, Sincerity, Responsibility, Patience, Industry or industriousness, Self-control, Sociability—friendliness or kindness, Persistence—thoroughness or workmanship, Language ability or expression, and Efficiency.

In understanding oneself and one's personality there are many aids which can be secured from outside sources, such as rating scales, aptitude tests, interest blanks etc. Weak qualities can be understood and studied for improvement. We often come across smart and even brilliant people who have achieved very little in life. They do not seem to get anywhere. Yet we recognize them as of high-grade intelligence. They have not the emotional qualities necessary to drive them to success in their chosen vocation. Then

there are those of lesser intelligence who, through such qualities as persistence, industriousness, and a genial disposition, are able to accomplish far more, to achieve greater success than others ranking higher on the scale of intelligence. It is obvious then that it is not intelligence alone, but the combination of all personality qualities which constitutes the ability necessary for the most successful achievement in life. It is becoming recognized that success is dependent as much on native and technical skill as on the qualities of personality. Therefore, the habits which our young people are building for themselves each day in these temperament traits of personality will either be an asset or a handicap to them in their future vocational success.

And so we arrive at the final, though equally important, part of our vocational guidance programme. After we have assisted them to get all the information about occupations, and a satisfactory or greatly improved knowledge of themselves, we must prepare them to undertake that continual process of successful adaptation between themselves and the occupational world. The plan, as outlined here may seem a long and laborious route to self-guidance, but it must be carefully borne in mind that there is no royal road to the right occupational choice by short cuts pointed out by mystical decisions, astrological charts, or graphological and phrenological readings.

It is plainly the duty of our schools, colleges and universities to solicit the services of expert vocational counselors who should be consulted about the use of rating scales and tests as part of our occupational guidance programme. If the governmental and industrial authorities co-operated with the teaching bodies all over India, there is no reason why we should not have a scientifically planned vocational guidance programme which would be instrumental in preventing the present criminal wastage of human energy in almost every department of life by placing men and women into vocations they are best fitted for. This need is particularly great with regard to women as they are neglected completely or shoved into the already overcrowded fields. Is it too much to hope for then that a speedier co-operation of the school authorities, universities, government, industrial concerns, mills, factories and business houses with Psychologists in the formulation of reliable tests to suit Indian needs and conditions will bring about a more efficient conservation of national energy and a better utilization of its man power? Some stray efforts are being made in various provinces, particularly in Bengal, but this is a matter of nation-wide importance and the sooner a coordinated effort is made the better for the country.

A CASE FOR INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA

BEHRAM H. MEHTA

Since the appearance of Mahatma Gandhi on the political scene, the machine has come in for serious criticism. As against the Gandhian approach to planned economy, Dr. Mehta, examining the arguments against the industrialisation of India, presents a case for it, and suggests lines on which industrial production, he believes, should be organized after the war so as to rid it of its evils and enhance its service to man.

THOUGH many view the political struggle for Indian freedom as being linked up with the problem of industrialising India, a few thinkers, who are actuated by high ideals, believe that India's freedom ought to mean the abandonment of the industrial programme. The vast number of Indian intellectuals treat this small section as consisting of utopian visionaries who cannot possibly interfere with the march of Time. This particular section would have received no notice at all were it not for the fact that some of them draw their inspiration from India's greatest source of light and idealism—Mr. Gandhi.

Industrialisation and Mr. Gandhi.—The position of Mr. Gandhi himself with regard to the problem of industrialisation has not been crystal clear. The underlying principles behind the Khaddar Movement and institutions like the All India Spinners' Association and the All India Village Industries Association no doubt point to his great faith in a non-industrial programme. But is non-industrialisation an article of faith with Mr. Gandhi or is the programme merely suggested by the peculiar political and economic conditions of the country? Is Mr. Gandhi opposed to industrialisation in toto, or does he believe that the cities might be industrialised but the villages should be kept away from the shadow of the machine? Answers from Mr. Gandhi to three vital questions will not only prove very interesting but will help greatly to a better understanding of the situation.

The three questions are : (1) From the world's point of view, does Mr. Gandhi suggest that humanity would be better off if there were no Industrial Revolution, and if he were given the lead of a New World Order, would he propose the complete abandonment of industrial production? (2) If India were a free country, would he oppose any plan for its industrialisation and electrification on lines adopted by the first Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union? (3) What are his reactions to the deliberations of the National Planning Committee with regard to industrialisation under the leadership of men like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. K. T. Shah? Without waiting for

answer to these questions, we shall try to meet some important arguments raised against industrialisation, and put forward a case in favour of industrialised production.

India : not an Industrial Country.—The Indian masses live a very low standard of life and very few of their wants are satisfied by industrial production. Industrial production in India is relatively very poor and till very lately India imported machine finished goods in very large quantities. Though rich in raw materials, these have been utilised more for export than for feeding national industries. In relation to India's large population, the capital invested in industries is small and so also is the percentage of the Indian population engaged in industrial production.

India began its march towards industrialisation in the early beginning of this century. The partition of Bengal led to the Swadeshi Movement. Political unrest in India has continued intermittently since 1906, and a major reaction of this patriotic movement has been the encouragement of Indian Industries. The Great War of 1914 brought golden opportunities to the gates of India, and the war boom created many new industries which lived on in spite of the depression by dealing mortal blows to foreign imports; the national movements of 1921 and 1930 gave further impetus to the growth of Indian industries. The Second World War has given yet another spurt for vast industrial ventures thus facilitating the industrialization of the country. Thus when India is on the threshold of industrial revolution, it is proper to examine the arguments of those who oppose it.

The Argument of the Simple Life:—Human life, in order to become worthy of the highest living animal on earth, should have a philosophy to fall back upon. Opponents of industrialisation preach the gospel of the simple life which, they complain, is being destroyed by industrialism. The spiritual culture that brightened India's past was based on simple living, and this national culture was being destroyed by industrialism. This argument seems to be the result of confused thinking and of a particular interpretation of 'the simple life'. Besides, the argument assumes certain inferences. One of them is that the national culture that will follow the simple life will be synonymous with India's ancient spiritual heritage. Another is that since simple living implies the minimum of wants, therefore it is futile to produce material goods.

Simple living, properly understood, is a trait of human character. It can be the result of a particular outlook on life where there is no *possessiveness* and a desire to accumulate wealth. It can mean the possession of certain good habits with regard to the use of material goods. This simple life can be lived by those who are intellectually and spiritually rich. The millions of India's poor who have hardly a square meal a day and lack clothes as well as

decent homes are not living the simple life. They do not possess property and have no opportunity to use material goods and thus multiply their wants. Even desirelessness may be a characteristic of their mind not because they are free from the bondage of 'maya', but because they are unaware of the existence of material goods, and their physical environment is dwarfed and devoid of commodities which are physically outside the horizon of their mind. It is a pity if poverty which is a disease is made synonymous with the concept of simple life.

Industrialisation means an improvement in the material standard of life which, in turn, means an extension of human wants. Must India oppose industrialism and by so doing oppose the improvement of the standard of life? The advocates of the simple life do not suggest the maintenance of a low standard of life, but their contentions could be analysed to mean the production of those commodities which could be produced by an exploitation of the local material resources, or which could be obtained from other places without the use of modern mechanised means of transport. Thus there is a mere artificial limitation of wants without the implications of any realisation of the spiritual value of life.

A few persons in the world who have realised the meaning of the simple life and who have the character to practise their ideals are themselves found to make use of articles which are the products of science and industry, and which are available due to the development of modern means of transport. Can the watch, spectacles, the railway and the motor car be permitted for use when the ideal of the simple life is realised? Or must humanity give up these immensely valuable utilities in order to live in a world which is held as the ideal by a few seekers of the Holy Grail? Perhaps some kind of compromise will be suggested to find a list of industries which will suit the Simple Life and the New Order.

The Spiritualism of the East:—The Orient invariably prides itself upon its spiritual heritage. European poets have cast longing eyes upon Eastern spiritual force, especially as man finds the need of God when in loss or distress, and in the present times when the Western Industrial World is going through its teething pains, it looks to the East for its saviours.

The masses of India, from time immemorial, have been animists. The worship of the elements, sun, moon, stars, spirits, and ghosts predominate amongst the twenty-three million most backward and aboriginal populations. The 'mata' cult with its deification and worship of the Mother Earth has permeated into the millions of the rural population. This religion, held up by fear, superstition and faith, is the most important foundation not only for the Hindus, but for other communities as well. The power of this national

religion is so irresistible that it had to be accepted by the higher castes in terms of the Atharva Veda. This religion of the masses, evolving further into the worship of the Hindu pantheon, is "spiritism" and not spiritualism. The early Shivite worship with its doctrine of abnegation was throughout filtered with the more primitive doctrines of the animist. Shakti worship too not only dominates the poorer classes but is the secret mainstay of many higher castes. Its desire for power and personal wealth, and the triumph of the personal will with the aid of the strength of personified spirits should not be taken to mean spiritualism.

This true relation of the people is merely sugar-coated with the philosophies and teachings of the prophets, and especially Hindu prophets. Vedic, Brahmanic and Puranic spiritualism, the Upanishads and the six Indian philosophies, the spiritual lives and teachings of Sankaracharya, Buddha, Mahavir, Ramanuj, Guru Nanak, Kabir, Swami Vivekanand and Gandhi are but the mere external spiritual surface of the religion of the masses. True, this is real spiritualism, but this has never been understood by the masses who have accepted this spiritualism with the same simple faith and little understanding with which they continue to accept the beliefs and worship of animism. The material basis of human worship is evident in almost all the strata of Indian society, though perhaps we may not like to make this confession lest we lose the halo of spiritualism dubbed on us by the West.

The spiritual mind, wherever it is really found, revels in the unknown and gives full play to imagination, and spiritual evaluation of life. Spiritualism prizes the non-existent and the mysterious, and lives in eternal hope of the Life Beautiful. Thus conflict with the physical world is eliminated and the psychological possibilities of pain are minimised. Divine contentment breathes like a gentle breeze upon the life that puts all worries and cares away from frail human shoulders. The idealisation of this spiritualism must find many votaries amongst the intellectuals, and the poverty-stricken masses may find a solace in the imitation of these imaginative intellectuals.

But others believe that this irrational spiritualism merely works like a dope, it glorifies the unreal, it puts an end to struggle and inquiry, and dwarfs the possibilities of human achievements. The spiritualist will find disease in the word 'achievement'. It will mean craving and ambition. It will imply failure and despondency. Spiritual achievements in meditation or contemplation, and the utterly selfless service of the 'Karmayogi' are the only true achievements before which the struggle of the scientist and the inventor, or the power and achievements of electricity, pale into insignificance.

What has oriental spirituality meant to its teeming millions? It has meant nothing more than unending poverty, and stagnation. The divine

happiness of the few enlightened ones meant nothing to the millions who toiled, fought and perished before the onslaughts of famine and disease, or remained enslaved to feudalism. Industrialism is likely to put an end to this irrationality and spiritism, but real spiritualism will not suffer, and men with ideals and character will continue to live the simple life, if selfish motives do not lead them to capitalism, self indulgence and exploitation of their fellow men. Moreover, as the world evolves, even fundamental concepts must change. A renowned leader of thought in the West proclaimed that "he found real spiritualism only in Soviet Russia." In the heroic struggle of the people of Soviet Russia orthodox leaders of the Christian Church now find the release of spiritual forces.

Collapse of Western Civilization.—Not only the opponents of industrialism, but perhaps many others fear the fate of Western civilisation as a result of the unusual release of the forces of destruction. There are some who hold that Western civilization is no civilisation at all, and barbarism could be preferred to this so-called civilisation. There are others who hold that the West is civilised, but such a civilisation deserves to perish. It is not our purpose to explain or defend Western civilisation. Western civilization certainly has many undesirable elements. Its social, economic or even its political evolution is not likely to appeal to any intelligent student of history. The selfishness, acquisitiveness, external pomp, vanity, untruthfulness of propaganda, and the evolution of the family and morals in the thin crust of Western aristocracy that pass before us as aspects of Western civilisation deserve severe condemnation. But against this dismal expression of human achievement there is another and a brighter side. The growth of science and rationality, freedom, and the struggle of the common man against the darkness of his own environment, give a redeeming picture of Western civilisation. Industrialisation is a product of science. It may be an ugly child of a healthy parent, or rather it has been perhaps born unhealthy, and radical remedies, even surgical operations, may be required to give health to this child.

Industrialism has created two evils. Exploitation at home, and Imperialism abroad. Industrialism in this world is hardly two hundred years old. Two hundred years are not even a fraction of a second in the measure of ages. It is just born. It has had an ugly heritage from the early beginning. The growth of capitalism, the exploitation of woman and child labour, 2d.-a-day wages, sixteen hours of work a day, miserable factory conditions, slums, disease and dismal cities were the early products of industrialism. A good deal of this filth has been cleared and conditions have improved beyond measure for the European populations. The exploitation of man by man, and production for profit and not for the service of man, created the forces of

Socialism in the West. These forces have been active in the last few decades and their results are seen in Soviet Russia. With all the initial drawbacks and faults of the young Soviet experiment, it has created another Industrialism which cannot be easily condemned by the sober, thinking, unprejudiced human mind. Even this creation has its ugly sides perhaps to be rectified by man in the course of his experiments and in the light of his experience.

Soviet Russia has proved the possibilities of a better industrialism. An industrialism in which exploitation is reduced to a minimum, there are short hours of work, a better standard of life, better conditions of living, education and cultural achievements. The evils of industrialism, as they expressed themselves in its earlier stages, pointed out by its opponents can be admitted, but their refusal to believe in the evolution of industrialism, is not easily understood. Prejudice should not dominate a rational and scientific mind.

The Political Argument.—There is another criticism against Western Industrialism which has a good deal of truth in it, but at the same time it is not a sufficient argument against the very existence of industries. "As long as there is industrialism," the critics say, "there will remain the need of the domination of one nation against another." In short Industrialism must breed Imperialism. In the brief span of two hundred years this has been a fact. It has led to the slavery of weaker nations. But were there no wars and slavery in the days when there was no industrialism? The Vedic Aryans, who came from outside India, wanted the elimination of the black population that inhabited the country. The peaceful valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris and the Indus invited the jealous eye of conquerors. Commercial rivalries later on led to war and conquests; and religion, the mother of spiritualism, has been responsible for shedding human blood for centuries.

The real achievements of an Industrial Age are not properly visualised by the opponents. The satisfaction of material wants of the individual can be fulfilled quickly and easily by industrial production. By international co-operation and planned exploitation of raw materials and manufacture of goods the entire population of the world can live a decent standard of life, satisfying human material desires, and having enough leisure for socially creative enterprises. Industrial production must considerably reduce the struggle for mere existence, must mean lesser hours of compulsory work, and more leisure for harnessing the spiritual forces of man. Reading *Russia Without Illusions* with an open and unprejudiced mind, one is able to appreciate the splendid creativeness of a people who no longer toiled under the yoke of feudalism, the terror of a Czar, or the religious tyranny of ikon worship. The growth of industry is as representative of the creativeness of man as art, poetry and sculpture. In Russia not only industries flourish and the fields yield rich

corn, but the cities and villages are monuments of the possibilities of science and industry harnessed for the service of man. Art, literature and architecture flourish side by side with nurseries full of healthy and happy children, and schools and universities where science unfolds its treasures before the prying human mind. German bombs may for a moment destroy these fruits of human creativeness, but these spiritual achievements, even if realised only for a moment, live eternally to enrich the civilisation of man.

It is true that Mr. Gandhi and the opponents of industrialism are not enamoured of these achievements of the human flesh (mind?). They see the vision of the Golden Age in the revival of the Indian village. This village of the New Order is, however, not well described. Will those who have profited from industry and science continue to be "the trustees of the poor" and landlords of the fields? Will the village roads mechanised by the Congress Government during the regime of Mr. Gandhi's dictatorship be demolished again? And what functions will be allotted to Mr. Gandhi's Ahmedabad Labour Union? Will these Trade Unionists uproot the foundations of the industry they helped to build by offering peace and understanding to the mill-owners?

The Vision of a Non-Industrial India.—Wars under industrialism are capable of terrible destruction, though the present war has proved that modern warfare destroys more property, and kills less human beings. The argument of the greed of industrialism, as it has developed under capitalism, cannot be denied, but it is idle to believe that the end of industrialism will mean eternal peace and permanent death of slavery.

Several factors have contributed to the growth of imperialism together with industrialism. The unequal division of wealth was created by earlier conquests, feudalism, and especially the success of commercialism through the discovery of new lands, the growth of markets and development of transport. Thus the initiative for industrialism passed into the hands of the capitalist who was already there. Commercial rivalry existed between commercial groups, and this evolved into an aggressive, competing nationalism. All this happened when the intelligent population of the world was small and the leadership of the world belonged to the few. Three very important things have since happened which are offering a new promise and hope for the better government of the world. The first is the increase in the size of the intelligensia all over the world; secondly, the leadership of the few is being severely and successfully challenged and thirdly industrialism is creating a new type of able, efficient and conscious mass of humanity.

It is hardly proper to say that throughout the Industrial Age only one nation has been able to hold supremacy, and there is constant war and strife because there is a struggle to get this world supremacy. As a matter of fact

several industrial nations have obtained supremacy over several non-industrial regions. British Imperialism, American Economic Imperialism, Japanese Imperialism, the Imperialism of the white nations everywhere, and even the successful Imperialism of less significant countries like Belgium and France point rather to the fact that the fear of foreign domination remains as long as some countries of the world are industrialised whilst others remain suppliers of raw materials and markets.

The present war may be fought between nations who aspire for world supremacy, but the result of the war may bring about a new order in which nationalism will have no place, and the need of universal industrialism, a proper distribution of raw materials, and a planned trade may be found imperative for the peaceful evolution of the world. Those who despair of the present forms of government existing in the world refuse to realise that human genius can and will have to find out new political structures which will be suitable for the future economic and social organization of the world. The present economic and social order may be directly the product of industrialism, but indirectly and yet fundamentally they are products of science.

The opponents of industrialism are strangely quiet on the achievements of science. In preaching the abandonment of industries, do they preach the abandonment of science? They declare that science has unleashed the forces of destruction. Only a brief portion of applied science has been created by the evil genius. Science otherwise has proved more creative than any other force in human evolution. Science has touched every aspect of human life, making it healthier, fuller, richer, more beautiful, more secure than ever before. Take science in relation to health, housing, human foods and diet. Consider the march of science in relation to man's mastery over regions and climates. Who can declare the development of modern means of communication to be the work of evil genius? Can communications exist without the achievements of modern industry? Can industries exist without scientists, inventions and laboratories? Science and Industry go hand in hand.

A compromise situation where India as a whole, and mainly rural India, will remain unindustrialised whilst some industries will be permitted is neither desirable nor possible. There are only two factors that come in the way of rapid industrialisation of the country and they are (1) want of political freedom, and (2) the presence of a wrong educational system. The idealism of the opponents of industrialisation, including that of Mr. Gandhi, is hardly a serious handicap.

India for Planned Industrialism.—If industrialisation should develop in this country, it should not grow up chaotically as it has done in some parts of the world. India may be the last country in the world to take to industrialisa-

tion, but then she has the unique advantage of learning from all the others. England as the pioneer of industrial revolution, America as the centre of mass industrial production, Germany as the home of technique and superior factory organisation, Russia as the first successful power to humanise industry, and Japan as the premier of oriental industrialisation can all teach us what can be done, and more important still, what should be done. There are several factors which must contribute towards the successful industrialisation of our country, and these are discussed below.

The Political Background.—The future political structure of this country cannot be easily envisaged. When the whole world is passing through a period of transition and temporary chaos, the future is bound to appear chaotic and uncertain. Apart from the war, the communal aspect of the political problem is assuming proportions which are not in the least favourable for a hopeful future. The minds of Indian leaders are not adequately settled even on an ideological basis. Mere forms of government do not guarantee human happiness, and what is really needed is a clear realisation of the practical situation.

For any successful industrialisation and a planned foreign trade, a powerful central authority is needed. Perhaps in the near future it is not communalism that will create so much trouble as provincialism. A weak central authority will permit unhealthy provincial rivalries on the industrial arena, coming in the way of planned production. Further, the world has got to settle down to some basic imperatives of socialism. Capitalism was a step in economic evolution which was inevitable. Personal initiative and leadership are essential for launching new beginnings. The growth of the nucleus must eventually embrace the entire organism. Thus a socialism which permits a larger initiative, a wider participation in industrial efforts, and a more liberal distribution of the products of industry will be a welcome solution to difficult problems. The West is now likely to pass to Socialism with less bitterness and conflict between the so-called eternally warring classes than in India where capitalism in its full growth has not had its day. If all sections of people realise the imperative need of adjusting themselves to great economic and social forces that are now at play, then India with the rest of the world can experience some peace and progress in the latter half of the twentieth century.

A New Education.—A new world cannot be created except by a new education. The age of Macaulay is dead, and together with it must perish futile academic literacy. The education of the whole man for his physical, emotional and mental development and well being, for work, life, marriage and cultural creativeness must lead to training in fields, factories and laboratories. A successful industrial revolution can never be achieved unless education is genuinely democratised and the opportunity for full self-expression

and self-development is guaranteed to every individual within the State. An Industrial Revolution in India must be accompanied by an Educational Revolution where nurseries, schools and polytechnics will enable millions of India's children to drink at the fountain of Science, Industries and Arts. To many this may appear to be a mere dream or wishful thinking, but other nations as backward as India have proved that, given proper leadership, organisation and State initiative, nothing is impossible.

Technical Leadership.—The fruits of such an education may take time to ripen. Meanwhile India cannot but accept foreign technical leadership. International co-operation for world reconstruction will be inevitable at the end of the present war. India will not find a more propitious moment, if she is not foolish enough to be led astray into fruitless internal strife, to receive substantial aid for industrial recovery and expansion from her neighbours and from America. The present war itself has contributed a fair amount of technical leadership; it has helped to develop latent skills, and this new found talent can be easily harnessed to lay the foundation of Indian Industrial Revolution.

Exploration of Raw Materials.—The wealth of India is yet an unknown quantity. Whatever has been done is not enough and there must be yet natural treasures to be explored and unearthed. Even if Indian efforts do not yield such bountiful results as have been the case in Soviet Russia, real exploration of the Himalayas, Vindhya, the Satpura and the Western and Eastern Ghats may lead to discoveries which will enrich India and strengthen the nerves of our industrial progress. The youth of the country has never been awakened in this direction. Our universities have yielded mediocre research in well beaten paths. Field research is practically unknown or is mainly undertaken for unearthing historical relics. Scientific research must precede any genuine progress, and young minds need to be inspired to courageously seek the hidden truths of science.

A New Urbanisation.—Indian industrial cities are an unnatural growth. They have grown up like cobwebs round the seat of capital and sharemarkets. Our industries have sprung up, with some important exceptions, from seeds scattered from the pouches of the capitalist. Therefore they hardly flourish, and live a precarious existence. The rural areas should be industrialised and small industries must dot the entire Indian landscape. This is against the dream of poets and the vision of philosophers; there are inherent evils in this type of economic growth, but on the whole the poor Indian will be better off, will be better fed and clothed, and will have a standard of life worthy of a human being. Better education and a decent standard of life under good social initiative can produce a culture worthy of the India of tomorrow. An economic life of this pattern based upon ideals of social initiative and cooperation can-

not lead to exploitation and accumulation of wealth in the hands of a minority.

Electrification of India.—Extensive industrial expansion is not possible without electric power. Lenin was dubbed a foolish visionary when he proposed the electrification of the Soviet Union. One of the largest areas on the face of this planet has been electrified in the shortest possible time. The resources of India for the electrification of the whole country are immense. The snows of the Himalayas, India's gigantic rivers, and the power of the sea-waves can be utilised for producing enough power to meet our needs. Already India possesses some of the biggest electrification schemes of the world, and a few more can serve India from north to south, and east to west.

Basic Industries.—The urgent need of basic industries has already been realised in India and some mineral and chemical industries have already started work. India should also be able to manufacture all machines and accessories required for her industries, or she should import them on a barter basis on reasonable terms. The Indian Iron and Steel Industry has proved that India can create some of the largest industries known to the world. The provision of a network of roads and efficient transport system is imperative in such a large continent as India. The cement industry is already proving adequate for the requirements of our roads, and Indian industrialists are determined to build our own ships, automobiles, locomotives and airplanes. Given peace and free dom, and a genius to find a form of government which will provide for international cooperation and a just and fair treatment of all human classes, the future is bright indeed.

Scientific Agriculture.—India is an agricultural country and her prosperity will lie in making the best use of the lands and rivers that Nature has given us. Our vast educational system cannot possibly avoid giving the minimum necessary training for the work-life of millions of our people. Our land system, which has so far always been the product of the genius of conquerors, must be completely overhauled so that genuine cultivators can have the opportunity of making use of science and industrial methods on fairly large estates. An agricultural machine tool industry, a well planned irrigation system, a determination to cultivate all available lands, scientific farming, and cattle breeding will bring to India a prosperity she has not known before.

Improving Transport.—The British government has already contributed more than any other towards giving us a transport system and other means of communication which can enable us to harness the energies of our vast population. We have already said that certain transport industries are essential to us as key industries. Motor truck transport can yet be improved and more railways are needed to completely open up the interior. Comparatively and considering the requirements of a large continent, the Indian transport system

is still improperly organised, slow and uncomfortable. Indian coastal shipping and Indian shipping for foreign lands can only be said to have begun their existence. Our Air transport system is only just born. The use of the wireless, telephone, telegraph and radio must be greatly extended and vast improvements must take place in the postal system.

Indian Markets.—India is yet a land of small bazaars. The middlemen are not properly organised, though some of our wholesale markets know the organisation and efficiency of medieval times. Business efficiency and morale need to be greatly improved. The consumer, who is mainly ignorant, is hardly protected, and a vast continent like this with its teeming millions has hardly made adequate use of the cooperative system. Large cities are very few, and therefore distribution is too much centralised and the whole country is more or less at the mercy of cities whose foundations are too foreign to be of much service to it. Moreover, the most important cities are all on the coast line, reminding us that Indian business is fostered a good deal by foreign trade. Well organised wholesale markets and well distributed inland markets linked together by efficient transport will naturally follow industrialisation. The form of business government will depend upon the kind of political government India is destined to possess, and the nature of our future banking system.

Foreign Trade.—If the world is industrialised, together with India, then interdependence rather than self-sufficiency will be more and more evident. Artificial and even natural regional and national frontiers are quite incompatible with the growth of science and industrialisation. Foreign trade on the basis of barter and exchange, helped by a system of cooperating federal governments can only bring peace and end international rivalry. Industrialisation for mutual aid and cooperation will bring in a new kind of Free Trade where there will be and must be international and just distribution of raw materials; even industries will have to be planned after taking into consideration the industrialisation of other countries.

A New Society.—The economic life of peoples is of very great importance and the social structure of these peoples depends a good deal upon the economic structure of society. A feudal as well as a purely capitalist form of society cannot be found suitable for scientific industrialisation. The social order that must emerge in an industrialised India should be based on five fundamental principles :—

- (1) Human societies must exist on the basis of Mutual Aid, Friendship and Co-operation.
- (2) All exploitation of man by man should be made legally impossible.
- (3) There should be a just distribution of reward according to ability.
- (4) Accumulation of wealth should be prevented, inheritance should

not be permitted, and the possible growth of too distinct and conflicting economic classes should be controlled.

- (5) Peaceful and harmonious relations between all human beings should be fostered by habit and training.

The opponents of industrialism are likely to argue that the above picture of human society is but a vision, nay even an illusion. In the midst of the present war, they may be unable to see the possibility of the birth of a better society. If a better social order on the basis suggested above is not likely to follow the present war, then it is evident that a third world war will be inevitable. The problem really is whether the world should march on the path of evolution and struggle to bring industrialism to the service of man, or be frightened by its immense power and prefer a world without the hum of the machine, with the human mind merely doped by a spiritualism which will give comfort and solace within a strictly limited physical environment. The march of Time will answer. Meanwhile, through struggle and strife man will emerge as the true Creator, working unceasingly and probing endlessly into the mysteries of the Universe with the aid of Science and Reason.

COMMUNALISM—A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

P. M. TITUS

Communalism is one of the worst pathological conditions in our national life. Fears, hatreds, prejudices, wars and all forms of social conflicts are, says Dr. Titus, expressions of attitudes fostered in various groups and countries by their leaders. Communalism is no exception to this universal phenomenon. In this article, he makes a sociological analysis of this problem and shows how national unity could be attained.

KAREN Horney—an eminent psychiatrist—in her book “Neurotic Personality of our Time” maintains that the two main causes of neuroticism are fear and hatred. Bertrand Russell, while analysing the modern era, says that the most characteristic feature of our times is the problem of group hatreds. Such pathological conditions and reactions develop tensions that create social conflicts. Throughout history we find that groups get organized around certain interests and affinities. Families, tribes or clans existed as well-integrated social units having conflicts only between rival tribes. Having passed the tribal stage, varieties of group associations originated according to the changing times and situations. Such groups we find at different stages of development and due to different affinities. Race or colour, nationality, language, religion, class, ideology and a host of other factors have been made the bases for the formation of groups. Such group solidarity was not always due to any natural affinity, inescapable and irrevocable. We find in history neither stability nor uniformity nor any other kind of determinism bringing about group affiliations. Even today we see people pledging their loyalty to groups and ideas ranging from a narrow clannishness to a World Order embracing the welfare of all humanity. So this shows that such affinities are mainly psychological than racial, regional or cultural. The social education we receive and the environments we live in determine our fundamental attitudes.

The fears, hatreds, prejudices, wars and all forms of social conflicts are in the main expressions of attitudes fostered in various groups and countries by their leaders. The kaleidoscopic changes that take place in these attitudes from time to time and on various occasions and under different situations make us laugh at the fickleness and credulity of the vast masses of people in all countries. The illusions and myths of racial superiority, national pride and such other anachronisms have engendered fears and hatreds resulting in conflicts. Hamilton Fyfe in his book *The Illusion of National Character* shows clearly how people are duped into different courses of action by the ruling

classes in different countries. Jingoistic nationalism thrives on the slogan "My Country Right or Wrong". But what does "My Country" or "Our Country" mean? Fyfe says it is a myth and it varies according as the interests and opinions of contemporary leaders. "Patriotism denotes support of the aims which at any given moment are being pursued by the visible or invisible rulers of a country. It has no solid or permanent quality. It alters with the tides—tides of national sentiment, material prosperity, bold democratic advance or cowering submission to despotism."¹ He illustrates his point by a review of historical incidents. On the one hand, we find examples of heroic vision and loyalty as in the case of a French boy, fighting for Spanish freedom, who expressed nobly "My country is wherever liberty is in danger". James Russell Lowell put the same thought in the words "Our true country is bounded on the north and south, and the east and west, by Justice".

Compare the above to the statement of Major F. Yeats-Brown, author of a book called *Bengal Lancer*, a man with strong Fascist leanings and one who expressed the sentiments of a fairly large section of the English people, who wrote in 1937 (*Spain at War*, pamphlets):—"If we (Britain) are to enter the lists against Germany and Italy to support a gang of ruffians who have committed crimes unparalleled in the history of the world, I for one shall fight on the other side."² By the "gang of ruffians" he meant the Government of the Spanish Republic. For him his "country" represented opinions which he held, illusions which he cherished, prejudices which gained possession of his understanding. Thus we say patriotism means different things to different people: "My country right or wrong" to some; "My country only if it acts with my approval" to many; and to a few "My country is that where liberty is in danger". The last shows the possibilities of heights to which we can rise, the second shows the attitude of a very large number of people who hesitate to express it so honestly and the first what the governments in power would want everyone to say.

One of the ablest of American Presidents told the students of Princeton University: "Support your country when she is right, and I am not sure you ought not to support her when she is wrong." Compare the German popular song: "Deutschland, Deutschland uber Alles, Uber Alles in der Welt" to the statement of Goethe: "There is a degree of culture where national hatred vanishes, and where one stands to a certain extent above nations and feels the weal or woe of a neighbouring people as if it had happened to one's own." It is not true to say that there are few Goethes and that people by nature are

¹ Hamilton Fyfe: *The Illusion of National Character* (London: Watts & Co., 1940), p. 249.

² *Ibid.*, p. 223.

distrustful, malicious and selfish. Such hatreds and prejudices are fostered. Human beings everywhere are very much alike. They have far more in common than is crudely supposed, and are by nature of a friendly disposition. That is the truth. Even Kipling of "East is East, West is West; never the twain shall meet" notoriety let it slip out when he wrote :—

" For there is neither East nor West, border nor breed nor birth,

When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the
ends of the earth."

That human beings in all parts of the world have great capacity for extreme loyalty and devotion has been proved beyond doubt. Today we are witnessing it on a scale of intensity unprecedented in the history of mankind. At the same time we see the consequences in the form of destruction, waste, suffering and loss. So the question is: to which values do we pledge our loyalty? Are they fostered by old hatreds, prejudices, fears and self-interests or by visions of greater unity, order and well-being of all mankind? In either case, the energy releasable is immense; but in reality our loyalty is usually pledged to the former rather than to the ideals of world brotherhood. In the light of these, we find the divisive elements in India running parallel to the same forces working in the world at large. Against the background of an imperative sane call for national unity to take a cooperative share in the world commonwealth of nations, we find old hatreds and prejudices having their full sway among certain groups. Communalism in India is a psychological development fostered by the sowing of the dragon's teeth by narrow-minded leaders who in the struggle for power find it advantageous to have fears, hatreds and suspicions between communities kept alive rather than emphasize unitive forces. Towards this end they feed the people with stories of oppression, discrimination, enmity and distrust.

Fears and suspicions, whether real or imaginary, are real to those who harbour them in their minds. As in the case of psychopathic patients suffering under delusions, we see races, nations, classes, communities and minor groups exaggerating situations and fearing possible dangers which often may be quite unwarranted. Moreover, deep-seated feelings of distrust and enmity die hard, and even in moments of common danger and crisis we see people holding on to their pet grievances and interests. Otherwise, how could we explain the attitude of some of those in England, referred to by Mr. Churchill in his speech in the Parliament, who wanted all labour ministers to be dismissed from the Cabinet? It is a people's war and they are fighting with their back to the wall and labour is bearing the brunt of the ordeal. Yet the class prejudice is such that some members of the ruling class in England could not bear to see people like Bevin and Cripps in the War Cabinet. The varieties

of conflicts we find elsewhere are duplicated here in India and one of them is communalism.

Strangely enough, we find Nationalism and Communalism developing simultaneously in India. Nationalism developed as a protest against foreign domination and hence evinces itself as a struggle for power. The movement for national independence has merged into that for self-government of a representative type. According to the diagnosis of the Statutory Commission the communal tension resulting from the constitutional situation, is "a manifestation of the anxieties and ambitions aroused in both communities by the prospect of India's political future. So long as authority was firmly established in British hands, and self-government was not thought of, Hindu-Muslim rivalry was confined within a narrow field. This was not merely because the presence of a neutral bureaucracy discouraged strife. A further reason was that there was little for members of one community to fear from the dominance of the other. The comparative absence of communal strife in the Indian States today may be similarly explained. Many who are well acquainted with conditions in British India a generation ago would testify that at that epoch so much good feeling had been engendered between the two sides that communal tension as a threat to civil peace was at a minimum. But the coming of the Reforms and the anticipation of what may follow them have given new point to Hindu-Muslim competition The one community naturally lays claim to the rights of a majority and relies upon its qualifications, better education and greater wealth; the other is all the more determined on those accounts to secure effective protection for its members, and does not forget that it represents the previous conquerors of the country. It wishes to be assured of adequate representation and of a full share of official posts.

"Hence has arisen a situation which is of the most urgent importance for the influences which operate on public opinion in India to relieve. But no cure is likely to be found by ascribing false causes to the disease. The true cause, as it seems to us, is the struggle for political power and for the opportunities which political power confers. We are fully alive to the arguments against communal representation, but we cannot think that it is the effective cause of this deplorable friction. At the same time we are no less clearly convinced that separate communal electorates serve to perpetuate political divisions on purely communal lines, and we have every sympathy with those who look forward to the day when a growing sense of common citizenship and a general recognition of the rights of minorities will make such arrangements unnecessary."

Struggle for independence necessarily envisages eventual transfer of

² Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I, pp. 29-30.

power. But why is it that, unlike the situation in America during the War of Independence, we see a competition for power within the nationalistic movement? This can be answered by the peculiar nature of propaganda that was carried on. To extricate oneself from the domination of an alien power every nation has to convince the nationals about the injustice of the situation. The more intransigent the alien power the more numerous are the abuses hurled against it. In India even though slogans like "Swaraj is our Birth-right" and such other positive claims were often repeated, the general trend has been one of comparing the glory that was India in the pre-British era to the poverty, exploitation and other maladies of the British era. This revivalism spread in all spheres of thought and action. In the political struggle for regaining independence, this looking back has had serious consequences according as which group looked back and to what period of ancient glory. "The Hindu revivalist lingers over the long period of Hindu independence. He invests with the glory of paradise the ancient self-sufficing village, the spinning wheel, the simple life, the placid contentment and the spiritual devotion. The Muslim revivalist delights in dwelling over the five centuries of Muslim rule in India. The Maratha revivalist feels that his ancestors would have quickly recovered from the defeat at Panipat in 1761 and, but for British intervention, established their dominion over the whole country. The Sikh revivalist cannot forget that his forefathers were the last independent rulers of the Punjab from whom the British took over in 1848. Historical events which would ordinarily call forth only calm and dispassionate explanation serve under revivalist influence to generate separatist ambitions in politics. It is not mere accident that the Hindu Mahasabha has found some of its leaders in Maharashtra where the religious distribution would not lead one to expect a Hindu-Muslim problem at all. Historical reminiscences centering round Lucknow, Janpur, and, above all, Agra and Delhi, the greatest of medieval capitals, partly explain the influence which the small Muslim population of the United Provinces—14% in the province—exercises over the policy of the Muslim League. Nor is it difficult in the revivalist background to understand that some concatenation of circumstances should lead the Musulman to dream of re-establishing Muslim rule over certain provinces and that the Sikh should threaten grim resistance."⁴

Despite the few advantages like the psychological effect of partial restoration of the self-respect which had been deeply injured by political subjection, revivalism showed many of the separatist tendencies. Non-proselytizing Hinduism resented with greater vigour the proselytizing methods and activities of Islam and Christianity. This gave a handle to the religious fanatics

⁴ Beni Prasad : *The Hindu Muslim Questions* (Allahabad : Kitabstan, '1941), pp. 27-28,

to inflame the common people. All the differences were exaggerated and masqueraded as irreconcilable extremes. We find today Hindu Mahasabha with its cry for Hindudom and Muslim League with its Pakistan scheme. The latter group dubs all other political organizations—Indian National Congress, Liberal Federation, Non-Party Conference—as Hindu in political ambition and composition.

To a great extent the Indian National Congress also was affected by this revivalism. Even though it includes all communities, and claims to be not only a purely political party but the only one that represents the voice of India, that voice often tended to be coloured by Hindu ideology and aspirations. It is inevitable that Hindus being in the majority, there should be a larger percentage of Hindus in the Congress both in membership and leadership. Naturally therefore as a political party it had taken to Hindu colouration, though not wittingly. This had been especially so under Mr. Gandhi's leadership and scheme of spiritualisation of Indian politics. The universe of discourse in Congress circles got filled with terms which had a strong bias towards Hindu ideology and traditions. 'Ram Raj', 'Bharat Mata', 'Vidya Mandir', 'Daridra Narayan', 'Vande-Mataram' song, series of allegories and similes used in speeches and writings illustrate the point. Harmless in themselves and having a definite positive value where the Hindus are concerned, they had serious consequences when rabid communalists began to give them a twisted interpretation for political purposes. Idealism certainly has its place in politics; but under the peculiar Indian conditions secular idealism would have avoided many of the tensions and conflicts.

Then again Congress leadership has been for long in the hands of many of those who were intensely loyal to their traditional religion—Hinduism. They were leaders both in the field of religion and politics. This dual role made it possible for others to identify one with the other and say Congress Raj means Hindu Raj. It may be safe to say that Congress owes much of its strength and popularity, especially among the masses, to the leadership of Mr. Gandhi the Mahatma and Sanyasi than to Mr. Gandhi the politician. Perhaps, in the Indian setting it was advantageous to have such a leadership in the initial stages of national awakening. But in the long run secularization of politics on the basis of social ethics, humanitarianism and social reconstruction will prove to be of greater advantage in uniting the progressive elements in all communities. Especially is it desirable in India where the dangers of division on religious differences are so apparent. Even in a country like U. S. A., one of the slogans used by Republicans when Al Smith (a Catholic) ran for Presidentship as the democratic candidate was that election of Al Smith will bring the Pope into White House. Capitalistic world has been denouncing the

socialistic regime in Soviet Russia during the last two decades because it was atheistic, brutal and a challenge and menace to civilization. And now? In a march towards freedom from slavery common hopes unprejudicial to any and having the least tinge of sectarianism are the safest guarantee against break in the ranks. Howsoever cosmopolitan the ideals behind the nationalist movement might have been, the vocabulary, leadership and major trends have been conducive to many a disruptive course in our political movement.

In the matter of leadership perhaps sharing the general trends the world over of accepting individual leadership and pinning all hopes and faith in his genius and capacity, India too had vested much power in a few individuals and very often in a single one. 'Ki jais' associated with proper names were heard more often than slogans of political and economic goals. Leaders like kings seldom accept a partner or tolerate a rival and jealousy therefore is not uncommon among them. The raising of individuals to Olympian heights is always demoralizing both to the one raised and those who raise him. It is also unfair and disadvantageous to the lesser gods who are in the constellation. Those who cannot reach such heights and yet aspire for the same seek other hilltops to ascend to, and so Qaid-a-Azamship gains prestige and power just as much as Mahatmaship. Democratic movements thrive on the prestige, wisdom and self-respect of the common man rather than that of some saviour who happens to be contemporaneous with social movements. Conferences attended, pacts signed, campaigns started and called off, fasts staged singly under 'inspiration' are some of the "Himalayan Blunders" from the effects of which the country has not yet recovered. Success of political movements is measured not so much on the wisdom of their leaders as on the intelligent appreciation of issues involved by as many of the participants. In the agitational phase of our national movement mass support became essential as credentials to buttress demands. But national awakening without a corresponding degree of political consciousness runs the danger of the continuance of a leadership, that is individualistic and dictatorial. Such a trend resulted in the Congress becoming almost a sect with a saint, creed, costume, sanctity and exclusiveness. Such sectarianism with a definite Hindu tinge naturally provided the necessary circumstances for Muslim Leaguers to call Congress just another Hindu body.

The political response which the Muslim revival evoked revealed characteristics of its own. The dream of re-establishing Muslim power, long kept alive by Muslim revivalism, had become impossible of realisation. The educational backwardness left them out from gaining many office employments. By the time this deficiency was made up by the movement started by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan other communities had advanced so much that there was much unemployment among the educated middle class, and the scramble

among communities for the few available posts led to a deterioration in their relations. The movement for self-government, resting on the principle of majority, suggested the possibility of a Hindu Raj. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan advised his co-religionists to keep aloof from the Indian National Congress. Pan-Islamism with extraterritorial attachments weakened national patriotism. Sir Mohammed Iqbal himself, after his identification with Pan-Islamism, declared that the idea of territorial patriotism was un-Islamic on the ground of inconsistency with the Brotherhood of the Faithful, irrespective of race or clime. All these tended to awaken the Muslim to the need of a well-defined policy which took the form of a demand for special safeguards and as large a share in the devolution of power as was commensurate with their position, importance and aspirations. These tendencies were accentuated and transformed into new antagonisms by the institution of separate electorates in 1909.

Separatist tendencies and aspirations are found among social groups and are easy to be fostered. But when recognition is given to such separate entities, they thrive on by bolstering up the dignity and status thus attained. Religious and social cleavages are apparent everywhere, but it is not safe to make it the foundation of a political superstructure. Nowhere in the West has it been done. But supposing England recognized different religious communities today and introduced separate electorates for Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians and Non-Conformists, it would not take more than a generation to rouse acute antagonisms. In fact during the wars of religions, Catholics and Protestants, who were members of the same nation, were persuaded to massacre one another. To recognise 100 million Moslems as a political minority by dint of the only common bond—their religion—was the greatest of mischiefs done in India. To say that there is a community of political, social and economic interests for Moslems as distinct from the rest of the population in India is just like saying that there is a Christendom distinctive from other groups with common interests. In that case all Western countries professedly Christian should not have had to go through these periodic carnages. Excepting the Jews, no other religious group retains its religious affiliation as a common bond in any secular organisation. Even among the Jews the Zionist movement is denounced vehemently by many Jewish leaders. Among the Moslems also there are large sections like those who are in the Congress, the Ahrars, the Jamait-ul-Ulema, Jamait Ansar, Shias, Krishak Proja Party of Bengal, Khudai Khidmatgar and Khuddam Watan of Baluchistan who are nationalistic in outlook and are against Pakistan.

Separate electorates promptly reinforced all the disintegrating tendencies. Joint electorates would have favoured modernist forces and progress on national lines. There was no possibility of any progressive social legislation

in the interest of the masses to be enacted on sectarian lines. Still less was there any guarantee that communal representatives will safeguard the economic and social interests of their respective co-religionists. The language of the legislature does not follow the lines of theological beliefs but conforms to political and economic ideologies. As it was, revivalism and separate electorates supplemented each other and favoured a cultural and political milieu on the separatist basis. The Hindu Mahasabha was established. There began the habit of regarding the religious communities as separate political entities. "The system freed the majority representatives from the obligation of canvassing the support of the minorities and more than neutralised the advantages of the weightage. It enfeebled the capacity of every group to throw the centre of gravity outside itself and protect its interests in the national context. It loosened the control which considerations of general welfare should exercise on the course of affairs. It hampered the growth of public opinion as distinct from sectional opinion. Co-operation, eliminated from the polling booth, was rendered more and more difficult in the legislature and in public life as a whole. The poison worked steadily As the separate electorate stabilised itself, the sense of disintegration grew more and more intense and the ideal of social justice had to fight a losing battle against the longing for privilege and domination."⁵

If the Congress had continued on the path of legislative non-co-operation until separate electorates had been modified or until it became as representative of the Muslims and other communities as of the Hindus, and had progressively shorn itself of all the religious trimmings, it could have, in addition to being the strongest and most progressive single political party in India, contributed much as a unitive force. It must be remembered that it was the extremist policy of the Congress in regard to political independence that gravitated many to its flag. Of course the Hindus form the majority, our major population being Hindu. By winning independence they have everything to gain and nothing to lose. Minority communities supported the independence campaign more out of self-respect and nationalism rather than any desire or hope of material gain of power or status. But such sentiments were getting wide-spread in all communities. There are among Hindus and Muslims ~~and~~ like many whose idealism, cosmopolitanism and even internationalism have been creating confidence and unity on ideological rather than communal lines. Their ascendancy in political leadership eventually would have attracted many irrespective of communal affiliations and opposing groups would have developed along ideological rather than on communal lines. But it was drawn into constitutionalism and elections since 1924, having the Swaraj party as the

⁵ Ibid, 46.

Council section of the Congress. Except for a brief period of civil disobedience from 1930 to 1933, the Congress has been a factor of the first magnitude in parliamentary activity. In 1937, it contested the elections and won a large majority in 6 provinces. After rejecting the 1935 Constitution and refusing to have anything to do with it, Congress contested the elections to wreck the Constitution, and finally ended up by working it and formed purely Congress Governments in the six provinces. In the North-West Frontier Province, there was a Congress government in office but in coalition with other groups, as also for a while in Assam.

The election returns blew up the major claims of both the Congress and the Muslim League, the former in its claim of representing All India and the latter in its claim of being representative of all Moslems. The Congress election success was almost solely due to the Hindu vote which was inevitable in view of the nature of the electorate. Yet it is revealing that in six provinces not a single Mohamedan was returned to the Assembly on the Congress ticket. Even N. W. Frontier got only 15 out of 36 Mohamedan seats; Madras and Bihar got 4 each, Punjab 2 and U. P. 1. The League which demands recognition as the sole representative body of the Muslims was able to capture a majority of the Muslim seats not even in a single province excepting in Bombay where it captured 17 of the 29 Muslim seats. Bombay being the headquarters of Mr. Jinnah this is understandable. Mr. Jinnah and other Muslim leaders tried to organize the community to form a solid *bloc*. But even in provinces with Muslim majority the League was not able to return many. In Punjab out of 84 seats, Unionists got 73 and League 1; in Bengal out of 117, 41 were independent, 36 belonged to People's Party and only 35 to the League. North-West Frontier and Sind had no League candidates.⁶

The election returns brought to light both the strength and weakness of the Congress and the lack of following of the Muslim League. What the Congress did in the flush of victory weakened it, strengthened the Muslim League and accentuated the communal tension. The dominant mood in the Congress was that of fighting British Imperialism by 'combating the Constitution to end it'. There was a feeling that there could be only one people's party, so long as complete independence was not attained, that the Congress was that party and that it could absorb, but not coalesce with any other group. It was out to reform the country by introducing agrarian, temperance and other programmes. Congress had no intention of excluding the Muslims as such from power; almost all Congress Cabinets included at least one Muslim member who had taken the Congress pledge. Hoping that their econo-

⁶ "Returns showing the results of elections in India, 1937" (Govt. of India Publication).

mic programme would rally the Muslim masses to their political creed and thus create a nation-wide party above all sectarianism, the Congress leaders proposed to launch a mass contact campaign. The change from extra-constitutional action to governmental responsibility and power brought into action the dictatorial disciplinary temper of the party into the field of government.

The Muslim League as a party was faced with the prospect of long exclusion from power not only in several provinces but also in the coming Federation. The rigid discipline enforced by the High Command forbade all hope of the Congress splitting into parties and a coalition being formed. The issue was not whether the Congress has or has not done any good to the Muslims, but whether the Muslims will secure power. What was equally momentous, the Congress proposed to win over the Muslim masses to itself by a mass contact campaign. All these made the Muslim mind weigh heavily with the fear of the future. These misgivings were roused afresh by the incorporation of certain party symbols into the practice of Congress legislatures and executives. Insistence on the hoisting of the Congress flag, singing of the Vande-Mataram song to inaugurate the legislative sessions, designation of schools as Vidya Mandir, increasing abandonment of Urdu by the Hindus and such other trends made the Muslim League feel that the majority paid little heed to the accommodation of the minorities. The cry of danger of suppression of Muslim culture and the establishment of Hindu Raj began to fall on more receptive ears. The Muslims began to close up their ranks. This was but natural, because in politics "disregard of one's susceptibilities and denial of a due share of influence and power weaken the sense of identification with an association or a commonwealth and result either in uneasy acquiescence or a struggle to get round the majority, in the last resort through secession or disruption. Whatever rouses a humiliating sense of existence on sufferance paves the way either for perpetual disharmony or for active revolt." ¹

Thus the League was put on its mettle and accepted what seemed to it an insolent challenge born of intoxication of power. The mass contact programme of the Congress proved to be still-born and Mr. Jinnah described it as "Massacre Contact". Reformism of the Congress Cabinets which were all of the Right Wing type did not make any great impression. The exclusively Congress governments resting on the support of predominantly Hindu majorities gave occasion for communalists to rouse fears and foment hatred and resentment. The 'Deliverance Day' celebration after the resignation of Congress governments on the war issue, was not only a political stunt but an index of the resentment of Muslim Leaguers. The League gained strength and momentum; it sought to organise the Muslims solidly under one banner, claim-

¹ Prasad op. cit. p. 18.

ed to be their sole representative and equated the National Congress as a Hindu organization. It demanded an equal share of power, a veto on constitutional advance and finally emerged in March 1940 with the scheme of Pakistan.

It is interesting to note the rough parallel between the Sudetan movement in Czechoslovakia and the advocacy of partition in India. Starting with a demand for a larger share in administration and policy, it developed into a repudiation of minority status, denied Czechoslovakian unity, levelled charges of atrocities and oppression, demanded reorganization of the State into racial areas with virtual independence for each area and at the same time claiming an equal voice in such central government as might remain, and finally declined even the offer of home-rule. Under overwhelming German, French and British support, Sudetanland seceded from Czechoslovakia and was incorporated into the German Reich in October 1938, and we know what happened to Czechoslovakia afterwards. All these features of the Sudetan movement in 1936-38 found their counterpart in the resolutions of the Muslim League in 1939-41. In fact even the phraseology is identical.

The undesirable aspects of Indian political history, especially of the last two decades, is not only the consequences of the proverbial faith of the British in "muddling through" situations but also of procrastination. More than that, as in war the strategy is "Divide and Conquer", so in Imperialism it is "Divide and Rule".⁸ Demands which are embodied in the 14 points of Mr. Jinnah in 1928 and held as maximum safeguards have now become less than the minimum. Interminable delay served as opportunities for superficial plans of reconstruction inspired by quest for power and for raising demands to a higher and higher pitch in the hope of striking the most favourable bargain. "Long delays have converted Indian politics into a contest for power—the British Government reluctant to part with power, the Princes seeking to federate without surrendering anything out of their autonomy, the Indian nationalists bent on securing the whole of power, the Muslim League striving for as much for Musalmans as possible, the Hindu Mahasabha intent on the rights of the majority, and minorities, old and new, claiming weightages. In such an atmosphere real parties cannot develop on the basis of economic or social matters. The struggle for power imparts fixity and rigidity to the contesting groups dominant and hurls all political ambition into their camps. Every one feels as if he were caught in a storm and must veer with the wind. A Muslim feels that he has no future outside the Muslim League. A Hindu, if constrained by circumstances to remain outside the fold of the National Congress, per-

⁸ This aspect of communalism is well described in a book by K. B. Krishna: *The Problem of Minorities*. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1939)

ceives little prospect of founding a real alternative party and is tempted to seek shelter under the Hindu Mahasabha. Party sweep of such dimensions stigmatises doubt or opposition as treason and imposes a tight discipline to consolidate the two or three rival organisations. Thus the development of parties in India has been subject to a hiatus which does not allow economic and other matters their due weight in politics.”⁹

Finding it difficult to transcend differences and unite among themselves, the Indian leaders of all shades and colour stand aloof. They are lost in a blind alléy thick with the fog of claims, counterclaims, threats and power politics. Unwilling to part with power the British Government still holds the reins on the plea that they do not know to whom to transfer power, because there is no united Indian nation. They have the imagination to propose a union of Great Britain and France. They claim to fight for democracy and freedom of all nations. They had the capacity of leadership to get 26 nations form a single block of ‘united nations’. Yet they find the situation in India too difficult for settlement.

In this contemporary world setting with the harvest of blood, tears, toil and sweat raised out of group hatreds and misguided leadership, our communal tangle seems extremely mild and at the same time puny. But the smallness of the struggle augurs also tragedy for the nation. And in a national tragedy always the common man, who is a pawn in the hands of leaders in their petty struggle for power, gets the worst of it. In the last analysis communal amity, political independence, economic reconstruction, and the creation of a co-operative commonwealth are the interests of the common man. As Disraeli said, there are only two nations :—one of the rich and the other of the poor. The ‘Brotherhood of the Faithful’ and of the ‘Aryas’ will disappear when the ‘Brotherhood of the Poor’ begins to develop a “we” sentiment. The task of creative leadership is to develop this sentiment and organise such a Brotherhood as will lead their respective lands and the world into the age of peace and contentment.

The cohesive force in any society depends on how sincerely and persistently this “we” sentiment is fostered. Communal leaders, when they go about talking about “we the Hindus”, “we the Moslems” instead of “we Indians” are using such tactics to good psychological advantage. Unattached unrecognised masses begin to feel a sense of identity and union with a comparatively smaller group. Moreover, we are always involved in an intricate whirl of competing loyalties, alternately attracted and repelled by one or another, in an endless series of forming and dissolving interests the nature of which is still but dimly comprehended. In the absence of a unified demo-

⁹ Ibid., pp. 58-59, 6

cratic self-governing State commanding the loyalty of all citizens alike to unifying symbols, narrower loyalties are apt to be preferred. Many of the most tragic moments in human experience have been centered in the struggle between competing loyalties of transcendent interest in so many lives. Analysis and interpretation of social evils in terms of general social processes rather than of communal origin is bound to give good results. Organisation of political parties on an All-India scale, cutting across communal, linguistic, regional and occupational interests with a common political platform is one of the effective methods of bringing about unity. In a situation such as we are in today, it is the small, narrow groups that get support. Identification is possible in them and the "we" sentiment is more easily created. The very fact that such loyalties do exist, is proof that given the right opportunities, the same people will give their loyalty to more cosmopolitan and rational causes. The major task of nation building in India involves this transfer of loyalty to the greater good.

The more natural of the already existing loyalties, even though not mobilized, are those which we find in local communities. A village, or small town, has a spirit of local patriotism and *esprit-de-corps* which cut across all class and communal lines. In spite of all disparities in wealth, status, religious affiliations etc., there is a bond of fellowship which is the natural result of the life processes in a community. What little communalism there is, is more artificial than real. Organisation of such local communities by consciously developing the community-spirit is the best antidote against any present or future divisive forces that may creep in to disrupt and destroy the community. Moreover, participation in such small community organization and working for its welfare will develop not only political consciousness but will be the best training ground for the right type of citizenship.

When, in a local community, people are trained for co-operative activities, there will arise a public-mindedness, team-spirit and dignity which will form the cornerstone of a democratic order. Such organizations instead of competing will rationally develop its co-operative units. Family, village, district, province, nation, like concentric circles will enlist the loyalty of each and every individual so that the spirit of the small unit will expand and prevail everywhere. The essence of ethical conduct is to behave as though we were members of the same family. The basis of all social organisations is to provide such opportunities to every individual to develop his capacities for such creative social participation. Competition, disruption and narrow interests beckon us on every side demanding our loyalty and devotion. Complexity of modern civilization makes it difficult for people to sift the truth, and be rational in their own right. Dictators come when such a helpless mass of people want to take a holiday from the limitations of their own personality

and get lost in the crowd. Modern propaganda techniques are so well tuned to psychological findings that the common man is persuaded to believe what is really against his own interest. Instead of appealing to the creative humanitarian, cosmopolitan and co-operative sentiments and capacities, it is the destructive, disruptive, cruel and narrow prejudices that are flared up, and yet appeal as glorious and worth dying for. Social ideals, not only worth dying for but worth living for are the real values deserving the loyalty of the modern man. Such values for which one bets his life is true religion. Religion in essence is a loyalty to that which is supremely worthful not only for oneself but for all mankind. Loyalty to traditional religion makes people less religious and more dogmatic. Creative religion is that which fights on new frontiers for larger and deeper social values. To say that devotees of any inherited religion form a homogenous group, and to build up a nation-state on that theory is lacking in any prospects for stability. It is the possibilities of greater ends that should always beckon us to adventurous living.

The roots of a nation are both in the past and present. The past gives a legacy of a rich heritage of memories; the present calls for a will to preserve worthily this undivided inheritance. A nation, like the individual, is the outcome of a long past of efforts, sacrifices and devotion. A heroic past, great men, glory—these form the social capital, upon which a national idea may be founded. To have common glories in the past, a common will in the present, to have done great things together, to will to do the like again—such are the essential conditions for the making of a people. To deny that we have not inherited these is to misread history. "In the past an inheritance of glory and regrets to be shared, in the future a like ideal to be realised, to have suffered, and rejoiced, and hoped together; all these things are worth more than custom houses in common, and frontiers in accordance with strategical ideas; all these can be understood in spite of diversities of race and language." Whatever else be lacking to unite us, at least we have one thing in common—we have suffered together. And in life, suffering in common is a greater bond of union than joy. As regards national memories, mournings are worth more than triumphs; for they impose duties, they demand common effort. On one side the causes of our suffering then as of now are the same, and on the other side it is what all humanity in the contemporary world shares with us. The solution lies not in isolation and separatism but in viewing our problems in a wide world context. "Unite or perish" is the warning that is being written large across the sky around the globe. Organization of nation-states not as sovereign communities but as mere provinces in the *civitas maxima* of mankind is the only course that will ensure the survival of civilization and add to the happiness of mankind.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

ARTHUR ERASMUS HOLT (1876-1942)

IN the death of Dr. Arthur E. Holt America has lost a clear thinker, and a courageous prophet at a critical time when the services of such men are most needed. True to his nature, he worked till the hour of his death. He died at his desk in Chicago on the 13th of January. He was professor of Social Ethics at the University of Chicago and was visiting professor at our School in the winter of 1936-37. In 1929-30 he served as regional consultant for India, Burma and Ceylon, surveying the work conducted jointly by the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association. He had travelled extensively in many parts of the world, studying social conditions and religious work and had written several books on social problems. For many years he was an active participant in all reform movements for the reorganization of social and political life on an ethical basis. The problems of economic adjustment between farmers and city consumers received his special attention.

His cosmopolitanism and international outlook won for him the friendship and respect of those with whom he came in contact. His selfless life, characterized by simplicity, sympathy and sincerity, was a source of inspiration to all those who had the privilege of being his students. He maintained that democracy, though a hard way, was the only way that will work in the long run. His faith in the democratic way of life was so great that he advocated it as the religion of the future to be taught in all parts of the world. Like the Chinese sage, Dr. Holt believed in the ideal "Under Heaven One Family", and always worked for universal brotherhood and international peace. We have lost an old associate and friend whose advice and encouragement we valued very much. We extend our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family.

LABOUR OFFICER AS AN EMPLOYER SEES HIM *

LABOUR welfare is such a wide term that it includes not only the creation of social conditions to improve the economic, physical and intellectual condition of the worker, but also the provision of facilities whereby the worker can work under the minimum amount of hardship. It is becoming

* An abstract of a class lecture given by Mr. P. A. Narielwalla of Tata Sons Ltd., in the course on "Labour Welfare" at the Tata School.

more and more clear to all progressive employers that the provision of healthy conditions of working is vitally important both to the employer and to the worker. A cynic once told me that the provision of better conditions of working in a factory is done not with a view to improve the condition of the worker but in order that the employer's profits may rise disproportionately higher. There is of course a quantum of truth in it, as in all cynicisms, but it is not the whole truth. To me, the provision of better conditions of working is essential in order to make the worker take an interest in his work and feel joy in it. The provision, therefore, of more healthy conditions of working in the shape of light and ventilation, facilities wherever possible for working seated on a chair instead of standing for hours together, removal of all causes which conduce to unnecessary fatigue and waste of energy, installation of devices whereby the hardship of manual labour can be reduced to a minimum, supplying of cold, fresh, drinking water at central or easily accessible spots, providing clean healthy uniforms and facilities for baths after work, arrangement for free medical service including pre-natal and post-natal treatment and running a canteen service on a basis of cost where supplies of clean, healthy food at cheap rates can be made—these are to my mind some of the essentials of a welfare programme for an up-to-date factory. I am afraid that these requirements are still not fully appreciated to-day by the employers as a class and are looked upon as luxuries. Their importance has not yet been recognized by all employers. Therefore, this work of bringing to the notice of the employers the need for healthier working conditions is something that is specially marked out for the Labour Officer.

Welfare work outside working hours should, to my mind, be done also by the employers themselves. I do not believe in honorary welfare workers going round labourers' quarters giving them gratuitous advice on what they should do and what they should not do. I often try to put myself in the position of the unfortunate worker and wonder what my reactions would be to some of these busy-bodies who come to give unwanted or unsought for assistance. I do not wish to cast reflections on them but invariably their approach to the problem being wrong, it gives rise to a great deal of misunderstanding and, may I say, misapprehension in the mind of the workers.

I realise that in a socialist order, where the State is the largest employer of labour, it is a part of the function of the State to provide amenities for labour, but in a capitalist society in which we live, it is in my opinion the function of the employer and the State to undertake this work. This is where financial considerations play a large part, for money is needed in every direction for promoting these welfare activities. I do not pretend that we in India have only touched the fringe of the labour welfare problem and much remains to be

done. While I do not deny that the profit-motive in the Indian employer is still very strong, I assert that it is rarely realised that labour welfare work is essentially dependent on the economic condition of the industry and its ability to afford welfare activities that an employer would like to create.

In India where industrialisation is, comparatively speaking, very limited and where industries have to fight for their very existence against foreign vested interests, the scope and activity of welfare work are necessarily restricted. As a liberal-minded employer, I might wish to provide several welfare activities, but economic and financial considerations often debar me from acting in this direction. It is a moot point as to which of the welfare activities should be undertaken first. Is that attitude of mind "one step at a time is enough for me" the right approach to the problem? Should an employer undertake the housing of his men as the first step, or should the provision of social amenities like play-fields, reading rooms, night schools, co-operative credit societies, etc. be undertaken simultaneously and in preference to the housing scheme? Take, for instance, the problem of housing. In Bombay it is a problem which is acute and bristles with difficulties. In a city like Bombay, the housing of workers cannot be undertaken by the employers alone without the co-operation of the Municipality and the State.

Even outside Bombay the problem of housing presents a number of difficulties. For instance at Cochin, where we have one of our factories, where industrial development has hardly progressed, and where untrained labour is available plentifully, we are daily flooded with workers who do not mind travelling 8 to 10 miles per day by foot or by boat in order to seek a livelihood. What attitude can the employer of labour take in the housing of these workers? To house them near the factory in a town brings the problem of social vices; to remove the worker from the land on which he has his house would mean breaking up his home and creating new domestic problems. Further, is it worth creating a water tight community of workers and adding yet another class to India's numerous classes and creeds? The problem, therefore, of housing is not easy of solution and it needs considerable foresight and forethought. Mere building of dwelling houses without providing them with the other necessities and amenities of life only worsens the situation instead of improving it. It would be perhaps advisable to think in terms of a housing colony where the land and the house can be acquired and built by the employer in the first instance with the view that in a period of years these houses may become the property of the workers. To some perhaps this is not a solution as they may well turn round and say that we, capitalists, are adding to the class of land-holders. But belonging to a capitalist organisation and being a capitalist by birth and profession, I perhaps only think in terms

of an enlightened capitalism. But the housing colony I visualise is only capitalistic to the extent that it has to be built and got ready by the employers. Its management and well being should be in the hands of the workers. It should function as a democratic village community. It should have its own Council or Panchayat to look after its municipal problems, its own schools for primary and secondary education with a provision for a technical education in the factories of the employers, its own medical and maternity facilities, its own co-operative credit society, its own central stores and dairy, its community restaurants and playfields, its own dramatic club and art centre, its own music and Bajan practice and perhaps its own temple, church and mosque.

But a promotion of all these activities needs careful planning, a large capital outlay, and most of all an effective and intelligent co-operation from the workers themselves. And here the function of a labour officer begins; he can play a great and important part in thinking about these problems; merely trying to copy and reproduce an organisation which has thrived elsewhere may not yield results here. To think originally should be our motto; it matters little if a proposal is novel provided it is well thought out; it matters still less if it is laughed at because greater men than ourselves have been laughed and scoffed at before our time and in our own time because they thought originally; to wit, Mahatma Gandhi, who has been the target of the world's scoffing for years together, occupies today the position of being one of the world's greatest men, if not the greatest.

So then, what are the functions and duties of the Labour Officer? The position of the Labour Officer is one which is both delicate and unenviable in many respects. He has to be a *liaison* officer between the employer on the one hand and labour on the other. To attain any measure of success he has to win the implicit confidence of labour as well as the employer. An impossible task, some might say. I agree to some extent, but I feel that it is possible to achieve it. A Labour Officer's position is like that of Caesar's wife. He has to be a friend, philosopher and guide to the worker. He has to be a counselor to his employer. He will have to exercise a considerable amount of patience to deal with the problems of labour, and with it also a large dose of tolerance. He will have to create an impression in the mind of the worker that he (the worker) can confide in him (the Labour Officer), and tell him all his woes in the hope that the Labour Officer may succeed in inducing the employer to reduce his hardships. He must have and develop, if such a thing is possible, a sense of impartiality and fairness in dealing with the labour problems, not only vis-a-vis with the employer and labour but between one worker and another. At the time of labour strike, the employer as well as the employee will look to the Labour Officer for intervention in view of his

personal contact with the men. In the matter of recruitment and transfer of labour from one department to another, in the matter of allocating suitable jobs to suitable persons, in the matter of finding other employment in times of stress when unemployment becomes inevitable—all these will require of the Labour Officer a great deal of imagination, a certain amount of initiative and a considerable amount of tact and patience. There will also be a number of pitfalls in his path which he will have to guard against. In his position as a Recruiting Officer, he will face many temptations and that is where he will have to exercise the greatest amount of watchfulness in his own interest as well as in the interest of the employer. He will be flooded with petitions from friends and others asking him to give preference to X, Y or Z for employment. He will be offered monetary and material considerations for the recruitment of a particular worker. These are some of the glaring pitfalls before him and it is necessary that he should guard against the traps that are often laid deliberately with a view to test his integrity and honesty. To the employer he has also to tender advice just as he has to tender advice to the worker. He will have to bring to the notice of the employer the importance of welfare work for improving the moral and material conditions of the worker. His advice may fall on deaf ears, but if he has courage and patience he will persist and persevere until he succeeds in inducing the employer to adopt some of his suggestions. These are but a few ideas on what I consider to be the duties and qualities of a good Labour Officer.

THE YENADIS OF CHITTOOR

AMONG the aboriginal tribes in the Presidency of Madras, the Yenadis occupy no insignificant place. They speak Telugu and are found in the districts of Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Cuddapah, Chingleput and Chittoor. In 1901, their number was 1,04,000 and in 1921, 1,38,000 for the whole presidency. But the 1931 Census makes reference neither to them nor to the Irulas, another aboriginal tribe. It may be that they have been enrolled as Hindus or as any other faith to which they might have been converted by proselytization; but no explanation is given anywhere for the omission of Irulas and Yenadis in the 1931 Census. The Yenadis in Chittoor district numbered, according to the 1921 Census, 11,269. As there are no figures given in the Census of 1931 for Yenadis, it is not possible to give their present figure, but it is estimated that their number is about 15,000. Their total number for the entire presidency may exceed 1,50,000, of whom more than 80,000 are found in the district of Nellore alone.

The Yenadia is dark in complexion and short in stature, has a broad nose,

grisy hair and lithe and agile limbs. The word Yenadi is said to be a corruption of the word 'Anadi' meaning the original man! He is not an 'untouchable'. He can draw water from any well and can serve the higher castes including the Brahmins. There are numerous divisions among Yenadis. Some of them are called the Reddi Yenadis, Chella Yenadi (refuse eating), Adavi Yenadi (forest), Kappa Yenadi (frog eaters), Somari Yenadia (Idle). In many households of Reddis who are a prosperous and cultured Hindu caste, Reddi Yenadis serve as cooks, they also serve as watchmen. By associating themselves with high class Hindus, Reddi Yenadis have gradually shed their jungle habits and are now scarcely distinguishable from the common folk except by those who know them well. Whatever be the sub-division to which the Yenadi may belong, he will not eat with Madigas and Parayas who are among the so-called 'untouchable' castes. The Yenadis live in colonies of about 20 huts called Goodem or Palayam. Each palayam has a head-Yenadia, who in consultation with a council of castemen, and independently too in some cases, decides many disputes and social questions and imposes fines on the erring Yenadis.

The Yenadi is essentially a denizen of the forest and knows the forest flora very well. He is an expert in collecting honey from hill tops. He is a good tracker of foot prints, and in many cases it is told the Yenadi's clues have helped the police in tracing culprits and criminals. He climbs hills and precipices with plaited rope and pliant bamboos. He collects all kinds of forest produce for the contractor in return for a paltry quantity of paddy. He knows the remedial properties and uses of herbs and roots in the hills. He knows the remedies for scorpion sting and cobra bite too. He lives in a conical circular hut. There is a long pole 10 feet high in the centre of the hut and from the pole radiate small spoke-like beams all round the hut resting on a wall about 5 feet high. The hut is built of bamboo, palmyra leaves, grass, millet stalks and other twigs and leaves. The entrance is usually small. Many of the huts in the settlements are kept very neat and clean. The decorations on the floor encircled by thin red border in various designs in front and round each house done with a mixture of powdered rice and red earth would do credit to any high class Hindu woman. The inside of the hut is all a single room with no ante-chamber attached to it. The Yenadi has not many earthly goods which he can call his own. In the matter of religion, social habits and dress, he conforms more or less to Hindu usage. There are very few among them who can be called Animists.

He loathes settled work. While he has any thing to sustain him, he will do no work; compelled by hunger, he will collect and sell firewood, hunt or fish. He will not do any work which is monotonous, irksome and

laborious. His chief occupations are agricultural labour, tending sheep, cattle breeding, scavenging, wood cutting, charcoal burning, basket making, rice pounding, domestic service and as the village watch. He is a nomad and shares some of the traits of the gypsies. He has a strong taste for wandering life, and it is said that years ago, many people of other castes attracted by the wandering life of the Yenadis, had joined the Yenadi gangs, adopting their customs and ultimately claiming full membership of the tribe. This is also said to be responsible for the abnormal increase of the Yenadis between 1911 and 1921, especially in Nellore district.

The Yenadi has been notified since about 14 years ago as a member of a criminal tribe and his complaint is that as a result of it he has been subjected to great many hardships even by the ordinary people. If a Yenadi refuses to work for low wages, the landlord or contractor threatens that he would get him registered as a criminal. This is responsible for the Yenadi being exploited by many contractors in the district. He has to be saved as much from his nomadic and primitive traditions as from this Damocles' sword of extra-legal harassment by well-to-do people of other castes. Ameliorative work among them to improve their social, moral and material well-being has been in progress in several Yenadi-palayams in Chittoor district during the last four years under Government auspices. The credit for this work should go to the Congress Ministry. The Police Department, which administers the Criminal Tribes Act, is running these colonies under the direction of the Government of Madras.

One of the colonies is at Gallapalli, which is 20 miles from Renigunta. This settlement has come into existence after reclamation work among the Yenadis was started in 1939 by the Government. It consists of 50 houses with well-planned sites and streets, a good well and a school which is not yet recognised. The Yenadis have learnt to make bricks with which they have built the teachers' quarters and the provision store which is run by a Yenadi youth. The well was dug and built by the Yenadis themselves. They saved some money which they utilised for purchasing bulls. The District Superintendent of Police, Mr. V. Subbarayan, who is their guide, friend and philosopher, has secured for them 100 acres of land very near the settlement and has distributed the same among the 45 families in the settlement engaged in agriculture. Some Yenadis of this colony are also engaged in burning charcoal. Formerly they were being paid Rs. 3/- for a cartload of 20 bags of charcoal of 90 lbs. each, but now owing to the successful negotiation of the Yenadi Reclamation Officer with the contractors, the rate has been raised to Rs. 8/-.

At Kalahasti the shed that was formerly a toddy shop has been converted into a weaving shed for Yenadis. Chittoor district is happily a prohibition

area. Six looms are at work and the Yenadis are weaving bed sheets, lungis, towels etc. for local dealers on a daily wage of Rs. 0-6-0. The colony at Yerpedu consists of 50 families, all of whom are casual labourers and they find it very difficult to find work. Vadamalpet is 5 miles from Renigunta in another direction. The colony here consists of 40 huts and this is the oldest and best of the colonies. About 100 acres of the Tirupati temple lands have been secured for the Yenadis and they have now been settled down on these lands as agriculturists. The School here had in 1941, 32 pupils of whom 18 were boys and 14 girls. They sing well and sweetly too. They have learned to sing even Tagore's song 'Jana-Gana-Mana'. Tape making is also taught to children as part of the school work.

While the work so far done by Government is no doubt laudable it has not yet touched the fringe of the Yenadi problem. The Government should have a comprehensive scheme of work for the Yenadis so as to provide them with every facility to enable them to rise up to the level of the average citizen, as they have done in the case of Kallars of Madura district. The Government should be prepared to spend many times the present amount they are spending in addition to other facilities that they may grant for the realization of this ideal. The Yenadis deserve it by the long neglect they have suffered at the hands of the society and of Government.

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"I BECAME A TEACHER"*

IT is indeed a pleasure to take part in this series of broadcast talks on "I Became a Teacher". Before entering a profession seldom do young people weigh carefully the advantages and disadvantages of any particular vocation. At first I myself did not think seriously of this calling. Later I decided to become a teacher because, in the first place, my mother constantly held before me the ideals of service; in the second place, my high school teachers made study a disagreeable job, and thirdly, because of my valuable experiences of learning under great teachers as an undergraduate and post-graduate student in the United States of America. Such famous men like Josiah Royce, Rudolf Eucken, Hugo Munsterburg, John Dewey and others made a very notable contribution to the growth of my personality. It is there that I began to realise how much good teachers can do not only to stimulate intellectual interests but also to form ideals of citizenship in the young students entrusted

* A broadcast talk in the series "I became a Teacher" by Dr. J. M. Kumarappa, Ag. Director of the Tata Graduate School of Social Work, from the All India Radio Station, Delhi, on the 16th February, 1942.

to their care. So I decided to become a teacher.

I have now been a teacher for over a quarter of a century. I have not regretted having entered this profession. If I were given a chance to live my life over again, I would again choose teaching as my career. Though teaching is a fascinating occupation, it is one of the most exacting of jobs with often little leisure and less thanks. But in moulding the character and lives of so many of the future citizens of one's country, a conscientious teacher finds his greatest values of life and satisfaction in the daily routine of his work.

Furthermore, I do not find teaching the dull grind it is made out to be; for the constant and never ending stream of new material in the form of fresh batch of students is passing through one's hands each year, even if one is confined to one department or one classroom in an educational institution. Each student brings with him fresh courage, enthusiasm and idealism along with new problems to be met and solved. The feeling of pride and self-respect that comes from doing one's job well and presenting one's lessons skilfully is the result of mental growth on the part of the teacher who has to keep abreast of the latest developments in his subjects. This prevents him from getting into a rut of pedantry and smug self-satisfaction, and helps him to keep his intellect alive. Moreover, of all professionals, teachers have the chance of staying young through the contagion of youth which rebuilds its spirit and its dream in them.

I am a teacher not merely because of those personal advantages but even more because of the service I can render in my own way to the progress of our nation by moulding the character of the young students with whom I am privileged to come into contact. A country that has a large number of really good efficient teachers should congratulate itself, for it is they who render valuable service to the nation and its welfare. Indeed, the school may be considered one of the most characteristic features of modern civilization because all educationists agree that universal elementary education is necessary if democracy is to exist, since it is the predominant form of social organisation among civilised people today. What a nation is depends largely upon what type of teachers are found in that nation's classrooms.

I find that my job as a teacher extends far beyond the walls of the classrooms, for how I mould the character of my students determines the way they will respond to the tasks set before them in the outside world. Because of this immense responsibility, I have not only to be very careful about my own character but also about every aspect of my work and relationship with my students. My objective then in teaching is not merely the imparting of knowledge but even more that of character-building. . But I must make clear what I mean by character-building. When I say that character-building is the

ultimate aim of education I am using the word "character" in a wider sense than is usually understood by the term. Ordinarily, this word is used only as applying to the moral or spiritual nature of man. In this narrow sense, it is clear that it could not include all the elements that enter into a person's education.

The term so used by me has a much broader meaning; for character, as aim in education, must include all the elements that compose or make up a desirable and efficient preparation for life. It follows, therefore, that the greater the number of these elements that enter into a person's character, the more complete will be his education. In this wider conception, character includes all the best qualities and ideals in the culture of the nation. Therefore a person of a worthy or desirable character may be described as one who represents in himself, and expresses in his life, the best ideals of the civilization of which he is a part. The introduction of western education, unrelated to our life and culture, has brought about a cultural dualism which stands in the way of that spontaneous development of a unified national energy which is the law of normal life in society. This dualism, extending far wider than any earlier schism, has almost severed the intellectual element of the nation from the historic traditions of Indian development.

Culture is as important to a nation as face is to an individual; it is culture that gives individuality to a race or a nation. "The physical organization of the race," says poet Tagore, "has certain vital memories which are persistent, and which fashion its nose and eyes in a particular shape, regulate its stature and deal with the pigment of its skin. In the ideal of the race there also run memories that remain constant, or, in the sense of alien mixture, come back repeatedly even after the lapse of long intervals. These are the compelling forces that secretly and inevitably fashion the future of a people and give characteristic shape to its civilization". Therefore the main lines of a people's education must be determined by its inner life, its character and predisposition. Since it is the living consciousness of the race's past ideals and achievements which differentiates one cultural group from another, it is imperative that such historical traditions and ideals should be made to form the intellectual equipment not only of every student but also of the lowest unlettered member of the race.

If the world is to take cognizance of India's never failing emphasis on the abiding values of the spirit, then she must demonstrate the superiority of her spiritual culture over the secular culture of the West. And such demonstration is not possible unless and until we ourselves are taught to live up to high and noble ideals of our sages and saints. To this end the teacher must strive to develop the cultural traits in each child till it makes him a perfect incarnation of the soul of India. Our first aim must therefore be to

meet the immediate need of providing our children with a culture that is the product of India's thought and creation. Such a cultural foundation is necessary to enable them to take a legitimate pride in their own intellectual aristocracy as well as to assimilate to greater advantage the best in Western culture.

Besides, in this age of international strife, India must offer to the world her philosophy of life, of peace, based on her conception of the spiritual unity of all human beings. In order to make the best in our culture available to the peoples of the West, it is essential to revive our own learning and make it available first to the children of the soil. We, as teachers, must first become saturated with our own indigenous culture and then make it available to the youth of the land. We can no longer continue to stand as outcasts deprived of our place among the cultured peoples of the world. India has had a glorious past, and her future is not without promise, but the latter really depends on the education of the young. I became a teacher ; I continue as a teacher and my task is to do all that is within my power not only to help to revive our culture but also to make every student, who comes under my influence, to represent and express as far as possible in his life and work the best ideals of the civilization of which he is a part.

FIGHTING SOCIAL VICE IN INDIA

AT the present time, when moral values are as much at stake as political freedom, it may be useful to outline, in non-technical terms, the basic principles of Moral and Social Hygiene Work. These principles are:—
(a) An equal moral standard for men and women; (b) liberty with responsibility; (c) and respect for human personality. Acting on these principles, the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene in India has formulated the following aims and objects :—

- (a) to secure condemnation of all aspects of State Regulation of commercialised prostitution ;
- (b) to raise the standard of character and conduct in sexual relations, and to uphold the highest family traditions ;
- (c) to secure recognition of an equally high standard of morality for men and women ;
- (d) to eradicate prostitution and kindred evils as far as possible.

The Regulation System introduced by Napoleon in 1802, initiated and fostered as it was by the State, seemed to justify the notion that continence was harmful to physical as well as mental health. Under this system, women were segregated for the use of the troops. They were compulsorily subjected to medical examination and, if found diseased, were forced to undergo treat-

ment. The system was supposed to check the spread of venereal diseases among the troops, as the provision of these women catered for the so-called "biological necessity". This system was a despicable degradation of women, who were placed under police control and had to obtain licenses from them. Licensed women's movements were closely watched and controlled. Infringement of those unjust laws meant punishment.

The existence of the vice areas was a temptation to adolescents and adults, and the official sanction which lay behind the system unintentionally encouraged the vice. Thus public morality was bound to suffer. In view of these considerations, the Ladies' National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts was formed in 1869, by Mrs. Josephine Butler. She championed the cause of these women and conducted a most difficult crusade. Mrs. Butler was a highly talented woman, profoundly religious, and cosmopolitan in outlook. She fought for two fundamental principles, namely :—(a) an equal and high moral standard for men and women, and (b) equality of both sexes before law.

Mrs. Butler founded the International Abolitionist Federation, whose headquarters are in Geneva. The London Branch is known as The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene. It has been working since its foundation, by invitation in various countries; the Indian Branch has its headquarters in New Delhi. In 1854, the British Army introduced the same Regulation policy by the application of the C. D. Acts to India. Regular brothels were established for the use of the troops. Indian and Japanese women were housed in them and were medically examined. The existence of those houses became a common feature of cantonments. As a result of this segregation of vice, the incidence of venereal diseases in the British troops in India rose to 503 per thousand hospital cases. Since the abandonment of the Regulation system, the ratio for British troops has fallen below 40 per thousand.

Agitation against the C. D. Acts was going on in England, when in 1874, Keshab Chandra Sen, (whose centenary was celebrated in India in December 1938), appealed to Mrs. Josephine Butler to help by studying and gradually removing these conditions in India. The council of Mrs. Butler's Abolitionist Association invited Keshab Chandra Sen to join them as a member, and this marked the beginning of the present Association for Moral and Social Hygiene in India. Her Association in England was invited by a group of reformers in Bengal to send a whole-time investigator to India, and the London A. M. S. H. Committee promised to maintain financially the present Central Organiser, Miss Meliscent Shephard, for 3 years. After a long struggle, the Regulation system in relation to the army in India was abandoned. The following extract from a letter from the Military Secretary

of the India Office addressed to the London Headquarters of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene makes the present army policy in India clear:—

“I am to add, for the information of your Association that the issue by any responsible officer of His Majesty’s Forces, to any section of that Army in India, of any official advertisement or recommendation of any brothel, whether for the use of the Army or otherwise, is contrary to the policy of the Government of India, as also is the periodical inspection or control of the inmates of any such brothel by any Medical Officer of His Majesty’s Forces.”

Prostitution and traffic in women and girls are the two sides of the same shield. Where there is prostitution, the traffic in women must go on, as the brothels have to be kept well provided with fresh entrants. The market has to be increasingly profitable to those who are concerned with this vicious trade. The interests of the “buyers”, “sellers” and the third parties have to be furthered. Such being the case, the immoral traffic flourishes, and victimization of the women involved increases. Thus it is clear that as long as prostitution is allowed to develop in commercialised form, there will be no “equal moral standard for men and women”; no “liberty with responsibility”; and no “respect for human personality”—the three vital principles of moral and social hygiene. Hence it is necessary to oppose traffic in women and girls. To challenge this traffic is the aim of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene in India.

How far is the Indian society responsible for this situation? Antiquated social customs, unsatisfactory family conditions, marital mal-adjustments in poor homes, social tyranny over the unfortunate Hindu widows lead many an Indian girl to fall into the traps of pimps and traffickers. Young, and innocent, illiterate girls are kidnapped, seduced or enticed away for purposes of prostitution. They are either sold to old retired prostitutes, or sold in marriage to fictitious husbands, and once an Indian woman falls into such difficulties, her only destiny is to be victimised by one or more hypocritical sympathisers; then, after feeling disgraced by repeated deceits and pitfalls, she embraces the disgraceful profession of prostitution openly.

In Western countries, and in large industrial cities of the East, a number of girls are employed as domestic servants, shop assistants, telephone girls etc. Their wages are small, and they cannot meet the standard of life they aspire to have. The result is that they seek questionable ways and means of making extra money. It is not long before many discover the easy way of prostitution. And once they make a moral slip, they are lost. It is not poverty therefore but desire for luxury that is a cause of certain girls’ entry into a life of prostitution.

We shall now consider the methods by which the association tries to

convert its ideals into accomplished facts. As has been said at the beginning, the A. M. S. H. endeavours to promote reforms in the *laws*, in *administration* and in the *social customs* of the country ; it tries to arouse public interest in these great problems ; by means of education, it brings to the knowledge of young and old the real facts of life, the dangers of the misuse of the gift of sex, the need of chastity before marriage and faithfulness to the highest standards of family life, the ideals of chivalry and of justice between the sexes. Medically, it tries to bring to the knowledge of all, the great danger of disease in promiscuous sexual intercourse ; it endeavours to secure the provision of up-to-date and confidential treatment of those diseases for all who become infected whether innocently or otherwise, it advocates better training of medical students in these matters, and stresses the harmful effects of irregular living.

For the sake of convenience, the work of the Association may be discussed under the following heads :—(a) work for the protection of women and girls; (b) work for the protection of children. There are five aspects of the work :—(1) Investigatory, (2) Legal, (3) Educational, (4) Medical and (5) Rescue.

Investigation.—Although the workers in connection with the Missions, and specialists like Dr. Bushnell and Mrs. Andrews, had undertaken a limited survey in connection with individual women trapped into the life of prostitution, yet it was obviously necessary to make a general survey of the actual conditions in the segregated vice areas and to obtain first hand information as to the causes lying behind the traffic in women. The Central Organiser, therefore, undertook personal investigation into the various types of houses in Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore, Madras and other cities and also visited the hidden villages in Ceylon. These investigations made it clear that adequate legislation and a campaign of education were necessary, together with greatly increased medical help.

Legal.—When Miss Shephard arrived in Bengal in 1928, she found that no comparative study of the laws in the different provinces had been made. She, therefore, undertook this study, and prepared a statement showing the penalties against procurers, and those who live upon immoral earnings, and also the protective clauses in operation in different provincial laws. This study made it quite clear that in some provinces there was incomplete legislation and in others either no protective clauses or no Children's Act; and penalties against procurement and trafficking were very defective. This study was followed up by the writer, Assistant Organiser, who prepared a pamphlet on "A Comparative Study of Provincial and Indian State Acts Relating to Traffic in Women and Children". Since that date, new legislation, or amendments to existing

legislation, have been promoted by the A. M. S. H. and the following provinces have enacted the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Acts :—

1. *Bombay*—Bombay Act No. XI of 1923: The Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act 1923 (As modified up to the 31st March 1934).
2. *Mysore State*—Regulation VIII of 1936: Regulation for the Suppression of Brothels and Immoral Traffic in Mysore State.
3. *Punjab*—Punjab Act IV of 1935: The Punjab Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1935.
4. *Delhi*—Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act 1933 (as applied to Delhi).
5. *Bengal*—Bengal Act VI of 1933: The Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1933.
6. *Madras*—The Madras Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1930: Madras Act No. V of 1930 (As amended by Madras Act I of 1932 and 1938).
7. *U. P.*—The United Provinces Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1933.
8. *North-West Frontier Province*—The North-West Frontier Province Anti-Prostitution and Suppression of Brothels Act, 1936.
9. *Gwalior State*—Sections 357, 375A, 357B, 363 and 364 of the State Penal Code.
10. *Ajmer-Merwara*—Sections 167 and 168 of the Ajmer-Merwara Municipalities Regulation, 1925 (VI of 1925).
11. *Bihar*—The Bengal Disorderly Houses Act III of 1906.
12. *Baroda State*—Sections 356 and 357 of the State Penal Code corresponding to sections 372 and 373 of the Indian Penal Code.
13. *Sind*—Bombay Act No. XI of 1923: the Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act 1923: also section 41 of the Bombay District Police Act, 1890, is applied to certain towns and villages in Sind.
14. *Kashmir & Jammu*—Ranbir Penal Code: sections 366-A and 498.
15. *Travancore*—Regulation III of 1107 M. E. (1932 A. D.)
16. *Ceylon*—, Act of 1913 Domestic Servants Ordinance.
17. *Assam*—
18. *Burma*—
19. *Federated Malaya States*—

} have adopted Abolitionist Legislation.

The effort to promote adequate legislation has necessitated a considerable amount of public propaganda, and education. In other words, a draft

bill has been used as a peg on which to hang the challenge against the double moral standard, and the appeal for an enlightened public opinion. In this effort the Press have been helpful, both English and Indian.

Study Circles have been promoted, to help those concerned with growing children to a more balanced knowledge. The Central Organiser has recently published a booklet called "A Plea for the Provision of Instruction in the Duties of Civic and Family Life (Including Sex Hygiene) in Schools and Colleges in India, with a Foreword by the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India". Some of her papers have been translated into certain vernaculars, but writers able to interpret are needed in order to take advantage of the present demand for vernacular instruction. The difficulty of finding an adequate vocabulary in the Indian languages has to be overcome. In this connection Mrs. L. W. Bryce's books, "The Comrades of the Road" and "The Child in the Midst" which have been translated into several Indian languages, are useful.

Medical.—As treatment of the venereal diseases is no part of the ordinary curriculum in many medical colleges, it has been necessary to stimulate interest amongst the medical profession, and to urge a great extension of clinics with free bacteriological tests. In Calcutta, for instance, out of 11 teaching hospitals, it was found in 1928 that only one included training in the diagnosis and treatment of the venereal diseases as part of its medical courses. On representations made, it is encouraging to report that other hospitals have adopted the fuller and more complete curriculum. In this connection a challenge against pornographic material, whether in films, books, pictures, posters or advertisements has been made. As a member of the Bengal Board of Film Censors, the Central Organiser was able to study the duties of censorship.

Enquiries have already been received from different parts of India as to whether a Training House, similar to the Josephine Butler's Memorial Training House in England, could be opened in India to train Indian women in the practical work necessary in connection with these social questions. Several Universities have already introduced something of Social Science Course. The Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay, has filled this long-felt want, and it is very encouraging to see that its graduates are serving in different parts of India. It is hoped that a few more institutions of this type will come into existence and follow the excellent example set by this School.

Rescue.—Apart from Christian missions, in whose compounds Rescue Homes already exist, there have been, since 1928, an increasing number of Rescue Homes opened by Parsee, Hindu and Moslem groups. In this connection the Central Organiser has prepared a pamphlet called "Traffic in Women."

and Children and Commercialised Prostitution : Principles for the consideration of Departments of Local Self-Government and Municipalities''. In India, every province should adopt an Act for prevention of cruelty to children, and engage women welfare workers or probation officers who can deal with cases brought under notice of the Children's Court. The reader is referred to a booklet "The Probation Service in England and in India with a Foreword by the Home Member of Council, Government of India" prepared by the Central Organiser.

Protection of Children.—The work of the Association has steadily developed, especially owing to the interest shown by the Patron, Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow. Her Excellency's Special Appeal for funds for the Association has enabled the work to be continued and expanded in certain directions. The work for the protection of children has engaged the particular attention of the Association, and at the last Annual Meeting, held on 31st March 1941, the Chairman of the Association, Sir Maurice Gwyer said :—

"Another aspect of our work is becoming more and more important ; I refer to the work for delinquent and victim children. Instead of Delhi having modern arrangements, and giving a lead to other cities, it is now engaged in trying to find out the best methods from the Provinces and then to reform its present arrangements. The Association, particularly the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Nigam (who is away in Madras at the moment), has been taking an increasingly active part in all this work, and has been keeping in close touch with the Delhi Children's Aid Society, of which Miss Shephard was the inspiring Honorary Secretary for some years. We have unfortunately at present in Delhi a legacy of unsatisfactory arrangements for juvenile delinquents but I hope and think that the Local Government is persuaded of the need for a Juvenile Court Magistrate and Special Court, of Probation Officers, and for a Remand Home for Children."

The Assistant Organiser's tours throughout India, in connection with this work, and his subsequent reports and suggestions are now proving fruitful, and it is very encouraging to have news of satisfactory progress from different Provinces. The Government of Bombay, for instance, have written to say that they are adopting in the Province most of the recommendations made by the Assistant Organiser. In Delhi also the necessary Juvenile Court and Remand Home arrangements have been made. The Central Organiser, A. M. S. H. in India, continues her tours of investigation and inspection in connection with the work for the protection of women and girls, including a review of the activities of Rescue Homes, and of the working of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Acts.

The aim of establishing a Provincial Welfare Service for women has

been achieved in Madras Presidency. There a Central Training Home, with 39 branches and shelters in the Mofussil and with an Indian Provincial Woman Welfare Worker and assistants, has been the result of the A. M. S. H. work spread over a number of years in collaboration with the Madras Vigilance Society. The Madras Government speak highly of the value of this Provincial Welfare Work to which they give a considerable grant. It is hoped that other Provinces and States will follow this example.

The A. M. S. H. has received many requests from local social welfare societies and from Governments of Indian States for guidance and affiliation to A. M. S. H. in India. It is encouraging to note that there is a great awakening in India to the need for protecting women and children from exploitation. The Educational and Probation booklets of the Association have been widely circulated by the Government of India, and by the Association. The Central Advisory Board of Health has, for some time past, under consideration certain proposals of the A. M. S. H. for the teaching of sex hygiene in schools and colleges, and is considering them at its Conference in Calcutta, early in 1942.

Most of the women's organisations in India e.g. the All-India Women's Conference, National Council of Women in India, and other social service conferences have passed resolutions, sponsored by the A. M. S. H., urging the public and Government to take steps to secure better protection for women and children. It is hoped that at a time when war is directly threatening us, such work for protection, instead of being forced to the background, will receive a greater impetus. Refugee and evacuated women and children are exposed not only to the sufferings of war, but also to the greater dangers of exploitation for immoral purposes. The A. M. S. H. in India has had long experience in organising efforts to prevent and suppress this exploitation and traffic and is willing to help wherever help is needed in the future.

K. S. NIGAM

Assistant Organiser,

Association for Moral & Social Hygiene in India.

PREVENTION OF BEGGARY IN HYDERABAD

AN Act for the Prevention of Beggary in Hyderabad was passed and has received the assent of H.E.H. the Nizam. Unlike many other schemes that are adopted in other centres, in Hyderabad they have put some teeth into the scheme. They have made begging a punishable offence. Section 3 says, "No person shall adopt the profession of begging" and in section 16, it says, "Every officer and Police official who sees a person in any place con-

travelling the provisions of section 3 or about whom he receives a complaint that he is guilty of such contravention, may order such person to refrain from such contravention and to leave such place. If the said order is not complied with, he shall, after holding a panchnama, arrest the offender and take him to the nearest Police Station to hand him over with the panchnama to the Police official present there."

The Police official has to produce the beggar before a court where, if he promises not to beg any longer, he will be discharged. If he does not promise to refrain from begging, or if he repeats after being discharged, unless there is respectable person to stand surety for him, he will be committed to an institution for beggars. Such institutions are to be established in suitable places "for the maintenance, residence, physical exercise, technical and primary education and reform of beggars." They are to be under the general management of a "chief committee" appointed by the Municipal Corporation in Hyderabad City and by the District or Local Boards in other regions. The financing of the institutions is to be done by raising subscriptions or receiving donations from the public and also from allocations in their budgets by Municipalities of respective areas. Beggars are to be admitted to institutions either at their own request or by order of the court to be retained there for a minimum of two years. They are to be released only after they have "become capable of earning a living."

The semi-official set up augurs success for the scheme. As part of the scheme, the Chief Committee have decided to collect one pie per rupee from all government employees with an income exceeding Rs. 50/-. Government are also willing to render financial aid. Beggar problem, we might mention here, is not isolated and disconnected with other economic problems. The need is not so much to train beggars to earn a living but provide them jobs to enable them to support themselves. Able-bodied beggars are not all unwilling to work; but they have no work to do. While it is true that there are many idlers and so-called religious mendicants among the army of beggars, many landless agriculturists, with no jobs or resources to fall back upon, gradually drift into vagrancy.

• Another observation to be made is regarding the apparent hope of the sponsors of the scheme that provision of food and shelter will attract the beggars to come to these institutions. Experiences in cities where such facilities had been provided, show that beggars prefer the freedom outside to security with discipline inside an institution. The common danger in such schemes is the tendency on the part of authorities to take a patronising attitude towards these beggars and make it extremely humiliating for them to remain as inmates. Beggars by and large are poor either materially or in self-respect and

self-reliance. If schemes are sponsored to ameliorate the material poverty of beggars at the cost of what little self-respect they have we will have an increasing army of beggars on our hands for all time. But since beggars are just the unfortunates in society, their material, physical and moral rehabilitation is the prime duty of society. To achieve this end, economic reforms of a sweeping nature are needed.

CONFERENCE OF WORKERS WITH JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

THE fifth conference to discuss work under the Bombay Children, Borstal Schools and Probation of Offenders' Acts met in Bombay in a two-day session on the 26th and 27th of January 1942. It was opened by Mr. C. H. Bristow, C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser to the Governor of Bombay when he announced that the Juvenile Court of Bombay was to be reconstituted with a full-time non-lawyer woman magistrate. He pointed out that there should be greater support and interest for the work under the above Acts from the public and also the need for more "properly trained Probation Officers." He announced that the Government had decided to appoint 12 more such officers from April next.

The papers read dealt with various problems of urgent practical importance in the execution of the work under the Acts. The discussions on the whole revealed, on the one hand, the extent of good will, idealism and enthusiasm on the part of many workers, and, on the other, a type of approach more legalistic than constructive. There was uniform condemnation of the Bombay Children's Act in regard to many of the clauses therein. Several proposals for amendments were made and passed to be submitted for Government approval. The value of such conferences is great. It is only when we try to put into practice certain laws and theories that we recognize their defects and difficulties. When workers who confront such difficulties meet and exchange ideas and compare notes much light is generally thrown on the subject.

In regard to the reconstitution of the Juvenile Court, we are happy to note that the usefulness and importance of such a Court is recognised at least now. The Juvenile Court in Bombay was till now presided over by a part-time lawyer-magistrate recruited from the Service, and that too on a short-term basis. The Court met only once a week thus delaying disposal of cases. With neither training nor experience in the field of Social Work relating to Juvenile Delinquency, and with the legalistic outlook developed in the other courts, the magistrates are handicapped in dealing with juvenile cases. Their legal training makes them stress the legal aspects more than the human element. Moreover, Juvenile Court work being only a temporary phase

of their official career, there is no incentive for them to specialize in it. All these factors contribute to much inefficiency and delay. Now that a full-time magistrate is appointed who, though without legal training, has had practical experience in dealing with children and their problems, the Juvenile Court gains a new status and a new role. We venture to interpret the change as an indication of a new and long overdue reformulation of the method and philosophy of treatment of juvenile delinquents.

The recruitment of a larger number of trained Probation Officers augurs bright prospects and greater efficiency in the field of protecting and saving the unfortunate children. As it is, too many cases are on the hands of a single Probation Officer. Also, many districts do not have trained men to tackle the problem. The additional number of Probation Officers will help in reducing the case load of the present staff as well as in the extension of the provisions of the Children's Act to other regions.

There is a tendency in governmental departments to "consider the claims" of those who are already in service when new appointments are made. We wonder whether such "claims" will be given preference as against qualifications, training and experience. We hope that the department is sufficiently convinced of the need for special training for all those who are dealing with children especially for Probation Officers. The major and primary claim is that of the children themselves. The most important aspect of work with Juvenile Delinquents is that those who are engaged in it should view it as a vocation rather than as a mere job. Probation work is both a profession and a vocation. Personality of the worker is as important as the indispensability of his training. To recruit men for Probation work on any basis other than the above two, is sure to end in tragedy. We are dealing with children and the task is so difficult and yet so sacred that we have to give them the best both in treatment and personnel.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Crisis of Civilization. By ALFRED COBBAN. London: Jonathan Cape, 1941. Pp. 272.

This interesting book starts with a comparison of the human race with lemmings who are known to become insane at certain periods and drown themselves in the sea. The author states that Reason is not at present a characteristic of the human race. Describing the world between 1918 and 1939, the author divides the population into two parts, one went forward to create a new world, the other set itself the task of reconstructing the old pattern. Hence the conflict. Describing Europe the author says: "In Germany the psychological tension found relief in brutality In Italy a cynical and disillusioned Machiavelism prevails. In France and Great Britain defeatism and pacifism were widespread. For a time Russia was a pillar of fire to the wandering tribes of Western capitalism" The book seeks a solution for these problems and endeavours to find out what can be rescued from "the shipwreck of western ideals". As in all times of despair, there is a suggestion "to give up independent judgment, abandon all initiative and become a passive instrument in the hand of the Master, with the religious faith of the devout communist or Nazi . . ." The author further does not feel that there is any easy way left to restore civilization, and points out that so long as civilization is vitality, man must have the capacity to start afresh, and over and over again.

To build a new world, theories need to be examined again, and principles must be well established. "It must not be supposed that either the shark or the jelly-fish represents our political ideal. We merely wish to point out that absence of principles and indifference to theory produces either the one or the other." The author complains that from the point of view of theory and principles, everything is not right with Britain, theory and practice have been divorced there, with the result that a situation is created where everyone is near the shark or the jelly-fish. The author sums up the introduction by saying that Western civilization "is out of control", and in this light the *Crisis* is examined.

The rest of the book deals with a historical and analytical survey of western civilization and especially the theory and principles of politics. After defining Western Civilization in more or less the usual manner, the basis of Western Liberalism is discussed in terms of the contributions of great philosophers. The author has little regard for the contribution of men like Locke, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot, Adam Smith, Bentham compared to philoso-

phers like Descartes, Spinoza, Hobbes and Newton who preceded the forerunners of the French Revolution. The intellectual revolt of Burke, Rousseau and Kant are however appreciated. The ideals of the 18th Century are loosely defined and are summed up as Natural Law. The author describes how the French Revolution frustrated these ideals. Force replaced Reason, and practice was opposed to theory. But out of the frustration emerged Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism. All these three were based on the principle of sovereignty, the sovereignty of the people and of the State. The author however feels that in the specific fields with which they were concerned all the three have *failed* completely. "The ultimate result of the theory of popular sovereignty was the substitution of history for ethics in all countries. Thus the Sovereignty of the State is established over the sovereignty of the people." The solution the author suggests is the return of "Natural Law," and "there can only be Natural Laws if there is some permanent factor behind the perpetual mutations of human society. From Natural Laws will appear Natural Rights which will lead to social ideals."

The author makes a general historical survey of the last four centuries. "The enlightened self-confidence of the eighteenth century became the irritating complacency of the nineteenth. That capacity for self-deception, which was destined to become the most prominent feature of the English genius in politics, began to move towards a new high level. In the twentieth century of our era, the Western world is again faced with a situation in which the rivalries of the separate states threaten the very basis of civilization"—this is the author's survey of the centuries. Striking an optimistic note, he says: "History is always unique, and for this reason, if for no other, it is possible to hope that our civilization has not yet taken the fatal turn, and that its problems may still be soluble."

The first problem dealt with in the book is that of war. The author feels "that there has been a fundamental change in the nature of war in the contemporary world." This change began at the end of the 18th century, "the Partition of Poland inaugurated a new age . . ." In the twentieth century, all restraints on war have been removed and ethical control has been eliminated. "In the hard climate of the new age, international law, never more than a sickly infant, has declined into inaction, and the League of Nations, like an ornamental wreath of artificial flowers in a glass case, was laid in its grave." Total war began in 1914, and after a brief armistice of 20 years, began again in 1939. The characteristics of this total war are: (1) There is no victor or vanquished; (2) suffering is universal; (3) population is reduced; (4) culture, art and science decline; (5) the State becomes omnipotent and local government declines.

Discussing the sources of the modern war, it is suggested that for the first time in history wars are made by leaders who are out to win or see the elimination of their states. In the present war conflict of interests does not count so much as the eruption of elemental emotional forces.

In the second half of the book the author surveys the possible reconstruction of a devastated world. He lays down general principles, defines government, and examines the three fundamental problems of the nature of governments, problem of economics, and the problem of international relations. In these discussions there is a good deal of original thinking and the chapters make interesting reading though it is hardly possible to agree to all that the author has to say. The first steps suggested at the end of the book are rather tame in contrast to the highly philosophical discussions that mark the early chapter in which principles and theories play an important part.

On the whole the book points out that intellectuals in the West are seriously thinking over the deficiencies of their civilization, but solutions to such grave problems are not easily found unless one makes an entirely new beginning. The author himself is aware of this need, but does not seem to have gone far from the thought and philosophies on which the present devastated civilisation of the West was founded. Unless Western thinkers develop a radical international outlook, they will not easily succeed in putting their house in order. They may only succeed in piling up another house of cards. It would have been better if the book were entitled "The Crisis of Western Civilization", which is the title of the Second Chapter of the book.

The author is beating about the bush a good deal when he deals with Pacifism and Imperialism. He must have hardly realised that his plea for "a new and enlightened Imperialism" would evoke a smile in all suppressed peoples. The sooner Western thinkers stop living in their fool's paradise, it will be better for their civilization. There are many things that are worth salvaging from the wreck of western civilization, but there are others that deserve only to be buried and forgotten.

B. H. MEHTA

The Redemption of Democracy. By HERMANN RAUSCHNING. New York: Alliance Book Corporation, 1941. \$ 3.

In some of his earlier books on present world situation, Herr Rauschning made it clear that although Hitler's gospel of nihilism and destruction is the chief threat to Western civilization, Hitler himself is not the real menace. Behind him are social and economic circumstances which made Hitler possible. Therefore, if the free nations are to meet the challenge of totalitarian nihilism and destruction, they must really meet the challenge of the ultimate forces

which brought Hitler into being. They must grapple with the realities of modern life upon which the dictators have reared their elaborate structure of violence, and must offer to the oppressed masses a programme of abiding freedom. It is to this programme that the volume under review is a contribution.

While Nazism has resolved that there must be a new world and that it shall be built by violence, the democratic counter-formula must declare, says the author, that there shall be a new world and that under no conceivable circumstances is it attainable through violence. Since the World War II began we have witnessed many revolutions and disillusionments. Servitude has descended upon the greater part of the white race and menaces the remainder, because men with firm belief in violence, have set out to build new worlds with Quizlings, bombs and bullets.

This situation has forced men of good-will to the necessity of reevaluating their most cherished values. Old beliefs and loyalties have been renounced. Lifelong opponents of war have interpreted Hitler as a demonic force which can be countered only by a worse evil. In the midst of this crisis thoughtful men are seriously devising ways of saving democracy. Rauschning's solution can be epitomized in a single phrase, "Beware of Planning". This warning recurs throughout the book. The author declares that we must resolutely turn our backs on the idea of a planned society. At first this seems very strange to the reader and he wonders what can possibly be wrong about a pleasant and plausible word like "planning" to be called for re-examination.

No doubt, social justice which is a lofty ideal does not exclude the suggestion of stern measures. Quite often justice involves law enforcement which is force. A classless society calls up the picture of a number of regrettable harsh measures which may be necessary to wipe out social classes. But who could possibly object to a planned life which obviously means life ruled by intelligence, foresight, cooperation and harmony? However, as the reader proceeds he soon discovers that the author is not against planning as such but against planning as it operates in the totalitarian states. To the Indian reader, it throws out in bold relief the fundamental differences between "Western Planning" as found in Russia, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the "Gandhian Planning" as outlined in the first article in this issue of *The Indian Journal of Social Work*.

Planning, as the world has seen it operate in the countries mentioned above, really means violence, terror, oppression, war. It means firing squads, concentration camps, purges, secret police—the whole totalitarian scheme of organization. When the good and reasonable idea of "planning" made its first appearance on the world stage some twelve years ago in Soviet Russia, it stood out brightly against the background of a crippled and discredited capitalistic

economy of the West. In reaction to the cut-throat competition and the cannibalistic Profit Motive, people found it easy to visualize a planned society in which the planning would be done by joint conclaves of saints and philosophers.

Unfortunately, this good idea of planning has in the West turned out in practice to be planning by monomaniacs and gunmen. One particular autocrat decrees that his people shall go half-fed and half-naked in order that in a decade he may transform his backward country into the leading industrial nation of the world; to him this is planning. Another despot orders his people to go without butter and milk and clothes while he is building cannons, tanks and planes for world conquest; to him, likewise, this is planning. No wonder then if, far from being a planned life which the despots have imposed on the subjugated and terrorized peoples, it has proved to be the crippled and distorted life. It is life wrenched out of its normal human framework and capacities in order to serve the strategy and tactics of the masters.

It is this form of "planning" that Herr Rauschnig warns us against. His critical analysis of European planning makes it all the more necessary for us to give serious thought to the Gandhian approach to a planned society, the principles of which are rooted in the genius and culture of the Indian people and based on non-violence and international cooperation rather than on cut-throat competition. Like Gandhiji, the author believes that the Great Society should be rebuilt on a new social basis. The new world, says Herr Rauchning, which democracy sets out to achieve, after disposing of Hitler and his associates, must not fall into the vicious pattern of the totalitarian world-builders. If social justice is to be real, if it is to expand and endure, it must not exact the price of servitude. In its task of reconstruction, democracy must work in accordance with its own principles of compromise, cooperation, peace and freedom for all.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

Preface to Eugenics. By FREDRIK OSBORN. New York : Harper & Brothers, 1941. Pp. 312. \$ 2.75.

Though Plato is the first eugenicist, it is Francis Galton who invented the word *Eugenics* to cover the science which deals with race improvement. Ever since his time, it has been used by many as a cloak for race prejudice, ancestor worship and class snobbery. Eugenists warn us that the poverty-stricken and the feeble-minded, who are said to reproduce their kind much more rapidly than do college professors, lawyers and bankers, will swamp us with their incompetent progeny. They point out that since one quarter of the existing population normally produces more than one half of the next generation and since this more prolific quarter is inferior in quality, great changes in the

biological value and composition of society may occur with startling rapidity.

The eugenicist takes his stand on the fact of heredity and believes it to be the formative factor of greatest importance in human life and character; hence, he gives little or no importance to nurture. Relying on this assumption, several States have encouraged sterilization by law to prevent the transmission of socially disqualifying hereditary defects. Germany has been especially active in weeding out her unfit by compulsory sterilization. There can be no question that we are largely what our ancestors made us, that some mental and physical afflictions are inherited and that sterilization is necessary where accurate family history leaves no doubt of hereditary taint.

Nevertheless, the more the problem of eugenics is studied the more formidable does it become; for, the problem of social incompetence is not so simple as the eugenicist makes out. Economic status, health, education and a hundred other factors must now be considered that were once ignored. In view of this situation what we need is a dispassionate examination of the effects of heredity and environment or nurture based upon a careful analysis of accurate statistics. *Preface to Eugenics* comes nearer to meeting this demand.

As a science of race improvement, eugenics has concerned itself with the feeble-minded and has encouraged legislation to sterilize the unfit in spite of the fact that so little is known about the inheritance of intellectual ability. Even now there is no way of identifying the carriers of the genes of feeble-mindedness. The more ardent advocates of sterilization insist that heredity "determines" the nature or onset of mental disease and of what is called feeble-mindedness. On the other hand, Mr. Osborn takes the view that "the most that can be said is that in the organism heredity contributes a predisposing tendency or weakness to succumb to environment strains."

As regards the statement that the weaklings in the population are rapidly bringing about a race deterioration by dragging down its quality and ability, the author points out that deterioration follows only if the survivors among the weaklings have more children than their stronger fellows. The physically defective probably do not have more children than the fit, and the mentally afflicted have a low birth-rate and a high death-rate, despite the large families sometimes found among the weak-minded. In spite of this difficulty, Mr. Osborn holds that hereditary defects should be regarded as a problem in public health. This means segregation and training of defectives in State institutions, and permanent prevention of fertility on a purely voluntary basis for known carriers of serious hereditary disabilities.

The eugenic argument overstresses heredity, and we still hear it said that because the able acquire wealth and position, they demonstrate their

social fitness. As against this, the author points out that "ruling classes were overthrown and still the world went forward. It continued to go forward at a time when many people held that all men were created equal in quite a literal sense. Then came the industrial revolution and new leadership, and the growth of cities at the expense of the country and the fixing of a new hierarchy of industrial classes to replace the old hierarchy of nobles, freemen and serfs. With all this change there continued a suspicion that the hereditary argument might again be used to limit opportunity and fix social classes. So today resentment on the subject of hereditary classes is very near the surface. It is well to have it so in a country that is both liberal and democratic. Democracy needs all the leadership which can be found, and leadership is to be found in every class."

Heredity can hardly be considered apart from environment. What clay is to the potter that heredity is to the environment. Environment moulds human characteristics. It is therefore meaningless to ask which is the more important. "Any given finding," points out Mr. Osborn, "refers only to a particular characteristic of specific individuals or specific groups, each of which (except for identical twins) has a unique heredity, subjected to specific environmental differences." It is, of course, true that the Bach family produced four generations of great musicians, that the Berthelots of France have excelled in science generation after generation. But generalized traits, such as intelligence or a well-adjusted personality, are more important than special abilities, and much more difficult to appraise genetically.

Nor can we rely on the family histories of the Jukes, Kallikaks and Nams—the horrible examples of hereditary social burdens. The histories in these cases are often based on nothing more than the casual statement of those who knew them. The most valuable studies are those of identical and fraternal twins. Here enough evidence has been gathered to show that heredity does count in transmitting such a generalized trait as intelligence; yet "we do not know," declares Mr. Osborn, "exactly how much alike fraternal and siblings are in their genetic constitution or how much they differ in their response to an apparently similar environment." That environment has an influence is shown by the cases of identical twins brought up in markedly different environments. Environment cannot be ignored if for no other reason than that when its influence is good heredity can assert itself. To Mr. Osborn it is more important that the distribution of births within the smaller groups at the extremes be controlled, so that the average individual human being will develop most rapidly when both environment and heredity are playing their part.

The author, being an expert on population problems, his demographic approach to eugenics is highly important. The distribution of births cannot

be ignored in any consideration of eugenics. Naturally, his eugenic programme calls for the improvement of the poorest environments so that parents may have some freedom of choice as to size of family, and that selection may take place at a relatively high environmental level to complete the change now taking place to insure freedom of parenthood throughout the whole population, which means the extension of birth control and of state services to lessen the cost of children to parents with large families; finally, the introduction of psychological and cultural measures which will tend to encourage births among parents who are most responsive to good environment and to diminish births among those who are least responsive, with the result that a process of eugenic selection, through variation in size of family, will be brought about.

Mr. Osborn's book is an important contribution to the study of eugenics. It is rightly entitled a "Preface to Eugenics" as it puts together the more valuable information that geneticists, psychologists, anthropologists and population experts have gathered in the last fifty years. It disposes of the snobbish pretence that there is an eugenic difference between the average members of upper and lower social and economic classes. Further, it reveals that something must be done to provide better nutrition and education for what are called "the underprivileged" if we are to draft a population policy along sound eugenic lines. All those interested in the study of eugenics will find this book not only informative but very useful.

J. M. KUMARAPPA

Ideals and Illusions. By L. SUSAN STEBBING. London : Watts & Co., 1941. Pp. 206.

In this intensely significant and thought-provoking book the author makes a serious attempt to find an answer to the eternal and unanswerable question, "What is it that we most deeply desire, the attaining of which would bring us inward peace—that is, happiness, or what do we believe to be the ends for which it is worth while to live?" The author very emphatically asserts that our most urgent need today is to be definite and clear about the things that will contribute to our happiness. To know this, she feels, is to begin to formulate one's way of life. There is no doubt that in these days when people in their disinclination for hard reflective thinking are prone to accept blindly comforting creeds, platitudinous abstractions masquerading as statements of ideals, and vague exhortations to improve our world, the need for definiteness and clear thinking is greater than ever before. Yet, even after a very thorough perusal of the book, it does not seem possible to arrive at any definite answer to the fundamental question of human happiness. Nor can it be said that the author herself has found the answer in any very definite sense.

The nearest she comes to answering the question is, when she asserts,

"It is an illusion to find the value of our lives here and now in a life to come; it is an illusion to suppose that nothing is worth while for me unless I live for ever; it is an illusion to suppose that there is no uncompensated loss, no sacrifice that is without requital, no grief that is unassuaged. But it is also no illusion but uncontested fact that here and now we know that hatred, cruelty, intolerance, and indifference to human misery are evil; that love, kindness, tolerance, forgiveness, and truth are good, so unquestionably good that we do not need God or heaven to assure us of their worth." And yet as she herself points out, the more widely in time and space we extend our view of human history the more evident becomes the truth that there is no clear line of advance, no inevitable development, no continuous progress, in the affairs of men and their relations one with another. Progress is not a law of the physical world. The ground gained in one era may be lost in the next. The thoughts of men instead of becoming constructively fruitful may flow into channels leading to disaster and barbarism. As she very succinctly puts it, "Even if ethical principles are eternal and immutable it is certain that they need to be re-interpreted for every period and re-thought by every generation The development is not always in wisdom, it is not always for the better; all that can be certainly affirmed is that there is either change or the stagnation of decay".

This social change she attributes to three factors: economic structure, the possession of power and ideas. In this book, however, she is not so much concerned directly with the first two as with ideas. Accordingly, in the first chapter she attempts to vindicate the significance of ideals and utopias, and after a critical study of the views of Prof. Carr and Mr. Vidler on idealists and utopians goes on in the second chapter to examine the depreciation of the Social Reformer at the expense of the Saint. Here, Cardinal Newman and Miss Rosaline Murray come in for some searching criticism particularly with regard to their preoccupation with the saving of souls for heaven rather than fitting men for earth. In the third chapter, the desirability of overhauling our moral principles is considered with a view to probing into the foundations of our moral code. This inevitably leads to a consideration of the ideal of the pursuit of happiness in the fourth chapter where it is pointed out that "the greatest happiness philosophy" was, in the persons of Bentham and J. S. Mill, concerned rather with the removal of unnecessary human misery than with the pursuit of happiness.

However, contemplation of the desperate state of our world leads the author to the conclusion in the fifth chapter that "when our cities are in flames and our fellowmen are organized for mutual slaughter, happiness must be forgone." And yet the sane optimism of the author eggs her on to

the fervent hope that we can build a better world upon the ruins of the present, and the sixth chapter gives us a glimpse into what such a world might be. In the seventh chapter, the conflicting ideals of Fascism and National Socialism in opposition to Democracy are studied and it is claimed that Fascism and National Socialism are inherently evil. The eighth chapter points out the dangers we face because we do not understand the nature of our linguistic devices. This is one of the best chapters in the book pointing out as it does the confusion in our talk and action caused by using abstract words in very harmful connotations. Finally, in the ninth chapter, she tries to answer the question whether the deliverances of conscience can be justified and shows the necessity of freeing ourselves from a world to come.

What strikes the reader most powerfully, however, is the writer's sanguine faith in all that is best and highest in human beings. "Human beings," she writes, "are too fine in their highest achievements to justify despair. As I write sadness pervades much of the civilized world: frustrated hopes, broken lives, . . . cities in ruins, cathedral destroyed; treachery, lies, and hatred are too plain to be ignored. But this is not the whole tale. Cathedrals were built by men who had faith in spiritual things and professed a religion of love. It is better that these cathedrals should be destroyed by those who despise the love of men as an unworthy weakness than that they should be saved from destruction at the expense of enslaving the spirit of men. Amidst the ruins it is still possible to preach the ideal of freedom, truth, happiness and love . . . it is a conflict of ideals . . . The way before us is hard, but it is not impossible to make it lead towards a world where men can be free and happy because they are not afraid of the truth, however uncomfortable, and have learnt that love casts out fear and brings peace."

The above sentiments recall the Gandhian faith in truth and love, and come as a slight shock to the weary chaotic world where sham and self-deception seem to be the order of the day, and where even the Church joins hands with the State in the fabrication of a monstrous machinery of delusion. As an instance in point, one cannot help quoting the words of Prof. Maurice Ralton in *The Church of England Newspaper*, London. "Are we not the instruments of Divine Retributive Justice, and must not our cause therefore be secure? Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right? If he fails us in this issue His very character is suspect." However gloomy the outlook of the world at present, one cannot help observing that this is indeed a thoughtful book, inspiring in its courageous optimism and instructive in its attempts at plain thinking to make our ideals stable and definite.

K. H. CAMA

The Illusion of National Character. By HAMILTON FYFE. London: Watts & Co., 1940. Pp. 274.

"My Country, 'tis of Thee . . ." is considered more than ever as the slogan that grips the imagination of people all over the world today. But what is this "My Country"? The author's thesis is that "Country" means "Ruling Class". Aptly has he titled his book *The Illusion of National Character*. He says that there are no people in any part of the world, who can be called *en masse* as a distinctive group merely on the basis of geographical distribution. The common man, whom God loved so much, as Abraham Lincoln said, because he has created so many of them, are everywhere the same. Yet we find the "extremely arbitrary" distinctions made between national groups and loyalties engendered in the name of patriotism. International conflicts arise, the author maintains, because of such narrow loyalties and arbitrary distinctions. It is a dangerous deception to continue the illusion because it has become a hindrance to the good life.

The author quotes instances of contradictions in the history of nations where in the interest of a few, whole nations have been dragged into internal quarrels and international conflicts. The belief in the myth of uniqueness and superiority of one country over the other is nourished for the continuance of the *status quo* of a few in each country. The author says: "The time must come when it will seem absurd that French and Germans, Americans and Japanese, French and English, can ever have been divided by imaginary barriers—no less absurd than the recollection that the people of Burgundy and Artois, of Mecklenburg and Hanover, of Wessex and Northumberland were once taught to believe themselves national enemies. The advance of knowledge, the extending of civilization, have thrown down many of the fences which kept human beings apart. We recognize our common descent, we are beginning to realize our common interest. The chief obstacle in the way of that realization is the illusion of national character." (p. 274). The courage of this hope and conviction is all the more remarkable, as the book is written while in the midst of a war caused by the same illusion the author is denouncing.

P. M. TITUS

This Above All. By ERIC KNIGHT. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941. Pp. 473. \$. 2.50.

Many war novels have been published already. But this book, according to the famous British author, James Hilton, is "the first great novel of the war". Mr. Knight was born in Yorkshire, England. His father was killed in the Boer War, and his two brothers were killed in the last World War. He himself served throughout the four years of the last war in the thick

of the fighting in France and came through unscathed. So he knows what war is like and hence the book is more real and is something more than an exciting novel.

In terms of a poignant and unforgettable love story, the book brings into sharp focus the panorama of a whole nation fighting not only to defend its ancient liberties, but to bring to birth the new and better England that is yet to be. This war, at least so far as Great Britain is concerned, is a people's war and the book, in addition to being a sociological interpretation of war-time life, reveals the hopes, fears, anxieties, grudges, hatreds, etc. of the common man in reference to the system prevailing in the country.

Clive, the hero, is a deserter. He comes from the slums of London. According to one of his fellow-soldiers "there wasn't a better soldier that came out of Den Kirk than Clive." Yet he deserted. He tells his friend Prudence—a member of the upper middle class and war-service nurse—his reasons for deserting. The unpreparedness, appeasement policy, the fears of the ruling class, the prostitution of patriotism for the benefit of the ruling class, the paradox of British democracy, the juxtaposition of wealth and poverty, are all under indictment. Certain passages are so blunt and true that one cannot but bemoan the suffering and yet hope that something better will emerge out of this war. He says: "I believe with all my heart that the rulers of Britain, in my lifetime, motivated by greed and fear of social change, have destroyed what strong generations and great men have worked and fought and died to attain. I hold these men guilty and accountable before every British lad who's put on a uniform and offered to die. They're guilty—guilty—guilty." He attributes the causes of the helpless and chaotic situation to the series of post-war governments of Britain "internally hollow and externally vain and smug."....."Sitting contentedly on an internal industrial and social scheme that has stunk of its own stagnation. Paralyzed by one blind, unreasoning fear—that British labour might revolt from the stink of the dole."

But Prudence is no silly girl to accept such indictment and let down England at this critical hour. She says "You must fight for England." But the England of Prudence is not that of Clive. For him "It means walking around until your boot soles are thin, and hoping against hope that the next place you go there'll be a job. It means taking any old job, no matter how ugly. It's meant a furtive childhood—when life most of all should have been splendid and strong. It's meant the dirty side of life and none of the rewards." There is the elusive ideal England which Prudence imagines to be worth living and fighting for, combating with Clive's real England of abject poverty, callousness, aristocratic snobbishness and illusory democracy. Major part of the book deals with the career of Clive which reflects the career of thousands

of his class in all countries. His mental conflict also reveals what is going on in the mind of many who have pricked the bubble of pseudo-patriotism, nationalism and imperialism. He says: "If I ever do go back, it will be not to die to win a war, one half as much as it will be to live to see that justice doesn't get lost in the shuffle—justice, not for England, nor for Germany, but justice for poor, living, bleeding, bloody humanity."

The episode ends and Clive and Prudence part company for the time being, Prudence going back to her hospital and Clive to think it over and decide. Clive is suspected as a fifth columnist while wandering about. He gets into many tight spots, escapes and meets many types of people, farmers, nurses, parsons etc. The parson offers solace and comfort and says the Church is a spiritual sanctuary for all the poor and unhappy. But to Clive and others of his way of thinking the Church has lost its meaning. "The Church failed in the last war. You played politics so that God was on both sides. The Church has blessed too many wars in the name of justice for both sides" says Clive to the padre. Clive finally makes the decision—to go and tell it to their face what he thinks of them all and the war.

But before doing so he realizes that he is in love with Prue, calls her up from London and asks her to marry him; Prue consents, and promises to come down to London by the next train and Clive is to meet him at the station. During this interval there is an air raid and Clive instinctively goes in for rescue work and is severely injured and is taken to a hospital. Prue comes down but there is no Clive at the station. Finally Clive is traced by Prue's father to whom she confides the secret. Prue's father, a leading surgeon in London, performs a serious operation on Clive. The injury is so great that there is no hope of recovery. Prudence nurses him and the agony, tenderness and pathos of the relationship and situation stands out in bold relief against all the hatred and cruelty around. Clive dies and Prudence goes out to the darkness that is London. Suddenly as she walked, she put her hand below her heart. She was glad that no one knew yet that there was to be a baby—Clive's baby. The thought struck her that now he must be fatherless. Fatherless like his father, for Clive was an illegitimate child.

"Without a father—like your father" she said. "But you're going to have a better time of it than he did. You're going to have a better England to live in! Because we were both right. Both right! We have to fight now for what I believe. And after that, we'll fight for what he believed in. We'll win this war because—because we can stick it. And then God help us, we're going to win the peace too. You won't have it like him. You'll live in a better England than he did, because you deserve it. Everyone deserves it!"

Yes, Prudence, everyone of what Clive called the "poor, stinking, lost

humanity'' deserves it and if you are going to fight to win the war as well as peace we are with you all the way.

P. M. TITUS

The Behaviour of Nations. By MORLEY ROBERTS. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1941. Pp. 180.

This book is an ecological and zoological study of corporate man, that is, man in the mass, working as an enclosed system in semi-permeable frontiers with definite differentiation under, and with an embryonic central nervous system, as a low-grade animal invertebrate, capable of suggesting a new zoological species. Thus the State, or national organism, becomes a living, breathing 'animal' which belongs to a low-grade invertebrate order, and the world is the great nutritional field of hostile, hungry nations. Starting on this assumption, the author attempts to deal with the symbiosis, friendly or indifferent, sub-hostile or actively hostile, of organized nations regarded as seeking security and food in what can be termed a nutritional field, or general trade area, of which they desire to command as much as possible. The author's fundamental thesis is that what is finally sought is actual food so as to provide human energy to run labour, social activity, and the national manufacturing machinery. "It should then be as clear as day" says the author, "that if these great newly named organisms must breathe as animals, must eat and seek for free energy, they must possess in mass sub-consciousness the actual parallel of the reactions we call 'mind' in man. Thus, if these greater lower-grade organisms breathe, eat, and seek vain security by their units, they also dream and think by them. All its units put forth like protoplasmic pseudopodia, with them sense the world, and with them experience all the primitive fears, hopes, and stresses of the nutritional field."

Accordingly a morbid condition of all units will emerge as national madness, and on this basis the writer applies to social organism terms such as claustrophobia, agoraphobia, mysophobia, paranoia, and the like, not metaphorically, but as describing real national neurotic states. This deposing of man from his dignified seat of human being, and classing him as an 'animal' of the low-grade invertebrate order, may seem to some a blasphemy against the human race, and to so say that the habits, customs, and actions of nations depend finally on what they and their massed machinery consume in the form of food, coal, oil and electricity may seem an absurdity or an oversimplification to others, but no intelligent observer of the behaviour of nations can doubt the fact that the phenomena of war are but the acute crises of continuous nutritional conflict.

It is a commonplace of experience that freedom to act in the nutritional field implies contact, competition, rivalry, friction and eventually war. It is

clear then that the word 'peace' is mostly used to cover up the incubation period and preparations for war, and a condition of subjection to fear and dread of conquest. "The fundamental truth as regards the way national organisms try to obtain and secure nutrition," observes the author, "is obscured in most history by secondary and derived abstract notions, ideas of right and even righteousness, morality and moral laws, the sacredness of treaties, honour, kindness, mercy and nobility." But the lay historian seems to be utterly ignorant of the fact that man in the mass is not man, but a low 'organism of gross instincts and irresistible tropisms, an animal incapable of reason, whose sense of property, and indignation at ill-doing, arise from fear of disturbance in its own occupancy. Such an organism recognizes no right or effective claim but the power to hold. Hence moral judgment should be avoided in such matters, for such a study deals with the growth, life, conduct, and behaviour of organisms which, as wholes, can attach no real meaning to words.

Viewed in this light, all leagues for the propagation of peace by words, sermons, good advice, press propaganda and other methods are nothing but hopeless creators of illusions. "They are" as the author points out, "dangerous even in their decrepitude since a large part of a nation's population, that simple-minded 'animal' is always eager to believe in peace in a pleasant political time, and can easily be led astray. It should then be obvious that the most dangerous delusions may be due to journals and journalists, tied to the tail of the League, who probably do not believe what they are told to write." The author is of opinion that with ease and indolence in a national organism whose organic members have spent their energy to do as little as possible and to get as much as possible for it, foresight or even a view of the skyline is lost, and thus are bred peace-prophets and writing-paranoics and wise men who know everything and can tell the world, if the world will but listen.

One may or may not agree with the author's diagnosis and conclusions regarding the national pathology of countries like Germany, Russia, Italy, France, Great Britain and the United States but his thesis that ideology is just a cover for robbery and conquest to satisfy the eternal nutritional and ecological conflict is perfectly sound and affords a good basis for the analysis of the behaviour of nations. Whether we believe or not with the author that Germany's present state of insanity is induced by tribal claustrophobia and Fear of the North; that the present theory of the British Empire favours all liberty compatible with order and that nothing could cause such overwhelming horror and confusion in India as the withdrawal of her 'tyrants'; that the singular inability of the English 'mind' to see facts and face them has endangered their actual survival; that the Russian ideology of dialectical materialism is nothing but a smoke-and-smother screen for her dream of world conquest and that its

philosophy is the re-creation of an awakened predatory tribe, one thing is at least certain that human kind as a whole-world organism certainly lacks a competent sense of realism. We must learn to look on the organic tribes of men as subject to eternal struggle and inevitable death on the ecological field where they seek nutrition, and in so doing we must not be stirred by the subterfuge of rotten politics but must weigh and balance the phenomena in the light of cold, hard scientific truth.

The author fears that his essays in the book may suffer from oversimplification, but nothing is more needed today in this miasma of delusion, murder, savagery, hysterical outbursts and insanity as this courageous and rare effort to present historic truth in this simple scientific fashion. We need more books of this type.

KATAYUN H. CAMA

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